THE

HISTORY

OF

PHILOSOPHY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;

DRAWN UP FROM

BRUCKER's

HISTORIA CRITICA PHILOSOPHIÆ.

BY

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OPINIONUM COMMENTA DELET DIES, NATURÆ JUDICIA CONFIRMAT.

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N. B. *The Division of this History having occasioned some Inequality in the Size of the Volumes, the Index to the Second Volume is placed at the End of the First.*

BOOK III.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

IN relating the hiſtory of Philoſophy during THE FIRST PERIOD, we have traced its riſe and progreſs, in every age and country in which it has appeared, from the earlieſt times to the æra of the eſtabliſhment of the ſchools of Alexandria. THE SECOND PERIOD, on which we are now entering, will comprehend the whole ſeries of philoſophical hiſtory, from the æra juſt mentioned to the revival of letters; and will exhibit the forms, under which philoſophy ſucceſſively appeared, among the Romans; among the Eaſtern Nations, particularly the Jews and Saracens; and among the Chriſtians.

The hiſtory of philoſophy among the Romans, in the infancy of their ſtate, has been already briefly conſidered, under the general head of Barbaric philoſophy; and we have little to add to what has

been related, reſpecting this epocha: for, from the building of Rome, through the whole period of the regal government, and many years after the conſular power was eſtabliſhed, the Romans diſcovered little inclination to cultivate any other kind of knowledge, than that which was barely neceſſary for the ordinary purpoſes of life, and for their military operations. The riſe of philoſophy in Rome may be dated from the time of the embaſſy, which was ſent from the Athenians to the Romans, deprecating a fine of five hundred talents, which had been inflicted upon them for laying waſte Oropii, a town of Sicyonia. The exact time of this embaſſy, which has been already mentioned, is unknown, but it is probable that it happened about the 156th Olympiad, or towards the cloſe of the ſixth century from the building of Rome, that is 156 years before Chriſt [a]

The immediate effect of the diſplay which theſe philoſophical miſſionaries made of their wiſdom and eloquence was, to excite in the Roman youth of all ranks an ardent thirſt after knowledge. Lelius, Furius and Scipio, young men of the firſt diſtinction and higheſt expectations, diſcovered an earneſt deſire to enliſt themſelves under the banners of philoſophy; and much was to be hoped for from their future patronage, when they ſhould occupy important offices in the ſtate. But CATO the Cenſor, whoſe inflexible virtue gave him an oracular authority among his countrymen, diſapproved this ſudden innovation in public manners; and philoſophy was ſternly diſmiſſed.[b] Not that Cato was himſelf illiterate, or wholly untinctured with philoſophy; for he wrote a celebrated treatiſe upon agriculture. When he was a young man, in the ſervice of Fabius Maximus, at the taking of Tarentum, he is ſaid to have converſed with Nearchus, one of the diſciples of Pythagoras [c]; and, at an advanced age, whilſt he was prætor in Sardinia, he was inſtructed in the Greek language by Ennius [d]. But he was

[a] Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 45. Plut. in Caton. maj. Cic. de Senectute, c. 5. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Cic. Tuſc. Qu. l. iv. c. 2.

[b] Plut. l. c. [c] ib.

[d] Cic. Cato maj. c. 1. 8. Lucullus, c. 2. Quintil. l. xii. c. 11. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. illuſt. c. 47.

apprehenſive,

apprehenſive, that the introduction of philoſophical ſtudies into Rome would effeminate the ſpirit of its young men, and enfeeble thoſe hardy virtues which were the foundation of their national glory.

By this viſit of the Grecian philoſophers a ſpirit of inquiry was, however, raiſed among the Roman youth, which the injudicious caution of Cato could not ſuppreſs. The ſtruggle between philoſophy and voluntary ignorance was, indeed, for ſome time maintained: for we read, that, in the conſulſhip of Strabo and Valerius, a decree of the ſenate paſſed, probably in conſequence of repeated viſits from Grecian philoſophers, requiring the prætor Pomponius to take care, that no philoſophers were reſident in Rome[a]. Some years afterwards, the cenſors, as if reſolved at once to ſhut the door againſt philoſophy and eloquence, iſſued a ſimilar edict againſt rhetoricians, in terms to this effect: "Whereas we have been informed, that certain men, who call themſelves Latin rhetoricians, have inſtituted a new kind of learning, and opened ſchools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day, we, judging this innovation to be inconſiſtent with the purpoſe for which our anceſtors eſtabliſhed ſchools, contrary to antient cuſtom, and injurious to our youth, do hereby warn both thoſe who keep theſe ſchools, and thoſe who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleaſure[b]." And this edict was afterwards revived, in the year of Rome 662[c], under the conſulate of Pulcher and Perpenna. But at length philoſophy, under the protection of thoſe great commanders who had conquered Greece, prevailed; and Rome opened her gates to all who profeſſed to be teachers of wiſdom and eloquence.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS was one of the firſt among the Roman youths of patrician rank, who, in the midſt of military glory, found

[a] Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Suet. de Rhet. c. 1. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1. Conf. Bayle, P. Cato.

[b] A. Gell. & Suet. l. c.

[c] B. C. 91.

leiſure to liſten to the precepts of philoſophy. Whatever time he could ſpare from military operations, he devoted to ſtudy: his companions were Polybius, Panætius, and other men of letters [a]; and he was intimately converſant with the beſt Greek writers, particularly Xenophon. Panætius was perfectly qualified to aſſiſt his illuſtrious pupil in acquiring a general knowledge of philoſophy; for, though himſelf a Stoic, he held the writings of Plato in high eſtimation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the ſyſtems of other philoſophers. And the exalted character of Scipio leaves no room to doubt, that he imbibed from his preceptors the wiſdom, without ſuffering himſelf to be tinctured with the extravagancies, of ſtoiciſm. Lelius and Furius were alſo great admirers of Greek learning [b]. The former, whilſt he was young, attended the lectures of Diogenes the Stoic, and afterwards thoſe of Panætius. The circumſtance chiefly worthy of admiration in theſe great men is, that, although they did not join themſelves to the band of philoſophers, but ſought for glory in the offices of civil or military life, they made uſe of the leſſons of philoſophy in acquiring the moſt exalted merit; ſo that, as Cicero relates [c], by the happy union of natural diſpoſitions the moſt excellent and noble with habits formed by diligent cultivation, theſe three illuſtrious men attained a degree of perfection in moderation, ſobriety, and every other virtue, ſcarcely to be paralleled.

Animated by ſuch examples, many other perſons of eminence in Rome attached themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, particularly among thoſe who were devoted to the profeſſion of the law. Quintius Tubero [d], a nephew of Scipio Africanus, who was at this time one of the moſt celebrated maſters of civil law, was alſo converſant with philoſophical learning, and profeſſed himſelf a follower of the Stoic ſect. The moral doctrine of this ſect was peculiarly ſuitable to his natural temper, and to the habits of temperance and moderation which he had learned from his father, one of thoſe excellent

[a] Velleius Patercul. l. i. c. 13. 17. 18. Cic. de Fin. l. iv. c. 9. Tuſc. Qu. l. i. c. 38. l. ii. Orat. pro Muræna. [b] De Orat. l. ii. De Fin. l. ii.
[c] Orat. pro Archia. [d] Pro Muræna. Tacit. Ann. l. xvi. A. Gell. l. xv.

Romans;

Romans, who, in the higheſt offices of the ſtate, retained the ſimplicity of ruſtic manners. Confirmed in theſe habits by the precepts of Panætius, when Tubero was called upon, as prætor, to give a public entertainment in honour of his uncle [a], he provided only wooden couches covered with goat ſkins, earthen veſſels, and a frugal repaſt. The people, who expected a ſplendid feaſt, were diſſatisfied, and diſmiſſed him from his office: but the action reflected no diſcredit either upon the lawyer or the philoſopher; for, it was, as Seneca remarks [b], an inſtructive leſſon of moderation to the Romans, who, when they ſaw the ſacred tables of Jupiter ſerved with earthen veſſels, would learn, that men ought to be contented with ſuch things as the gods themſelves did not diſdain to uſe. Panætius dedicated to his pupil a treatiſe upon patience, and adviſed him to commit to memory the diſcourſes of the Academic Crates concerning grief [c]; whence it appears, that Tubero ſtudied the Stoic philoſophy chiefly with a view to the conduct of life.

LUCULLUS was at this time an active patron of philoſophy. Whilſt he was quæſtor in Macedonia, and afterwards, when he had the conduct of the Mithridatic war, he had frequent opportunities of converſing with Grecian philoſophers, and acquired ſuch a reliſh for philoſophical ſtudies, that, as Cicero relates, he devoted to them all the leiſure he could command [d]. His conſtant companion was Antiochus, the Aſcalonite, who was univerſally eſteemed a man of genius and learning. This philoſopher, though a pupil of Philo, who, after Carneades, ſupported the doctrine of the Middle Academy, was a zealous advocate for the ſyſtem of the Old Academy, and was often called upon by Lucullus, who himſelf favoured that ſyſtem, to argue, in the private diſputations which were carried on at his houſe, againſt the patrons of the Middle Academy, among whom was Cicero. This is the reaſon why Cicero, in the fourth book of his *Academic Queſtions*, aſſigns to Lucullus the office of defending the Old Academy.

[a] Senec. Ep. 95. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 5. l. iv. c. 4. Cic. pro Mur.
[b] Ep. 96. 99. [c] Cic. de Off. l. iii. Fragm. Tuber. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 828. [d] Acad. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 4. Plut. Lucull.

In order to promote a general taſte for learning and philoſophy, Lucullus made a large collection of valuable books, and erected a library, with galleries and ſchools adjoining, to which he invited learned men of all deſcriptions, and which, particularly, afforded a welcome retreat to thoſe Greeks, who, at this time, ſought in Rome an aſylum from the tumults of war [a]. This place became the daily reſort of men of letters, where every one enjoyed the benefit of reading or converſation, as beſt ſuited his taſte. Lucullus himſelf frequently appeared among his friends (for by this noble act of public munificence he had made all the lovers of ſcience and literature his friends) and converſed with them in a manner which ſhewed him to be, not only a patron of philoſophers, but himſelf a philoſopher. Others were ſtimulated, by this example, to afford countenance and protection, in ſimilar ways, to learning of every kind; ſo that this period may be conſidered as the firſt age of philoſophy in Rome.

The Greek philoſophy having been thus tranſplanted to Rome, the exotic plant flouriſhed with vigour in its new ſoil. Partly through the inſtructions of thoſe Grecian philoſophers who reſided in Rome, and partly by means of the practice, which was now commonly adopted, of ſending young men from Rome to the antient ſchools of wiſdom for education, ſcience and learning made a rapid progreſs, and almoſt every ſect of philoſophy found followers and patrons among the higher orders of the Roman citizens. If, however, we apply the term philoſopher to thoſe who ſpeculated in Rome, it muſt be in a ſenſe ſomewhat different from that, in which we have hitherto uſed it with reſpect to the Greeks. Among them we have ſeen, that a philoſopher was one, who profeſſionally employed his time in ſtudying and teaching philoſophy; and ſeveral of theſe, about the time of which we are now treating, became reſident, in this capacity, at Rome. But, among the Romans themſelves, there were ſcarcely any, who were philoſophers by profeſſion. They who

[a] Plut. l. c. et Vit. Ciceronis. Cic. in Lucull. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Epiſt. ad Fam. ix. Ep. 8. l. xiii. Ep. 1.

are

are ſpoken of under this denomination were, for the moſt part, men of high rank, inveſted with civil or military offices, and occupied in public affairs. They ſtudied philoſophy, as they cultivated other liberal arts, rather, as a means of acquiring ability, and obtaining diſtinction, in their civil capacities, or as an elegant amuſement in their intervals of leiſure, than as in itſelf an ultimate object of attention.

This circumſtance will ſerve to account for a fact, which, at firſt view, may ſeem ſurprizing; that, notwithſtanding the high ſpirit of the Roman people, they choſe rather to pay homage to a conquered nation, by adopting the dogmas of their ſects, than to attempt, from their own ſtores, to form for themſelves a new ſyſtem of philoſophy. They did not want ability for undertakings of this nature, but they wanted leiſure. They wiſhed to enjoy the reputation, and the benefit of wiſdom; and therefore ſtudied philoſophy under ſuch maſters as accident caſt in their way, or their particular profeſſion and turn of mind led them to prefer. Thus, the Stoic philoſophy was, on account of the utility of its moral doctrine, peculiarly adapted to the character and office of lawyers and magiſtrates; the Pythagoric and Platonic ſuited the taſte of the gloomy and contemplative; and the Epicurean was welcome to thoſe ſelfiſh ſpirits, who were diſpoſed to prefer ignoble ſloth to public virtue. Every one found, in the doctrines of ſome one of the Grecian ſects, tenets which ſuited his own diſpoſition and ſituation; and therefore no one thought it neceſſary to attempt farther diſcoveries or improvements in philoſophy. Perhaps, too, it may be added, that the Romans looked up to the ſchools of Greece with a degree of reſpect, which would not ſuffer them to undertake any thing new, in a walk in which ſo many eminent men had exerted their talents. Deſpairing of doing more than had been already done by the illuſtrious founders of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophy, they thought it ſufficient to make choice of ſome one of theſe as their guide. Hence Greece, which had ſubmitted to the arms, in her turn ſubdued the underſtandings, of the Romans; and, contrary to that which in theſe caſes commonly hap-

pens, the conquerors adopted the opinions and manners of the conquered.

The antient Italic, or Pythagorean ſchool, does not appear to have extended beyond that part of Italy formerly called *Magna Græcia*. And though afterwards the fame of this ſingular ſect, and of the marvellous actions, and myſterious doctrines of its founder, reached the Romans [a], and excited ſome degree of ſuperſtitious veneration among an ignorant people, it does not appear that Pythagoras had any followers in Rome before the ſeventh century from the building of the city, unleſs the poet Ennius be reckoned ſuch, concerning whom Perſius intimates, that he adopted the Pythagorean doctrine of *Metempſychoſis*, and ſuppoſed the ſoul of Homer to have paſſed, after ſeveral migrations, into *his* body.

> Cor jubet hoc Enni, poſtquam deſtertuit eſſe
> Mæonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo [b].*

Publius Nigidius, ſurnamed Figulus, who was a contemporary and friend of Cicero, was a profeſſed advocate for the doctrine of Pythagoras. Cicero [c] ſpeaks of him as an accurate and penetrating inquirer into nature, and aſcribes to him the revival of that philoſophy, which formerly, for ſeveral ages, flouriſhed in the Pythagorean ſchools, both in Italy and Sicily. He was a conſiderable proficient in mathematical and aſtronomical learning, and, after the example of his maſter, applied his knowledge of nature to the pur-

[a] Liv. l. I. c. 8. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

[b] Sat. vi. v. 10.

> * ——— In Ennius' deathleſs ſtrains,
> Strains, in the mould of ſober reaſon caſt,
> When all his tranſmigrating dreams were paſt.
>
> Brewster.

[c] De Univerſitate, c. i.

poſes

poses of imposture[a]. He held frequent disputations with Cicero and his friends on philosophical questions. In civil affairs, he attached himself to the party of Pompey; and, upon Cæsar's accession to the supreme power, he was banished from Rome[b]. After his time, the Pythagorean doctrine was much neglected; few persons being now able to decipher, with accuracy, the obscure dogmas of this mysterious sect[c]."

The philosophy of the OLD ACADEMY, as it was revived and corrected by Antiochus, found many advocates at Rome. Among these, besides Lucullus, was the illustrious defender of Roman liberty, MARCUS BRUTUS. Plutarch says of him[d], that there was no Greek philosopher, on whom he did not attend, nor any sect with whose tenets he was not conversant, but that he, for the most part, embraced the doctrine of Plato, and followed the Old, rather than the New or Middle Academy; and, on this account, was a great admirer of Antiochus the Ascalonite, and admitted his brother Aristo into his confidence. Cicero relates the same, and adds[e], that "Brutus, excelling in every kind of merit, so successfully transplanted the Greek philosophy into the Latin tongue, as to render it almost unnecessary to have recourse to the original, in order to gain a competent knowledge of the subject." Notwithstanding his civil and military engagements, he wrote treatises, on *Virtue*, on *Patience*, and on the *Offices of Life*; which, though in point of style concise even to abruptness, contained an excellent summary of ethics, framed partly from the doctrines of Plato, and partly from those of the stoical school[f]: for Brutus, after his master Antiochus, was disposed to favour the union of these two sects.

[a] Apul. Apol. A. Gell. l. x. c. 11. l. xi. c. 11. l. vi. 14. Dio, l. xlv. p. 306. Suet. in Aug. c. 94. Lucan. Pharf. l. i. v. 639, &c. Macrob. Sat. l. vi. c. 8. l. ii. c. 12.

[b] Dio et Suet. l. c. A. Gell. l. xi. c. 11. Plut. in Ciceron. Cic. l. c. et Fam. Ep. l. iv. ep. 31. Euseb. Chron. 183. 4.

[c] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

[d] In Brut. t. v. p. 688, &c.

[e] In Bruto, c. ult. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 3.

[f] Plut. l. c. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. ep. 15. Ad Attic. l. xii. ep. 46. Dialog. de Cauf. corr. eloq. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 1. De Fin. l. 1. c. 3. Sen. Conf. ad Helv. c. 9.

It reflects immortal honour upon the memory of Brutus, that he was a philoſopher in actions as well as in words. His gentle manners, his noble mind, his entire ſelf-command, and his inflexible integrity, rendered him beloved by his friends, and admired by the multitude, and would not ſuffer even his enemies to hate or deſpiſe him. If it be thought, that he tarniſhed the luſtre of his merit by lifting up his hand againſt Cæſar, it ſhould be remembered, that in the ſoul of a Roman, whilſt Roman virtue remained, every private paſſion was loſt in the love of his country. The ardour of his patriotic ſpirit would not ſuffer him to ſurvive that public liberty which he could no longer preſerve; and, after the example of his uncle Cato, he fell by his own hand: an action, which, though nothing can juſtify, ſuch a ſituation may be allowed in ſome meaſure to excuſe[a].

Another ornament of the Old Academy was M. TERENTIUS VARRO, who was born at Rome in the 638th[b] year of the city. Cicero, in a letter in which he recommends him as queſtor to Brutus[c], aſſures the commander, that he would find him perfectly qualified for the poſt, and particularly inſiſts upon his good ſenſe, his indifference to pleaſure, and his patient perſeverance in buſineſs. To theſe virtues he added uncommon abilities, and large ſtores of knowledge, which qualified him for the higheſt offices of the ſtate. He attached himſelf to the party of Pompey, and in the time of the triumvirate was proſcribed with Cicero: and, though he eſcaped with his life, he ſuffered the loſs of his library, and of his own writings; a loſs, which would be ſeverely felt by one who had devoted a great part of his life to letters[d]. Returning, at length, to Rome, he ſpent his laſt years in literary leiſure. He died in the 727th year of the city. His proſe writings were exceedingly numerous, and treated of various topics in antiquities, chronology, geo-

[a] Plut. l. c. p. 706. Florus, l. iv. c. 7. Dio, lib. 47. [b] B. C. 115.
[c] Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 10.
[d] A. Gell. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. N. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 4. Sen. ad Helv. c. 8. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. v. p. 158. Aug. de Civ. D. l. iv. c. 1. l. vi. c. 2. l. xii. c. 4. l. xix. c. 1. Quint. Inſt. l. x. c. 1. Lact. l. i. c. 6.

graphy,

graphy, natural and civil hiſtory, philoſophy and criticiſm. He was, beſides, a poet of ſome diſtinction, and wrote in almoſt every kind of verſe. His piece *De re ruſtica*, "On agriculture," and a few fragments, are all that is extant of his works [a].

To Varro we may add M. PISO, whom Cicero introduces as maintaining at large the opinion of the Old Academy concerning moral ends; not, however, without a mixture of the Peripatetic doctrine, which he had learned at Athens from Staſeas, a Peripatetic preceptor [b].

The MIDDLE ACADEMY, no leſs than the Old, had its patrons at Rome. A ſmall degree of attention to the ſtate of philoſophy at this time will be ſufficient to diſcover the cauſe. The ſyſtems of the dogmatic philoſophers lay open to ſo many objections, and in many particulars reſted upon ſo precarious a foundation, as to afford great encouragement to ſcepticiſm. Many wiſe men, when they obſerved the contradictory opinions which were advanced by different ſects, and the plauſible arguments by which oppoſite doctrines were ſupported, were inclined to look upon truth as a treaſure, which lies too deep to be fathomed by the line of the human underſtanding, and contented themſelves with ſuch probable concluſions, as were ſufficient for the practical purpoſes of life. The Middle Academy, therefore, which was founded upon a conviction of the imbecility of human reaſon, without running, with the Pyrrhoniſts, into the extravagance of an entire ſuſpenſion of opinion, became a favourite ſect among the Romans. It was peculiarly ſuited to the character of a public pleader, as it left the field of diſputation perfectly free, and would inure him to the practice of collecting arguments from all quarters, on oppoſite ſides of every doubtful queſtion. Hence it was that Cicero, under the inſtruction of Philo, addicted himſelf to this ſect, and without difficulty perſuaded others to follow his example. This illuſtrious Roman, who eclipſed all his contemporaries in eloquence, has alſo

[a] Cic. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 2, 3. Quint. l. i. c. 4. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. l. 1. c. 7. p. 76.

[b] Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1.

acquired no ſmall ſhare of reputation as a philoſopher [a]. It will, therefore, be neceſſary that we enter into the particulars of his life, ſo far as may enable us to form a judgment concerning his real merit in this capacity.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum, in the 647th [b] year of the city [c]. During his childhood he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in literary conteſts with his companions, and ſtudied under ſeveral maſters, among whom he particularly mentions Plotius, a Greek preceptor, Phædrus, an Epicurean philoſopher, and Archias, the poet. He made ſeveral juvenile attempts in poetry; but, if we may judge from the few fragments of his verſes which remain, with no great degree of ſucceſs. After he had finiſhed his puerile ſtudies, he applied his mature judgment to philoſophy under Philo of Lariſſa; a philoſopher, who was held in the higheſt eſteem among the Romans, both for his learning and manners. From the ſame preceptor he alſo received inſtruction in rhetoric; for, from the firſt, Cicero made philoſophy ſubſervient to eloquence [d].

In the eighteenth year of his age, Cicero ſtudied law under the direction of Mucius Scævola, an eminent augur, to whom he was introduced by his father, when he put on the manly dreſs, with this advice, never to loſe an opportunity of converſing with that wiſe and excellent man [e]. After a ſhort interval, in which he engaged in military expeditions, firſt under Sylla, then under Pompey, he returned with great impatience to his ſtudies [f]. At this time, he put himſelf under the conſtant tuition of Diodotus, a Stoic, chiefly for the ſake of exerciſing himſelf in dialectics, which the Stoics conſidered as a re-

[a] Conf. Laët. l. i. c. 15. iii. 14. Quint. l. x. c. 1. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 17, 27. Plut. in Cicer. t. vi. p. 55. Eraſm. ep. l. xxvii. ep. 1. l. ii. ep. 26. Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. iv. c. 5. Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. § 7. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. ii. p. 165.

[b] B. C. 106.

[c] A. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Cic. in Brut. et Ep. ad Fam. l. vii. 5. l. xiii. 41.

[d] Plut. in Cic. Sueton. de Clar. Rhet. c. 2. Cic. Orat. pro Archia, c. 1. De Orat. l. iii. c. 28. Tuſc. Q. l. ii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Poet. Lat. p. 16. Fabr. B. Lat. t. 1. p. 129.

[e] Cic. de Amic. c. 1. Plut. l. c.

[f] Ib. et Cic. Philipp. xii. 11.

ſtricted kind of eloquence, but not without an aſſiduous attention to many other branches of ſtudy, in which this learned philoſopher was well qualified to inſtruct him. About the age of twenty years, he tranſlated into the Latin tongue Xenophon's *Oeconomics*, and ſeveral books of Plato. A ſpecimen of his verſion of the Timæus of Plato is preſerved in his works [a].

Having thus prepared himſelf for his profeſſion by indefatigable ſtudy, Cicero made his firſt appearance in public at twenty-ſix years of age, and pleaded in defence of Roſcius againſt the accuſation of Sylla. Soon afterwards, under the plea of recruiting his ſtrength, which he had impaired by the violence of his oratorical exertions, but perhaps chiefly through fear of Sylla, whom he had oppoſed, he withdrew to Athens. Here he attended upon Antiochus the Aſcalonite; but not approving his doctrine, which differed from that of the Middle Academy, he became a hearer of Poſidonius the Rhodian. By frequenting the ſchools of theſe and other preceptors, he acquired ſuch a love of philoſophy, that after his return to Rome, amidſt the buſineſs of the forum and the ſenate, he always found leiſure for the ſpeculations of the ſchools. Upon his ſecond appearance in public, he met with ſome diſcouragement from a prevalent opinion, that he was better qualified for the ſtudy of philoſophy than for the buſineſs of active life. But his ſuperior powers of eloquence ſoon ſubdued every prejudice againſt him, and raiſed him to the higheſt diſtinction among his fellow citizens. In the ſucceſſive offices of quæſtor, ædile, and prætor, he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. In the conſulate he obtained immortal honour by his bold and ſucceſsful oppoſition to the machinations of Cataline and his party, and received the glorious title of the Father of his Country [b].

The popularity which Cicero had acquired during his conſulſhip,

[a] In Brut. c. 90. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 16. et in Lucullo. De Off. l. ii. c. 24. Quint. l. i. c. 2. l. iii. c. 1. Hieron. Pref. in Euſeb. Chron. [b] Orat. pro Roſcio. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Quint. l. xii. c. 6. Plut. l. c. Cic. in Brut. c. 91. Orat. pro Planc. in Piſ. pro Sext. in Catal.

expoſed

expoſed him to the envy of his rivals. Soon afterwards, his unſucceſsful attempt to bring Clodius to public juſtice brought upon him the reſentment of that daring and ſeditious profligate; and, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the ſenate to protect him, the affair terminated in his baniſhment from Rome [a]. Leaving Italy, he paſſed over into Greece, and viſited his friend Plancius at Theſſalonica, who afforded him a hoſpitable aſylum. All good men lamented his diſgrace; and many Grecian cities vied with each other in offering him tokens of reſpect. But nothing could alleviate the dejection which he ſuffered, whilſt he lay under a ſentence of baniſhment from the country, which had been the ſeat of all his former honours. He remained inconſolable, till, after an interval of ſixteen months, the Clodian party was ſuppreſſed by Pompey, and, by the unanimous voice of the ſenate and people, he was recalled [b].

In Cicero's ſubſequent quæſtorſhip in Cilicia, his conduct was highly meritorious; for, he exerciſed his authority with exemplary mildneſs and integrity, and, in the midſt of war, cultivated the arts of peace. On his return, he called at Rhodes, and made a ſhort ſtay at Athens; where he had the ſatisfaction of reviſiting the places in which his youthful feet had wandered in ſearch of wiſdom, and of converſing with many of his former preceptors and friends [c].

When the flames of civil diſſention between Pompey and Cæſar began to burſt forth, Cicero uſed his utmoſt influence with each party to bring them to terms of accommodation [d]. Finding every attempt of this kind unſucceſsful, he long remained in anxious deliberation, whether he ſhould follow Pompey in a glorious and honourable, but ruined cauſe; or ſhould conſult his own ſafety, and that of his friends, by following the riſing fortunes of Cæſar. Had the latter motive preponderated, he would have liſtened to the counſel of Cæſar, who adviſed him, if on account of his advancing years he were averſe to military life, to retire into ſome remote part of Greece, and paſs the remainder of his days in tranquillity. But

[a] Dio l. xxxviii. Velleius P. l. ii. [b] Plut. l. c. Cic. Orat. pro domo ſua.
[c] Plut. l. c. [d] Ep. Fam. l. vi. ep. 6. l. vii. ep. 3. l. xii. ep. 11.

he could not perſuade himſelf to deſert the antient conſtitution of his country, which he had hitherto honeſtly defended, and, therefore, determined to join the party of Pompey. Afterwards, however, when he found that Pompey ſlighted his friendſhip, he repented of his reſolution; and, after the memorable battle of Pharſalia, inſtead of accepting the charge of the armament which lay at Dyrrachium, as Cato adviſed, he met Cæſar on his return from Aſia, and accepted his friendſhip [a].

From this time, Cicero, no longer able to ſerve his country in the manner he wiſhed, retired from public affairs, reſolving to devote himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of philoſophy. He employed the unwelcome leiſure, which the ruin of the republic afforded him, in reading or writing; and he found more ſatisfaction in converſing with the dead in his valuable library at Tuſculum, than in viſiting Rome to pay homage to Cæſar. His tranquillity was, however, ſoon interrupted by domeſtic vexations and afflictions. From cauſes which are not fully explained, he divorced his wife Terentia; and his daughter Tullia, who was married to Lentulus, died in child-bed [b].

Soon after the death of Cæſar, although it does not appear that Cicero had any concern in the conſpiracy, he fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Antony, who could not forget the ſevere Philippics which the orator had delivered againſt him. When the triumvirate was formed, and it was reciprocally agreed that ſome of the enemies of each party ſhould be given up, Antony demanded the head of Cicero. Accordingly, after much contention, and on the part of Octavius a delay of three days, Cicero was regiſtered among the hundred and thirty ſenators who were doomed to deſtruction by this ſanguinary proſcription. Apprized by his friends of his danger, he fled from place to place for ſafety; always thinking, as was natural in ſuch a ſituation, any other place more ſecure than the preſent. His laſt

[a] Plut. l. c. [b] Plut. l. c. Cic. Tuſc. Q. l. i. c. 1. De Off. l. ii. c. 1, 2. Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 77. l. ii. ep. 5. l. i. ep. 7. l. vi. ep. 19. l. ix. ep. 11. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13.

retreat was to a ſmall farm which he had at Caieta. The houſe was ſurrounded by the appointed executioners of the bloody commiſſion. After an unſucceſsful attempt of his attendants to ſave him by conveying him away on a litter towards the ſea, Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, in whoſe behalf Cicero had formerly pleaded when he was accuſed of parricide, came up to the litter, and ſtruck off his head, while ſome of the ſoldiers, who were ſtanding by, cut off his hands. Theſe mangled remains of this great man were conveyed to Antony, who, in triumphant revenge, placed them upon the *roſtra* of that pulpit from which the orations againſt him had been delivered: not however without exciting much indignation in the populace, who bitterly lamented the tragical end of this father of his country. His death happened in the 710th [a] year of the city, and in the ſixty-fourth year of his age [b].

From the whole hiſtory of the life of Cicero it appears, that, though exceedingly ambitious of glory, he wanted ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſuſtain him in the purſuit. Perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear, he was unable to ſupport with equanimity the convulſions of a diſordered ſtate, and the commotions of a civil war; and therefore was always attempting to reconcile the contending parties, when he ought to have been maintaining, by vigorous meaſures, the cauſe which he approved. He was, in his natural temper, ſo averſe to contention, that his ſpirits were depreſſed, more than became a wiſe man, by private injuries and domeſtic vexations. On many public occaſions he diſcovered a ſurprizing degree of timidity. When, under the immediate apprehenſion of danger from popular tumult, he undertook the defence of Milo, his panic was ſo great, that he was ſeized with a univerſal tremor, and was ſcarcely able to ſpeak; ſo that his client, notwithſtanding his innocence, was ſentenced to exile [c]. His chief delight was in the ſociety and converſation of learned men; and many elegant ſpecimens remain of his ability in relating, or framing, philoſophical conferences. But in

[a] B. C. 43. [b] Plut. l. c. Vid. Liv. apud Senec. App. Dion. Vell. Paterc. &c. Mart. l. iii. ep. 66. [c] Dio l. xlvi. Plut. l. c.

his

his private intercourſe with his friends, as well as in the forum and the ſenate, he diſcovered a degree of vanity ſcarcely to be reconciled with true greatneſs of mind. From theſe circumſtances, compared with the general character of his writings, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that Cicero's chief excellencies were fertility of imagination and readineſs of invention; and that his talents were better adapted to the ſplendid offices of eloquence, than to the accurate and profound inveſtigations of philoſophy.

What kind and degree of ſervice Cicero rendered to philoſophy will, in ſome meaſure, appear from a diſtinct enumeration of his philoſophical writings. On the ſubject of the philoſophy of nature, his principal works are, the fragment of his tranſlation of Plato's Timæus, entitled *De Univerſitate*, "on the Univerſe;" and his treatiſe *De Natura Deorum*, "on the Nature of the Gods," in which the opinions of the Epicureans and Stoics concerning the divine nature are diſtinctly ſtated and examined. To the ſame claſs may be referred the books "On Divination and Fate," which are imperfect, and "The Dream of Scipio" (commented upon by Macrobius) which is founded upon the Platonic doctrines concerning the ſoul of the world, and the ſtate of human ſouls after death. On moral philoſophy, Cicero treats in ſeveral diſtinct works. In his treatiſe *De Finibus*, "on Moral Ends," which is a hiſtory of the doctrine of the Grecian philoſophers concerning the ultimate ends of life, he ſtates the different opinions of the ſeveral ſects upon this ſubject, enumerates the leading arguments by which they were ſupported, and points out the difficulties which preſs upon each opinion. In his *Quæſtiones Tuſculanæ*, "Tuſculan Queſtions," he treats of the contempt of death; patience under bodily pain; the remedies of grief, anxiety and other painful perturbations of mind; and the ſufficiency of virtue to a happy life. In the dialogues entitled *Cato* and *Lælius*, he diſcourſes concerning the conſolations of old age, and concerning the duties and pleaſures of friendſhip. His explanation of "Six Stoical Paradoxes," ſeems rather to have been written as a rhetorical exerciſe, than as a ſerious diſquiſition in philoſophy. His treatiſe *De Officiis*, "on Moral Offices," ad-

dreſſed to his ſon Marcus, contains an excellent ſummary of practical ethics, written chiefly upon Stoical principles, but not without ſome mixture of the Peripatetic. The grounds of juriſprudence are explained in his book *De Legibus*, "On Laws," which is not entire. Cicero no where ſo clearly diſcovers his own opinions, as in his *Quæſtiones Academicæ*, "Academic Queſtions," of which only two books are extant, the ſecond inſcribed with the name of Lucullus. In this work he raiſes up the whole edifice of Grecian doctrine, that, after the manner of the Academic ſect, and particularly of Carneades, he may demoliſh it. As a ſtorehouſe of materials for an hiſtory of the Grecian ſects, this piece is of great value. It is much to be regretted, that, among the philoſophical works of Cicero, we do not now find his *Hortentius*, or "Exhortation to the Study of Philoſophy," which Auguſtine confeſſes operated upon his mind, as a powerful *ſtimulus* to the purſuit of wiſdom. His "Oeconomics" and "Republic" are alſo loſt.

Upon the moſt curſory inſpection of Cicero's philoſophical writings, it muſt appear, that he rather related the opinions of others, than advanced any new doctrine from his own conceptions. It may, however, be of ſome importance to inquire, more particularly, how a man, who devoted ſo much of his leiſure to ſtudy, philoſophiſed, and what tenets he eſpouſed.

Although, for reaſons already explained, Cicero attached himſelf chiefly to the Academic ſect, he did not neglect to inform himſelf of the doctrines of other ſects, and diſcovered much learning and ingenuity in refuting their dogmas. In the ſects which he rejected, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe parts of their doctrine which were moſt valuable; and he had the good ſenſe and candour to profit by wiſdom, wherever he found it. He was an admirer of the doctrine of the Stoics concerning natural equity, and civil law; and adopted their ideas concerning morals, as he himſelf informs his ſon[a], not with the ſervility of an interpreter, but with that freedom which left him the full exerciſe of his own judgment. That he held Plato in high

[a] De Off. l. 1. c. 2.

respect

respect, especially for his philosophy of nature, appears from his own words[a], and from the labour which he bestowed upon the Timæus. As he conceived the Peripatetic philosophy to differ but little, on the subject of ethics, from the Socratic, and Platonic doctrine, he paid it some respect in his moral writings[b], although in other places it fell under his censure. The sect to which he was most averse, notwithstanding that one of his earliest preceptors, and several of his intimate friends, belonged to this school, was the Epicurean[c]: and the contempt in which he held the doctrine of this sect led him to listen with too much credulity to the calumnies, with which the character of its founder was loaded.

Upon the whole, there can be no doubt that Cicero belonged to that class of Academics, who, after Carneades, whilst they confessed the imbecility of the human understanding, admitted opinions on the ground of probability. "I do not," says Cicero[d], "rank myself among those, who suffer their minds to wander in error, without any guide to direct their course. For, of what use is the human intellect, or rather, of what value is human life, if all principles, not only of reasoning, but of action be taken away? If I cannot, with many philosophers, say, that some things are certain and others uncertain, I willingly allow that some things are probable, others improbable." It may be easily perceived, from the general cast of Cicero's writings, that the Academic sect was best suited to his natural disposition. Through all his philosophical works, he paints in lively colours, and with all the graces of fine writing, the opinions of philosophers; and relates, in the diffuse manner of an orator, the arguments on each side of the question in dispute: but we seldom find him diligently examining the exact weight of evidence in the scale of reason, carefully deducing accurate conclusions from certain principles, or exhibiting a series of arguments in a close and systematic arrangement. On the contrary we frequently hear him declaiming eloquently instead of reasoning conclusively, and meet with unequi-

[a] Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 21. [b] De Off. l. i. c. 3. [c] De Orat. l. iii.
[d] De Off. l. ii. c. 2. Tusc. Q. l. ii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 4.

vocal proofs, that he was better qualified to dispute on either side with the Academics, than to decide upon the question with the Dogmatists. In fine, Cicero appears rather to have been a warm admirer, and an elegant memorialist of philosophy, than himself to have merited a place in the first order of philosophers[a].

The reader will easily perceive from what has been advanced, that, notwithstanding the great number of philosophical writings which Cicero has left, it would be in vain to attempt a delineation of his philosophical doctrines. For, following the Academic method of philosophising, he instituted no system of his own, but either employed himself in opposing the tenets of other sects, or, where he chose to dogmatise, selected from different sects such opinions, as, he apprehended, could be most plausibly supported, or would most easily admit of rhetorical decoration. In physics, if we except his translation of the *Timæus* of Plato, and what he has written in the Platonic manner in "The Dream of Scipio," Cicero has advanced nothing in his writings, which is not purely academical, and adapted to overturn the systems of the Dogmatists. In ethics, however, especially upon subjects of practical morality, he made Panætius, and other Stoics, his chief guides, and after them adopted a preceptive tone, and a systematic arrangement. But it is wholly unnecessary to enter into the detail of his moral doctrine, which is of the same colour with that of the Stoic school, except where it takes a slight tincture from the Peripatetic. With respect to theology, there is little reason to doubt that Cicero, whilst he suspended his judgment concerning the subtle questions which had agitated the Grecian schools, adhered to the fundamental principles of religion on the ground of probability, as naturally dictated by reason, and therefore commonly embraced by mankind[b].

The Stoic as well as the Academic school was patronised by many eminent men in the Roman republic. The most distinguished

[a] Aug. de Civ. Dei l. ii. c. 27. Heuman. Act. Phil. p. 459.
[b] Lib. iii. De Nat. D.

lawyers

lawyers were, as we have ſeen, inclined towards this ſect, on account of the fitneſs of its moral doctrine to the purpoſes of civil policy. Q. LUCILIUS BALBUS became ſo eminent a maſter of the Stoic philoſophy, that Cicero, in his dialogue "On the Nature of the Gods[a]," appoints him to the office of defending the Stoical theology. Several of the moſt zealous and able ſupporters of the tottering republic, derived no ſmall part of their ſtrength from the principles of Stoiciſm. But the man, who above all the reſt claims our notice, as a Stoic in character as well as opinion, is the younger Cato.

CATO OF UTICA, ſo called from the laſt memorable ſcene of his life, was a deſcendant of Cato the Cenſor, whoſe rigid virtue, as we have ſeen, oppoſed the firſt admiſſion of Grecian learning into Rome. From his childhood he diſcovered in his countenance and language, and even in his ſports, an inflexible ſpirit. He had ſuch a natural gravity of aſpect, that his features were ſcarcely ever relaxed into a ſmile. He was ſeldom angry, but when provoked, was not without difficulty appeaſed. In acquiring learning, he was ſlow of perception, but his memory faithfully retained whatever it received. Being in early life elected to the office of a *flamen* of Apollo, he made choice of Antipater, a Tyrian, of the Stoic ſect, as his preceptor in morals and juriſprudence, that, in his ſacred character he might exhibit an example of the moſt rigid virtue. His language, both in private and public, was a true image of his mind, free from all affectation of novelty or elegance; plain, conciſe, and ſomewhat harſh; but enlivened with ſtrokes of genius, which could not be heard without pleaſure. He inured himſelf to endure, without injury, the extremes of heat and cold. To expreſs his contempt of effeminate and luxurious manners, he refuſed to wear the purple robe which belonged to his rank, and often appeared in public without his tunic, and with his feet uncovered: and this he did, not for the ſake of attracting admiration, but to teach his fellow citizens, that a wiſe man ought to be aſhamed of nothing which is not in itſelf ſhameful[b].

[a] l. i. c. 4. [b] Plut. in Cat. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1. Cic. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29. Ep. Fam. xv. 5.

In

In the civil war, Cato carried his virtues with him into military life, and exhibited before his fellow commanders an example of unuſual moderation, ſobriety, and magnanimity. Whilſt he was in Macedonia, in the capacity of military tribune, it happened that his brother Cæpio, whom he had always loved, periſhed in ſhipwreck. Cato, upon this occaſion, forgot his Stoical principles, and ſo far yielded to the impulſe of nature, as to embrace, with many tears and lamentations, the dead body which had been caſt upon the ſhore, and to bury it with ſplendid ſepulchral honours. So difficult is it, by any artificial diſcipline of philoſophy, to ſubdue the feelings of nature[a]. During his reſidence in Greece, Cato having heard of an eminent Stoic, Athenodorus Cordyliones, who had rejected the proffered friendſhip of ſeveral princes, and was now paſſing his old age in retirement at Pergamus, reſolved if poſſible to make him his friend; and, as he had no hopes of ſucceeding by meſſage, undertook, for this ſole purpoſe, a voyage into Aſia. Upon the interview, Athenodorus found in Cato a ſoul ſo congenial with his own, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to accompany him into Greece, and, after the term of Cato's military ſervice was expired, to reſide with him, as his companion and friend, at Rome. Cato boaſted of this acquiſition, more than of all his military exploits. After his return, he devoted his time either to the ſociety of Athenodorus, and his other philoſophical friends, or to the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, in the forum[b].

When Cato had, by diligent ſtudy, qualified himſelf for the duties of magiſtracy, he accepted of the office of quæſtor. He corrected the abuſes of this important truſt, which negligence or diſhoneſty had introduced, and by his upright and ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice merited the higheſt applauſe. In every other capacity, he manifeſted the ſame inviolable regard to truth and integrity. Whilſt he was engaged in the buſineſs of the ſenate, he was indefatigable in the diſcharge of his ſenatorial duty: and even when he was

[a] Plut. ib. [b] Plut. ib.

among

among his philoſophical friends at his farm in Lucania, he never interrupted his attention to the welfare of the ſtate. It was during a receſs of this kind, that he diſcovered the danger which threatened the republic from the machinations of Metellus; and, with a truly patriotic ſpirit, he inſtantly determined, that private enjoyment ſhould give way to public duty. That he might be in a capacity to oppoſe with effect the deſigns of Metellus, he offered himſelf candidate for the office of Tribune of the people; and, being choſen, executed the office (notwithſtanding the illiberal jeſts which Cicero, inconſiſtently enough with his general profeſſions and character, on this occaſion caſt upon his Stoical virtue) with a degree of probity, candour and independence, which fully eſtabliſhed the public opinion of his ſuperior merit[a].

At a period when the Roman affairs were in the utmoſt confuſion, and powerful factions were repeatedly formed againſt the ſtate, Cato withſtood the aſſaults which were made upon liberty by Marcellus, Pompey, Cæſar and others, with ſuch a firm and reſolute adherence to the principles of public virtue, that no apprehenſion of danger to himſelf or his family could ever induce him to liſten to any propoſal, which implied a treacherous deſertion of his country. Whilſt ſome were ſupporting the intereſt of Cæſar, and others that of Pompey, Cato, himſelf a hoſt, withſtood them both, and convinced them that there was another intereſt ſtill exiſting, that of the ſtate. When he ſaw that the neceſſity of the times required it, in order that, of two impending evils, the leaſt might be choſen, he perſuaded the ſenate to create Pompey ſole conſul, that, if poſſible, he might cruſh the growing power of Cæſar, which threatened deſtruction to the freedom of the republic. It was with this deſign alone, that, upon Cæſar's approach towards Rome, he declared himſelf on the ſide of Pompey, and that he afterwards became a companion of his flight, and at the head of an army ſupported his

[a] Plut. ib. Cic. Pref. parad. Epiſt. Fam. xv. 5. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29.

caufe. The fame public fpirit afterwards prompted him to endeavour to fave his country from the laft extremities of civil war, by propofing a reconciliation between the contending powers. And when Pompey treated the propofal with neglect, and feemed to diftruft the adviser, Cato, ftill true to the caufe of freedom, at the battle of Dyrrachium roufed the languid fpirit of the foldiers by an animated addrefs; but afterwards when, in the courfe of the engagement, he faw his countrymen butchering one another, he bitterly lamented the fatal effects of ambition [a].

After the battle of Pharfalia, which at once cut off the hopes of Pompey, Cato, with a fmall band of felect friends, and fifteen cohorts, of which Pompey had given him the command, ftill attempted to fupport the expiring caufe of liberty. His determination was, to follow Pompey into Egypt, and there fhare his fate: but when he arrived upon the African coaft, he was met by Sextus, Pompey's younger fon, who informed him of his father's death. Cato, upon hearing thefe tidings, marched the fmall force which was under his command into Lybia, to meet Scipio, Pompey's father in law, and Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government in Africa, and who were paying their court to Juba. Though ftrongly importuned, he refufed to take the command of the African forces from thofe officers, to whom it had been legally appointed: but, at the requeft of Scipio, and of the inhabitants, he took the charge of Utica [b].

The defeat of Scipio and Juba, in the battle of Thapfus, contracted the remaining ftrength of the Roman republic, within the walls of this fmall city. Here Cato, as his laft effort in the fervice of his country, convened his little fenate to deliberate upon meafures for the public good. Their confultations proved ineffectual; and Cato defpaired of being longer able to ferve his country. He therefore advifed his friends to provide for their fafety by flight, but, for his own part, refolved not to furvive the liberties of Rome. At the

[a] Plut. ib. Vell. Flor. Dio. &c. Sen. Ep. 95. 14. [b] Plut.

close

close of an evening, in which he had conversed with more than usual spirit on topics of philosophy, he retired with great cheerfulness into his chamber, where, after reading a portion of Plato's *Phædo*, he ordered his sword to be brought. His attendants delayed; and his son and friends importuned him to desist from his purpose. The stern philosopher dismissed them from his apartment, and again took up the book. After a short interval, he executed his purpose by stabbing himself below the breast. By those who have been better instructed, this action will, doubtless, be deemed criminal; and will be imputed to rashness, or to weakness. But it should be remembered, that the situation of Cato, in concurrence with his Stoical principles, strongly impelled him to this fatal deed; and that whatever censure he may deserve on this account, he supported, through his whole life, a character of inflexible integrity, and uncorrupted public spirit. Whilst he lived, he held up before his fellow-citizens a pattern of manly virtue; and when he died, he taught the conquerors of the world, that the noble mind can never be subdued [a].

—— Cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis [b]. *

The PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY found its way into Rome, in the time of Sylla, with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. That tyrant, during the siege of Athens, had shewn his contempt of the Muses, by sacrilegiously invading their antient seats, the groves of Academus, and the Lyceum, in order to furnish himself with materials for carrying on the assault: and when the city fell into his hands, among other articles of plunder, he became possessed of the library of Apellicon, who, as we have before related, had purchased

[a] Plut. l. c. Conf. Florus, l. iv. c. 2. Senec. ep. 20, 24, 26. De Providentia, c. 2. Arr. Epict. l. i. diss. 9, 24.

[b] Hor. Carm. l. ii. Od. i. v. 24. Conf. Lucan. l. ii. v. 385. l. ix. 581, &c.

* —— I see the world subdued,
All but the mighty soul of Cato.

the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus from their illiterate deſcendants, in whoſe hands they had long lain concealed. This rich prize was brought to Rome, and ſoon engaged the attention of thoſe who knew the value of Greek learning. Tyrannio, an eminent grammarian and critic, whom Lucullus had brought as a captive from Pontus, and whoſe learning and genius ſoon procured him liberty, and raiſed him to diſtinction, obtained permiſſion to peruſe, and, wherever he choſe, tranſcribe the manuſcripts. His firſt care was, to bring to light the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus. When Andronicus Rhodius, who was not ignorant of the fame of theſe philoſophers, was informed of Tyrannio's good fortune, he was exceedingly deſirous of poſſeſſing the writings of theſe philoſophers, and engaged Tyrannio to give him an exact copy of the originals. Finding, upon peruſal, that they were in many places imperfect, through the decay of the materials upon which they were written, he ſupplied the deficiencies by conjecture, and at the ſame time attempted to illuſtrate obſcure paſſages by notes. In this corrected, or rather adulterated ſtate, theſe works of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus were diſperſed among the Romans[a].

The obſcurity of the writings of Ariſtotle greatly obſtructed the progreſs of the Peripatetic philoſophy. Cicero, in the preface to his Topics, written after the death of Cæſar, relates[b], that Trebatius, a celebrated lawyer, meeting with Ariſtotle's treatiſe on Topics in Cicero's library, attempted to read it, but was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a ſkilful rhetorician; and, after all, complained to Cicero, that he was unable to underſtand the work. Cicero replied, "I am not at all ſurprized, that your rhetorician could not explain to you the writings of this philoſopher, who is underſtood by very few even of the philoſophers themſelves." But, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the doctrine of Ariſtotle was not without its admirers and patrons in Rome. Cato, though entirely devoted to the Stoic philoſophy, had among his philoſophical friends Demetrius, a

[a] Plut. in Sylla et Lucullo. Heſych. & Suidas in Tyran. Porphyr. Vit. Plotin. c. 26.
[b] Ad Trebatium.

Peripatetic, and converſed with him a little before his death[a]. Craſſus paid ſome attention to the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and employed Alexander Antiochenus, of this ſchool, as his preceptor[b]. Piſo, whom Cicero repreſents as well read in philoſophy, had with him, many years, a Peripatetic of ſome note, named Staſeas[c]. The father of Roman eloquence himſelf, notwithſtanding his predilection for the Academic ſect, gave ſufficient proof that he had ſome reſpect for the Peripatetic philoſophy, by undertaking to explain the Topics of Ariſtotle; by mixing ſeveral things from his ſchool with the Stoical doctrine of morals, in his Offices; and, above all, by committing the charge of his ſon's education at Athens to Cratippus, the Peripatetic, whom he pronounces to be, in his judgment, not only the firſt of all the Peripatetics, but the moſt excellent philoſopher of his age[d]. Brutus, when he paſſed with his army into Greece, during his ſtay at Athens, attended upon Theomneſtus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, and converſed with them upon philoſophy[e]. And Pompey, after his defeat at Pharſalia, meeting with Cratippus at Mytilene, diſcourſed with him concerning divine providence[f].

The EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY, in conſequence of the violent oppoſition which it had met with in Greece from the Stoics, and the irregularities which had been practiſed by ſome of its followers, entered Rome under a heavy load of obloquy. This was greatly increaſed by the vehemence with which Cicero inveighed againſt this ſect, and by the eaſy credit which he gave to the calumnies induſtriouſly circulated againſt its founder[g]. Neverthelefs, there were many perſons of high diſtinction in Rome, to whom the character of Epicurus appeared leſs cenſurable, and who were of opinion that true philoſophy was to be found in his garden. Among theſe were

[a] Plut. in Cat. [b] Id. in Craſſo. [c] Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1. De Orat. l. i. c. 22. [d] De Univ. c. 1. De Off. l. iii. c. 2. l. i. c. 1. Ep. Fam. l. xvi. ep. 21. Plut. in Cic. [e] Plut. in Bruto. [f] Id. in Pomp.
[g] Cic. de Fin. l. ii. Tuſc. Q. l. i. 3. Fam. ep. xiii. 1. Orat. in Piſonem, c. 28.

Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Piſo, Albutius, Panſa, and Atticus[a]; men of reſpectable characters in Rome, ſeveral of whom lived in habits of intimacy with Cicero[b]. Atticus, particularly, was his boſom friend, to whom he wrote many confidential letters, afterwards collected in ſixteen books, and preſerved among his works. Fond of literary leiſure, Atticus withdrew from the diſturbances of the ſtate to Athens, where he was highly reſpected by the citizens of every rank. Here he ſtudied the doctrines of Epicurus, under Phædrus and Zeno the Sidonian. That he entirely devoted himſelf to this ſchool, appears from many paſſages in the writings of Cicero, and from the particulars of his life, given by Cornelius Nepos. C. Caſſius, too, according to Plutarch[c], is to be added to the liſt of Epicureans. Several Greek philoſophers of this ſect enjoyed the patronage of illuſtrious Romans, among whom may be particularly mentioned Patro, whom Cicero recommended to the protection of Memmius[d].

Some admirers of Epicurus attempted to introduce his philoſophy into Rome in the Latin tongue. Amafanius, Catius Inſuber, and others, borrowing their notions of pleaſure, not from the founder of the ſchool, but from ſome of his degenerate followers, under the notion of Epicurean doctrine wrote precepts of luxury. Quintilian[e] ſpeaks of Catius as an amuſing trifler: Horace thus ridicules him[f]:

Unde et quo Catius? non eſt mihi tempus aventi
Ponere ſigna novis preceptis, qualia vincant
Pythagoram, Anytique reum, doctumque Platona.*

[a] Gaſſend. de Vit. Epic. l. i. c. 6. [b] Ac. Qu. l. iv.
[c] Plut. in Brut. t. v. p. 690. 711. Cic. Phil. ii. [d] Fam. ep. xiii. c. 1.
[e] Inſt. l. i. c. 1. [f] Sat. l. ii. ſ. 4.

* Whence comes my Catius? whither in ſuch haſte?
I have no time in idle prate to waſte:
I muſt away, to treaſure in my mind
A ſet of precepts novel and refin'd;
Such as Pythagoras could never reach,
Nor Socrates, nor ſcienc'd Plato teach. FRANCIS.

The

The true doctrine of Epicurus was not fully ſtated by any Roman writer, till Lucretius, with much accuracy of conception and clearneſs of method, as well as with great ſtrength and elegance of diction, unfolded the Epicurean ſyſtem in his poem *De Rerum Natura*; "*On the Nature of Things.*" That T. CARUS LUCRETIUS was a Roman, is certain, but it is doubtful whether he was of the antient and noble family of the Lucretii. He was born, according to Euſebius, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and fifty-nine[a]. Of his parentage and education little is known, but it is probable that he was ſent to Athens, and there ſtudied philoſophy under Zeno the Sidonian, and Phædrus. Towards the cloſe of his life he was often inſane; and it was during his lucid intervals that he wrote his celebrated poem. It is addreſſed to his friend and patron Memmius: it was reviſed by Cicero, and is ſtill extant. Lucretius died by his own hand, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and in the ſeven hundred and third year of Rome[b].*

The PYRRHONIC or SCEPTIC ſect was not followed among the Romans: not becauſe the method of philoſophiſing adopted by this ſect had no admirers, but becauſe it was ſuperſeded by the Academic philoſophy, which purſued the ſame track, but with greater caution and ſobriety. The heights of extravagance, to which the Sceptics had by this time advanced, both in theory and practice, had brought ſuch a general odium upon the ſect, that although Æneſidemus attempted to revive Pyrrhoniſm at Alexandria, and inſcribed his works to Lucius Tubero, an illuſtrious Roman, it does not appear that Rome gave any public countenance to the Sceptic philoſophy[c].†

[a] B. C. 94.

[b] Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Lambin. Giſan. Bayl. de Vit. Lucr. Voſs. de Poet. Lat. p. 15.

* B. C. 50.

[c] Cic. de Fin. l. ii.

† Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 63. Gaudent. de Phil. apud Rom. initio, &c. Piſ. 1643. Cellarii Diſſ. de Stud. Rom. Budd. de Stud. Lib. ap. Rom. Falſter. Qu. Rom. Schilter. Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Juriſprud. Everard. Otto de

Stoica

Stoica Jurifconf. Ph. Horn. Hift. Phil. l. iv. c. 4, 5. Vofs. de Hift. Lat. l. i. c. 7. 16. P. Blount Cenf. Auth. p. 60. Cozzand. de Magifterio Antiq. Phil. l. iii. p. 231. Huet de la Foibleffe, &c. l. i. c. 14. § 25. Scaligeriana Prim. p. 146. Ciceronis Vita á Mylæo, Bullingero, A. de Scarparia, Conft. Felice, C. Preyfio, Corrado, P. Ramo, Lambino, Brantio, Herbefto, Chytræo, Vallamberto, Cappello, Sagittario, Mafenio, Middleton. Kircher in Latio. c. ii. Reimman. Syft. Ant. Lit. p. 496. Perizonius de Erud. et Induft. Cic. Franeq. 1682. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. iii. l. i. c. 17. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. § 17. Jafonis de Nores Inftit. in Cic. Phil. Pat. 1597. Lipf. 1721. Bufcheri Ethic. Cic. Parker's Apology, Lond. 1702. Wopken's Lection. Tull. Amft. 1730. Voff. de Poet. Lat. p. 15. Suidas. Bayle.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

SECT. I.

OF THE GENERAL STATE OF PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE EMPERORS.

IN the midft of the commotions and changes which took place in the Roman ftate, at the period when it loft its liberty, and became fubject to the arbitrary controul of a monarch; whilft almoft every thing elfe affumed a new afpect, philofophy ftill retained its

ſtation, and appeared with increaſing luſtre. This is, perhaps, chiefly to be aſcribed to the cultivated taſte, and elegant manners of the Auguſtan age. Many perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Rome, with Auguſtus himſelf, were patrons of literature and ſcience. During the reign of this prince, ſo generally prevalent was the ſtudy of philoſophy, that almoſt every ſtateſman, lawyer, and man of letters, was converſant with the writings of philoſophers, and diſcovered a bias towards ſome antient ſyſtem. And this taſte continued through ſeveral ſucceeding ages, even under thoſe emperors, who were more addicted to pleaſure than to wiſdom; till, in proceſs of time, the diſtinction of ſects was confounded in that monſtrous production of Monkiſh ignorance, the Scholaſtic philoſophy.

The ſentiments and language of almoſt all the Roman Poets were tinctured with the philoſophy of ſome Grecian ſect.

VIRGIL, whoſe immortal works remain a perfect model of poetic harmony and elegance, was in his youth inſtructed by Syro in the doctrine of Epicurus; and the ſpirit of this doctrine appears in ſeveral parts of his writings. It is true, that after the uſual practice of poets, and other writers of this period, he introduces alluſions to the dogmas of different ſects, where he judged that they might ſerve to illuſtrate and adorn his ſubject. Thus, in the fourth Georgic, he derives the origin of things, after the Stoics, from a divine principle, pervading the whole maſs of matter[a]:

His quidam ſignis atque hæc exempla ſecuti,
Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, et hauſtus
Ætherios dixere: deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac reſoluta referri

[a] v. 220.

Omnia:

Omnia: nec morti eſſe locum, ſed viva volare
Sideris in numerum atque alto ſuccedere cœlo[a].

In another place[b] the poet introduces Anchiſes philoſophiſing upon the ſame principles:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet, &c.[c]

Virgil's whole doctrine concerning a future ſtate, diveſted of its mythological clothing, proceeds, indeed, upon the Stoic, rather than the Platonic, or Pythagoric ſyſtem. It muſt not however be hence inferred, that he was himſelf a Stoic. In the paſſages juſt quoted, he relates the opinions of others, and expreſsly introduces the former as ſuch: *His* QUIDAM *ſignis*. But in other parts of his works, he makes uſe of the doctrine and language of the Epicurean ſchool: for example[d]:

[a] Led by ſuch wonders ſages have opin'd,
That bees have portions of a heav'nly mind;
That God pervades, and like one common ſoul,
Fills, feeds, and animates the world's great whole;
That flocks, herds, beaſts, and men from him receive
Their vital breath, in him all move and live;
That ſouls diſcerpt from him ſhall never die,
But back reſolv'd to God and heav'n ſhall fly,
And live for ever in the ſtarry ſky. J. WARTON.

[b] Æn. vi. v. 724.

[c] Know firſt a ſpirit with an active flame
Pervades and animates the mighty frame,
Runs through the wat'ry worlds, the fields of air,
The pond'rous earth, the depths of heav'n, and there
Glows in the ſun and moon, and burns in every ſtar:
Thus mingling with the maſs, the general ſoul
Lives in the parts, and agitates the whole. PITT.

[d] Ecl. vi. v. 31, &c.

Namque

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque marisve fuissent
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis [a].

And again [b]:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari [c]!

The predilection of Virgil for the Epicurean system may be also inferred from his intimate acquaintance with the poem of Lucretius, to which, in the course of his works, he is frequently indebted. It must not be omitted, that Virgil, in the fifty-second year of his age, set out for Greece, with the design of putting the finishing hand to his Æneid, and then devoting the remainder of his days to the study of philosophy: but that, being seized with illness upon his journey, he returned to Brundisium, and died. He was buried, according to his request, at Naples [d].

HORACE, through all his writings breathes the Epicurean spirit, and sometimes appears to confess his partiality to this school [e]. But we are not to suppose that he entertained a very serious attachment to any system of philosophy. He was rather disposed to ridicule the

[a] He sung, at universal nature's birth,
How seeds of water, fire, and air, and earth,
Fell thro' the void; whence order rose, and all
The beauties of this congregated ball. J. WARTON.

[b] Georg. ii. v. 490, &c.

[c] Happy the man, whose vigorous soul can pierce
Through the formation of this universe!
Who nobly dares despise, with soul sedate,
The din of Acheron, and vulgar fears, and fate.
Id.

[d] Donatus de Vit. Virgil. ed. H. Steph. p. 6.

[e] Ep. l. i. ep. 4. Carm. l. ii. od. 34.

folly of all the ſects, than to become a ſtrenuous advocate for any one of them. He had indeed, when young, ſtudied philoſophy in the Academy at Athens [a]:

Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
Atque inter ſilvas Academi quærere verum [b].

But he expreſsly aſſerts his independence, and diſclaims ſubjection to the authority of any maſter [c]:

Quid verum atque decens curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum;
Condo, et compono, quæ mox depromere poſſim:
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter;
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri,
Quo me cunque rapit tempeſtas, deferor hoſpes.
Nunc agilis fio, et merſor civilibus undis;
Virtutis veræ cuſtos rigiduſque ſatelles,
Nunc in Ariſtippi furtim præcepta relabor [d].

[a] Ep. l. ii. ep. 2. v. 43.

[b] Athens, kind nurſe of ſcience, led my youth
From error's maze to the ſtraight path of truth;
In ſearch of wiſdom taught my feet to rove
Thro' the learn'd ſhades of Academus' grove.

[c] Ep. l. i. ep. 1. v. 11, &c.

[d] What right, what true, what fit we juſtly call,
This ſhall be all my care; for this is all:
To lay this harveſt up, and hoard with haſte
What every day will want, e'en to the laſt.
But aſk not to what teacher I apply;
Sworn to no maſter, of no ſect am I:
Still as the tempeſt drives I ſhape my way;
Now active plunge into the world's wide ſea;
Now virtue's precepts rigidly defend,
Nor to the world — the world to me ſhall bend.
Now down a ſtream more yielding ſmoothly glide,
And the gay Ariſtippus make my guide.

The

The works of OVID abound with paſſages, which prove him to have been well acquainted with the Greek philoſophy, and particularly with the antient theogonies. In his *Metamorphoſes* he introduces the doctrines of the Pythagorean ſchool concerning the tranſmigration of the ſoul, and the viciſſitudes of nature [a]. But no certain judgment can be formed concerning his philoſophical opinions, from tenets which are introduced merely to embelliſh a work of imagination.

MANILIUS, in his aſtronomical poem, dedicated to Auguſtus, ſtrenuouſly oppoſes the doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature, and maintains with the Stoics, that God is the ſoul of the world, pervading and animating all things [b]:

> Quis credat tantas operum ſine numine moles
> Ex minimis cæcoque creatum fœdere mundum [c]? &c.

LUCAN, in his *Pharſalia*, diſcovers a ſtrong affection for the Stoic ſchool, in which he was educated by Cornutus, an eminent preceptor afterwards to be noticed. He expreſſes, in forcible and beautiful language, ſeveral of the fundamental tenets of the ſect: for example [d];

> ——— Sic cum compage ſoluta
> Secula tot mundi ſuprema coegerit hora,
> Antiquum repetent iterum chaos omnia, miſtis
> Sidera ſideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
> Aſtra petent, tellus extendere litora nolet,
> Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbo
> Ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem

[a] L. xv. v. 150, &c. [b] L. i v. 492. Conf. l. ii. v. 61.

[c] Who, that beholds the pond'rous orbs on high,
Will ſay, that atoms, floating in the void,
Without a guide could form this wond'rous world? &c.

[d] L. i. v. 74, &c.

 Indignata,

Indignata, diem poſcet ſibi: totaque diſcors
Machina divulſi turbabit fœdera mundi [a].

The Stoic virtues Lucan thus repreſents in the character of Cato:

——— Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, ſervare modum, finemque tenere
Naturamque ſequi, patriæque impendere vitam:
Nec ſibi ſed toti genitum ſe credere mundo.
Huic epulæ, viciſſe famem: magnique penates,
Submoviſſe hiemem tecto: pretioſaque veſtis
Hirtam membra ſuper, Romani more Quiritis,
Induxiſſe togam: Veneris huic maximus uſus,
Progenies: urbi pater eſt, urbique maritus:
Juſtitiæ cultor, rigidi ſervator honeſti;
In commune bonus: nulloſque Catonis in actus
Subrepſit, partemque tulit ſibi nata voluptas [b].*

PERSIUS,

[a] So ſhall one hour, at laſt, this globe controul,
Break up the vaſt machine, diſſolve the whole:
Then Chaos hoar ſhall ſeize his former right,
And reign with anarchy and endleſs night:
The ſtarry lamps ſhall combat in the ſky,
And loſt and blended in each other, die:
Quench'd in the deep, the heav'nly fires ſhall fall,
And ocean caſt abroad o'erſpread the ball:
The moon no more her well known courſe ſhall run,
But riſe from weſtern waves and meet the ſun:
Ungoverned ſhall ſhe quit her antient way,
Herſelf ambitious to ſupply the day:
Confuſion wild ſhall all around be hurl'd,
And diſcord and diſorder tear the world. ROWE.

[a] L. ii. v. 380, &c.

* Theſe were the ſtricter manners of the man,
And this the ſtubborn courſe in which they ran:
The golden mean unchanging to purſue,
Conſtant to keep the purpoſed end in view;

Religiouſly

PERSIUS, who was alſo inſtructed by Cornutus, was a zealous advocate for the Stoical doctrine of morals. Of this his third ſatire affords a ſtriking example; where, in the perſon of a Stoic philoſopher, he reproves the Roman youth for idleneſs and effeminacy, and recommends to them the ſtudy of philoſophy as the beſt guide to virtue and happineſs.

Diſcite, o miſeri, et cauſas cognoſcite rerum
Quid ſumus, et quidnam victuri gignimur, ordo
Quis datus, aut metæ quam mollis flexus, et unde,
Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid aſper
Utile nummus habet, patriæ cariſque propinquis
Quantum elargire deceat; quem te Deus eſſe
Juſſit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re [a].*

The

Religiouſly to follow nature's laws,
And die with pleaſure in his country's cauſe,
To think he was not for himſelf deſign'd,
But born to be of uſe to all mankind.
To him 'twas feaſting, hunger to repreſs,
And home-ſpun garments were his coſtly dreſs:
No marble pillars rear'd his roof on high,
'Twas warm, and kept him from the winter ſky:
He ſought no end of marriage but increaſe,
Nor wiſh'd a pleaſure, but his country's peace:
That occupied the tendereſt cares of life,
His country was his children and his wife.
From juſtice' righteous lore he never ſwerv'd,
But rigidly his honeſty preſerv'd.
On univerſal good his thoughts were bent,
Nor knew what gain, or ſelf-affection meant;
And while his benefits the public ſhare,
Cato was always laſt in Cato's care. ROWE.

[a] Sat. iii. v. 66, &c.

* Attend then, wretched youth, in time attend,
To ev'ry natural cauſe, and moral end.

Look

The tragic Poet SENECA every where discovers what sect of philosophers he espoused: in his dramatic writings, Stoic philosophy treads the stage in buskins.

What has been said concerning the philosophical character of the Roman poets, may also be asserted of the historians. The writings of LIVY, SALLUST, TACITUS, and others, are not without proofs, that they had profited by the study of philosophy [a]. STRABO, in his excellent geographical work, casts much light upon the subject of philosophy, and discovers himself to have been well read in the history and tenets of the Grecian sects. He classes himself among the Stoics, and follows their dogmas [b].

We might add to the list of those Romans, who studied philosophy, and were patrons of philosophers, the names of many persons of rank; such as MÆCENAS, whose liberal attention to learned men of all descriptions has immortalized his name;—CANIUS JULUS [c], who met the death inflicted upon him by Caligula with Stoic firmness, expressing his satisfaction that he was so soon to make the experiment which would determine whether the soul is immortal;—THRASÆAS PÆTUS, a Roman senator, who in his life emulated the virtues of Cato, and in whose death Nero, says Tacitus, hoped to cut

> Look into man with philosophic eye;
> Consider what we are, consider why:
> The race of life contemplate; how to start,
> And how to turn the goal with nicest art.
> Learn, to what limits wealth should be confin'd,
> Learn to what uses 'twas by heav'n assign'd.
> Reflect, what pray'rs with reason we may frame;
> What debts our friends, our parents, country, claim.
> Know, we are posted here by power divine;
> And think, what post that power has destin'd thine.
>
> BREWSTER.

[a] Senec. Ep. 100. Lipf. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. i. diss. 17.
[b] Vid. Geogr. l. i. ii. xiv. xvi.
[c] Sen. de Tranq. c. 14.

off virtue herſelf[a];—together with many others, not inferior in merit, who flouriſhed at this period. But we muſt haſten to conſider more diſtinctly the ſtate of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers under the Emperors *.

[a] Tac. An. l. xv. c. 20. l. xvi. c. 21. Plin. l. viii. ep. 22.

* Vidend. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 815. Bib. Lat. l. i. c. 4. t. ii. p. 381. 364. Gaudentius. c. 124. Cudworth. c. v. § 4. § 29. c. iv. § 14. 20. Stoll. Hiſt. Mor. Gent. § 195, 208.

SECT. 2.

OF THE PHILOSOPHERS WHO REVIVED THE PYTHAGORIC SECT.

AFTER the ſociety of the Pythagoreans in *Magna Græcia* was broken up, the ſect was never revived as a diſtinct body, ſubject to the inſtitutions of its founder. Even at Athens, where ſo many regular ſchools of philoſophy flouriſhed, this was never attempted. We are not therefore to expect, that, in the time of the Roman Emperors, when, as Seneca complains[a], "no one attended to philoſophy, or any liberal ſtudy, except to fill up the tedious intervals of public amuſements, or to occupy the heavy hours of a rainy day," the Pythagoric ſect ſhould appear with all the formalities of an eſtabliſhed ſchool. But we ſhall find, during this period, philoſophers who embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras as far as they were then known, or who attempted to introduce a mode of living, in ſome degree ſimilar to that of the antient Pythagoreans. There

[a] Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

were alſo many who boaſted, that they poſſeſſed the true Pythagorean wiſdom, but who in fact perverted and corrupted it, by blending with it the doctrines of Plato and other philoſophers. Theſe latter, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eclectics, will be treated of in a diſtinct ſection. Of the former, the philoſophers, whoſe celebrity entitles them to particular notice, are Anaxilaus, Sextus, Sotion, Moderatus, Apollonius Tyanæus, Secundus, and Nicomachus.

Anaxilaus of Lariſſa, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, profeſſed himſelf a follower of Pythagoras[a], but chiefly that he might obtain the greater credit to the pretenſions which he made to an intimate acquaintance with the myſteries of nature. Pliny[b] relates ſeveral curious arts, by which he raiſed the wonder and terror of the ignorant multitude, among which was that of giving a livid and ghaſtly hue to the countenance by means of ſulphureous flame. It is probable, that he practiſed his deceptions under the notion of ſupernatural operations; for he was baniſhed from Italy, by the order of Auguſtus, for the crime of magic[c].

Quintus Sextius, as long as the republic exiſted was a zealous ſupporter of the liberties of Rome; but when he ſaw the tyranny and cruelty of the triumvirate, he deſpaired of being longer able to ſerve his country, and determined to devote the remainder of his days to philoſophy. Naturally of a gloomy temper, which was increaſed by the calamities of the times, Sextius made an attempt to ſubject his countrymen to a rigorous kind of diſcipline, hitherto unknown among them. The particulars of this attempt, which proved abortive, are not preſerved: but it is more probable, that he endeavoured to revive the rigours of the Pythagoric ſchool, than that, contrary to the univerſal practice of the Romans, he undertook, as Seneca has been underſtood to aſſert, the inſtitution of a ſect entirely new[d]. On account of the noble ſpirit of intrepid

[a] Euſeb. Chron. [b] N. Hiſt. l. xix. c. 1. l. xxviii. c. 11. l. xxxv. c. 15. Iræn. l. 1. c. 7. Epiphan. Hær. 34. [c] Euſeb. l. c.
[d] Sen. Ep. 98. 59. Plin. l. xviii. c. 28. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32. Plutarch de Sent. Virt. Prof. t. i. p. 186.

virtue

virtue which his writings expressed, Seneca ranked him among the Stoics: but this seems rather designed as a rhetorical encomium upon his character, than as an accurate relation of his philosophical principles. From the circumstance of his making choice of Sotion, a Pythagorean, for his preceptor; from his abstaining from animal food, and following the Pythagorean rule of reviewing his actions at the close of every day; but especially from the nature of the institution which he planned, it appears highly probable, that Sextius was a follower of Pythagoras [a]. But whatever may be thought of his sect, the manner in which Seneca speaks of his writings leaves little room to doubt, that he was an excellent practical moralist. "You will find," says he [b], "in his writings, a degree of vigour and spirit seldom to be met with in any other philosopher. Other moralists prescribe, argue, cavil; but they inspire the reader with no ardour, because they themselves possess none. But when you read Sextius, you say, he is alive, animated, bold, and even rises above humanity. He sends me away full of hardy confidence. Whatever be my disposition when I take up his writings, I confess to you, I never lay them down without being ready to invite calamity, and to exclaim, Let fortune do her worst, I am prepared: give me some great occasion for the exercise of my patience, and the display of my virtue. Sextius hath this excellence, that he shews you the value of a happy life, and forbids you to despair of attaining it. You see the prize placed on high, but not inaccessible to him who ardently pursues it: virtue presents herself in person before you, at once to excite your admiration, and inspire you with hope." Writings, upon which such an encomium could with any degree of propriety be passed, must have been a valuable treasure. But we have to regret, that we cannot form a judgment of their merit; for it is very uncertain, whether the piece, published under the title of *Sententiæ*

[a] Euseb. Chron. n. 2010. Lips. ad Sen. ep. 59. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale Præf. ad Sententias Sexti, apud Opusc. myth.

[b] Sen. Ep. 6. Vid. ep. 73. 108. De Ira l. iii. c. 36.

Sexti Pythagorei, "Sentences of Sextus the Pythagorean," be the genuine work of this moralist[a].

Under the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius flourished SOTION ALEXANDRINUS[b], the preceptor of Seneca, who says of him, that he inspired him with a great respect for the institution of Pythagoras, and especially for the custom of abstaining from animal food. Hence it seems not unreasonable to class Sotion among the Pythagoreans, although his moral doctrine, as represented by Seneca[c], is tinctured with Stoicism. This may be the more easily admitted, as Zeno himself had raised a great part of his system upon Pythagoric principles. Passages said to have been written by Sotion are preserved in Stobæus[d], and in Antoninus and Maximus[e]; but their authenticity is doubtful.

MODERATUS, who lived in the time of Nero, must also be ranked among the followers of Pythagoras[f]. He deserves mention, chiefly because he collected, from various antient records, the remains of the Pythagoric doctrine, and illustrated it in several distinct treatises, particularly in eleven books "On the tenets of the Pythagorean sect." His works were much read and admired by Origen, Jamblichus, Porphyry, and others of the Alexandrian school.

APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS was another follower of the Pythagoric doctrine and discipline. The principle circumstances of his life, as far as credit can be given to his fabulous biographer, Philostratus, are as follows[g].

Apollonius, of an antient and wealthy family in Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, was born about the commencement of the Christian æra. At fourteen years of age, his father took him to Tarsus, to be instructed by Euthydemus, a rhetorician; but he soon became dissa-

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 732. Galei Opuscula, p. 645. ed Amst. Sextii Enchir. a Sibero. Lips. 1725. 4to. [b] Euseb. Chron. [c] Ep. 108. Lips. in Ep. 49. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 412. [d] Serm. 98. [e] Serm. 99.

[f] Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 7. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 48.

[g] Vid. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. passim. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius.

tisfied

tisfied with the luxury and indolence of the citizens, and obtained permiſſion from his father to remove, with his preceptor, to Ægas, a neighbouring town, where was a temple of Eſculapius. Here he converſed with Platoniſts, Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, and became acquainted with their doctrines. But, finding the Pythagorean tenets and diſcipline more conſonant to his own views and temper, than thoſe of any other ſect, he made choice of Euxenus for his preceptor in philoſophy; a man who indeed lodged his maſter's precepts in his memory, but paid little regard to them in practice. Apollonius, however, was not to be diverted from the ſtrictneſs of the Pythagorean diſcipline even by the example of his preceptor. He refrained from animal food, and lived entirely upon fruits and herbs. He wore no article of clothing made of the ſkins of animals. He went bare-footed, and ſuffered his hair to grow to its full length. He ſpent his time chiefly in the temple of Eſculapius among the prieſts, by whom he was greatly admired.

After having acquired reputation at Ægas, Apollonius determined to qualify himſelf for the office of a preceptor in philoſophy by paſſing through the Pythagorean diſcipline of ſilence. Accordingly, he remained five years without once exerciſing the faculty of ſpeech. During this time he chiefly reſided in Pamphylia and Cicilia. When his term of ſilence was expired, he viſited Antioch, Epheſus, and other cities, declining the ſociety of the rude and illiterate, and converſing chiefly with the prieſts. At ſun-riſing, he performed certain religious rites, which he diſcloſed only to thoſe who had paſſed through the diſcipline of ſilence. He ſpent the morning in inſtructing his diſciples, whom he encouraged to aſk whatever queſtions they pleaſed. At noon he held a public aſſembly for popular diſcourſe. His ſtyle was neither turgid nor abſtruſe, but truly Attic. Avoiding all prolixity, and every ironical mode of ſpeech, he iſſued forth his dogmas with oracular authority, ſaying, on every occaſion, This I know, or, Such is my judgment; herein imitating the manner of Pythagoras. Being aſked, why, inſtead of dogmatically aſſerting his tenets, he did not ſtill continue to inquire; his anſwer was: "I have ſought for truth, when I was young; it becomes me now

now no longer to ſeek, but to teach what I have found." Apollonius, that he might ſtill more perfectly reſemble Pythagoras, determined to travel through diſtant nations. He propoſed his deſign to his diſciples, who were ſeven in number, but they refuſed to accompany him. He therefore entered upon his expedition, attended only by two ſervants. At Ninus, he took, as his aſſociate, Damis, an inhabitant of that city, to whom he boaſted, that he was ſkilled in all languages, though he had never learned them, and that he even underſtood the language of beaſts and birds. The ignorant Aſſyrian worſhipped him as a god; and, reſigning himſelf implicitly to his direction, accompanied him wherever he went.

At Babylon, Apollonius converſed with the Magi, receiving from them much inſtruction, and communicating to them many things in return; but to theſe conferences Damis was not admitted. In his viſit to India, he was admitted to an interview with the king, Phraotes, and was introduced by him to Iarchus, the eldeſt of the Indian gymnoſophiſts. Returning to Babylon, he paſſed from that city into Ionia, where he viſited Epheſus, and ſeveral other places, teaching the doctrine, and recommending the diſcipline, of Pythagoras. On his way to Greece, he converſed with the prieſts of Orpheus at his temple in Leſbos. Arriving at Athens at the time when the ſacred myſteries were performing, Apollonius offered himſelf for initiation; but the prieſt refuſed him, ſaying, that it was not lawful to initiate an enchanter. He diſcourſed with the Athenians concerning ſacrifices, and exhorted them to adopt a more frugal manner of living.

After paſſing through ſome other Grecian cities, and the iſland of Crete, Apollonius went into Italy, with the deſign of viſiting Rome. Juſt before this time, Nero, probably either becauſe he had been deceived by the pretenſions of the magicians, or was apprehenſive of ſome danger from their arts, gave orders, that all thoſe who practiſed magic ſhould be baniſhed from the city[a]. The friends of Apollonius apprized him of the hazard which was likely, at this junc-

[a] The credit of this fact reſts wholly upon the authority of Philoſtratus.

ture,

ture, to attend his purposed visit to Rome; and the alarm was so great, that, out of thirty-four persons who were his stated companions, only eight chose to accompany him thither. He nevertheless persevered in his resolution, and under the protection of the sacred habit, obtained admission into the city. The next day he was conducted to the Consul Telesinus, who was inclined to favour philosophers of every class, and obtained from him permission to visit the temples, and converse with the priests.

From Rome Apollonius travelled westward, to Spain. Here he made an unsuccessful attempt to incite the procurator of the province of Bœtica to a conspiracy against Nero. After the death of that tyrant, he returned to Italy, on his way to Greece; whence he proceeded to Egypt, where Vespasian was making use of every expedient to establish his power. That prince easily perceived that nothing would give him greater credit with the Egyptian populace, than to have his cause espoused by one who was esteemed a favoured minister of the gods; and therefore did not fail to shew him every kind of attention and respect. The philosopher, in return, adapted his measures to the views of the new emperor, and used all his influence among the people in support of Vespasian's authority [a].

Upon the accession of Domitian, Apollonius was no sooner informed of the tyrannical proceedings of that emperor, and particularly of his proscription of philosophers [b], than he assisted in raising a sedition against him, and in favour of Nerva, among the Egyptians; so that Domitian thought it necessary to issue an order, that he should be seized, and brought to Rome. Apollonius, being informed of the order, set out immediately, of his own accord, for that city. Upon his arrival he was brought to trial; but his judge, the prætor Ælian, who had formerly known him in Egypt, was desirous to favour him, and so conducted the process, that it terminated in his acquittal.

[a] Conf. Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 82. [b] Sueton. in Domit. c. 10. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Euseb. Chron. n. 2104. Plin. Paneg. c. 47.

Apollonius

Apollonius now paſſed over into Greece, and viſited the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, the cave of Trophonius in Arcadia, and other celebrated ſeats of religion. Wherever he went he gained new followers. At length he ſettled at Epheſus, and there formed a ſchool in ſome degree ſimilar to the ancient Pythagorean college; but with this material difference, that in the ſchool of Apollonius the door of wiſdom was open to all, and every one was permitted to ſpeak and inquire freely.

Concerning the fate of Apollonius, after he ſettled at Epheſus, nothing certain is related. The time, the place, and the manner of his death are unknown. It is probable, that he lived to an extreme old age, and died in the reign of Nerva. Damis, who attached himſelf to this philoſopher at Babylon, accompanied him in his ſubſequent travels, and after his death became his memorialiſt. Philoſtratus has loaded his account of the life of this extraordinary man with ſo many marvellous tales, that it is exceedingly difficult to determine what degree of credit is due to his narrative. He relates, for example, that while the mother of Apollonius was pregnant, the Egyptian divinity, Proteus, appeared to her, and told her, that the child ſhe ſhould bring forth was a god; that his birth was attended with a celeſtial light; that, in the Eſculapean temple at Ægas, he predicted future events; that, at the tomb of Achilles, he had a conference with the ghoſt of that hero; and that, whilſt he was publicly diſcourſing at Epheſus, he ſuddenly pauſed, as if ſtruck with a panic, and then cried out, Slay the tyrant, at the very inſtant when Domitian was cut off at Rome[a]. If to theſe tales we add the accounts which Philoſtratus gives, of the efficacy of the mere preſence of Apollonius, without the utterance of a ſingle word, in quelling popular tumults; of the chains of Prometheus, which Apollonius ſaw upon Mount Caucaſus; of ſpeaking trees, of pigmies, phenixes, ſatyrs, and dragons, which he met with in his eaſtern tour; and of other things equally wonderful; it will be impoſſible to heſitate

[a] Conf. Suet. Domit. c. 23. Dio, 67.

in ascribing the marvellous parts, at least, of Philostratus's narrative to his ingenuity, or his credulity.

Different opinions have been entertained concerning the character of Apollonius. Some have supposed the whole series of extraordinary events related concerning him to have been the mere invention of Philostratus and others, for the purpose of obstructing the progress of christianity, and providing a temporary prop for the falling edifice of paganism. Others, remarking that Apollonius had acquired a high degree of celebrity long before the time of his biographer, refer the origin of these tales to the philosopher himself; but with respect to the manner in which this is to be done they are not agreed. Some apprehend, that he was intimately acquainted with nature, and deeply skilled in medicinal arts; and that he applied his knowledge and skill to the purposes of imposture, that he might pass among a credulous multitude for something more than human: while others imagine, that he accomplished his fraudulent designs by means of a real intercourse with evil spirits. The truth probably is, that Apollonius was one of those impostors, who professed to practise magical arts, and perform other wonders, for the sake of acquiring fame, influence, and profit, among the vulgar. In this light, even according to his own biographer, he was regarded by his contemporaries, particularly by the priests of the Eleusinian and Trophonian mysteries, and by Euphrates, an Alexandrian philosopher. Lucian[a], who lived in the time of Trajan, and Apuleius[b], who flourished under Antoninus Pius, rank him among the most celebrated magicians. Origen, who had seen a life of Apollonius, now lost, which was written by Maragenes, prior to that of Philostratus, writes thus[c]: "Concerning magic, we shall only say, that whoever is desirous of knowing whether philosophers are to be imposed upon by this art, let him read the memoirs of Apollonius, written by Maragenes, who, though a philosopher, and not a Christian, says, that philosophers of no mean repute were deceived by the magical

[a] Pseudomant: t. ii. p. 529. [b] Apolog. p. 248.

[c] Contra Celsum, l. vi. p. 311. ed Hoesch.

arts of Apollonius, and visited him as a person capable of predicting future events." Eusebius, in his answer to Hierocles[a], who wrote a treatise, in which he drew a comparison between Jesus Christ and Apollonius Tyanæus, speaks of the latter as a man who was eminently skilled in every kind of human wisdom, but who affected powers beyond the reach of philosophy, and assumed the Pythagorean manner of living as a mask for his impostures. The narrative of his life, by Philostratus, though, doubtless, abounding with fictions, serves at least to confirm this opinion[b].

How successfully Apollonius practised the arts of imposture, sufficiently appears from the events which followed. That dominion over the minds of men, which he found means to establish during his life, remained and increased after his death, so that he long continued to be ranked among the divinities. The inhabitants of Tyana, proud of the honour of calling him their fellow citizen, dedicated a temple to his name; and the same privileges were granted to them, as had usually been conferred upon those cities, where temples were raised, and sacred rites performed, in honour of the emperors. Aurelian, out of respect to his memory, shewed the Tyaneans peculiar favour[c]. Adrian took great pains to collect his writings, and preserve them in his library[d]: Caracalla dedicated a temple to him, as to a divinity among men[e]: and Alexander Severus, in his domestic temple, kept the image of Apollonius, with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ, and paid them divine honours. The common people, in the mean time, ranked Apollonius in the number of deified men, and made use of his name in incantations: and even among the philosophers of the Eclectic sect he was regarded as a being of a superior order, who partook of a middle nature between gods and men[f].

Of the writings ascribed to Apollonius, none remain, except his "Apology to Domitian," and his "Epistles." The former is,

[a] C. 4. 5. p. 432. ed Olear. Conf. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. de Magia.
[b] Conf. Olearum in Philost. ed. Lipf. 17 9. fol. [c] Vopiscus in Aureliano. c. 24.
[d] Phil. l. viii. c. 20. [e] Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 878. Lamprid. in Al. Sev. c. 29.
[f] Euseb. Prep. l. iv. c. 13. p. 150. Mosheim. Diff. de Apoll. ap. Observat. Hist. Crit.

perhaps,

perhaps in substance genuine, but is strongly marked with the sophistic manner of Philostratus. The latter abound with philosophical ideas and sentiments, and are written in a laconic style, which is a presumption in favour of their authenticity [a].

The doctrine of these epistles is for the most part Pythagoric. Apollonius appears, however, not to have adhered to the genuine system of Pythagoras concerning the nature and origin of things, according to which God and matter are primary, independent principles; but to have adopted the notion of the Heraclitean school, that the primary essence of all things is one, endued with certain properties by which it assumes various forms: and that all the varieties of nature are modifications of this universal essence, which is the first cause of all things, or God. Hence Apollonius taught, that all things arise in nature according to one necessary and immutable law, and that a wise man, being acquainted with the order of nature, can predict future events [b]. In this manner it was that Apollonius connected superstition with impiety, and made both subservient to imposture.

Concerning other philosophers of this period, who followed the Pythagorean doctrine, little remains to be related. The only names which require distinct notice are Secundus the Athenian, and Nicomachus. SECUNDUS [c] (whom Suidas, with his usual negligence, confounds with Plinius Secundus) is said in one respect to have carried the Pythagorean discipline further than it was ever carried by any other philosopher; preserving, from the time when he commenced Pythagorean, to the end of his life, perpetual silence. He is chiefly celebrated on account of his *Sententiæ* [d], or Answers to questions proposed to him by the Emperor Adrian, the authenticity of which, however, there is some reason to question. They are pub-

[a] Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 61.
[b] Epist. Apoll. Stob. Serm. 39. 82. 90. 98. 117. 120. 133. 224. 278.
[c] Suid. in Sec. [d] Ed. Rom. 1638. Lugd. Bat. 1639. 12°. Fabr. B. Gr. v. xiii. p. 565.

liſhed in Gale's *Opuſcula Mythologica*. Nicomachus[a], a native of Geraſa, in Cœlo Syria, was the author of two mathematical works, *Introductio in Arithmeticam*, "An Introduction to Arithmetic," and *Enchiridion Harmonicum*, "A Manual of Harmony," in which the principles of thoſe ſciences are explained upon Pythagoric principles. The exact time in which theſe philoſophers flouriſhed is uncertain; but there is no doubt that it was between the reigns of Auguſtus and Antoninus.

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. vi. c. 19. Phot. Cod. 187. Fab. l. c. Suid.

* Vidend. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale Præf. ad Sent. Sexti. Gaudentius de Phil. Rom. c. 66. 73. Siberus in Sext. Lipſ. 1725. Voſs. de Sectis, c. 21. § 8. Jonſ. Scrip. Hiſt. l. iii. c. i. 5. Suidas. Bayle. Cudworth. c. iv. §. 14, 15. Pearſon. Proleg. in Hierocl. Moſhem. Diſs. de Exiſtimatione Apoll. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius. Tillamont. Vit. Apol. Arpe de Taliſman, p. 25. Naude Apologie, p. 238. Huet. Dem. Ev. p. ix. c. 147. §. 4. Nichols's Conf. with Deiſt. p. iii. p. 203. Voſs. de Math. p. 37. 94.

SECT. 3.

OF THE STATE OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Academic ſect, which, towards the cloſe of the Roman Republic, had ſo many illuſtrious patrons, under the emperors fell into general neglect; partly through the contempt with which it was treated by the dogmatiſts, and partly through the reviving credit of the Sceptic ſect, in which the peculiar tenets of the Middle Academy were embraced. At the ſame time, however, the true doctrine of Plato, which had formerly obtained ſuch high eſteem among

among philoſophers, and which had lately been reſtored at Athens by Antiochus, reſumed its honours. Among the GENUINE FOLLOWERS OF PLATO we find, at this period, ſeveral illuſtrious names.

Under the emperors Auguſtus and Tiberius, flouriſhed THRASYLLUS[a], a Mendaſian. Though, according to Porphyry, he was an eminent Platoniſt, he ſo far conformed to the practice of the Pythagoreans, as to become an adept in the art of aſtrology. He long impoſed upon the credulity of Tiberius, and enjoyed his confidence, but at laſt fell a ſacrifice to his jealouſy[b].

Not long after the time of Thraſyllus lived THEON of Smyrna. Ptolemy the aſtronomer, who flouriſhed under Antoninus Pius, refers to his aſtronomical obſervations. His mathematical treatiſes, which were written on purpoſe to elucidate the writings of Plato, ſufficiently prove, that he is to be claſſed in the Platonic ſchool. At the ſame time, his diſcourſes, which treat of geometry, arithmetic, muſic, aſtronomy, and the harmony of the univerſe, may ſerve to caſt ſome light upon the Pythagorean ſyſtem[c].

ALCINOUS, whoſe age is uncertain, but is commonly placed about the beginning of the ſecond century, wrote an Introduction to Plato, containing a ſummary of his doctrine, which ſhows him to have been well read in his philoſophy. It is tranſlated into Latin by Ficinus; and an Engliſh verſion of the work is given in "Stanley's Lives of the Philoſophers[d]."

FAVORINUS, a native of Arles, lived in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. The latter eſteemed him highly for his learning and eloquence, and frequently diſputed with him, after his uſual manner, upon ſubjects of literature and philoſophy. To many other learned men, who were inclined to do juſtice to their own talents, this unequal conteſt proved injurious, and to ſome even fatal: but Favorinus, who perceived that it was the emperor's foible not to endure a

[a] Schol. Juv. Sat. vi. v. 576. Porphyr. Vit. Plot. c. x. n. 9.
[b] Suet. in Tib. Tac. Annal. l. vi. c. 20.
[c] Suidas. Ptol. Math. Synt. l. ix. c. 9. l. x. c. 1. Theon. ed. Par. 1644.
[d] Fabric. Bibl. v. iv. p. 40. Conf. v. ii. p. 42. Alcin. ed. Par. 1573. Oxon. 1667.
[e] Fabric. Bibl. v. iv. p. 40. Conf. v. ii. p. 42. Alcin. Ed. Par. 1573. Oxon. 1667.

defeat in diſputation, upon every occaſion of this nature prudently ceded to the purple the triumph of conqueſt. One of his friends, reproaching him for having ſo tamely given up the point in a debate with the emperor, concerning the authority of a certain word, (for the emperor was a great philologiſt) Favorinus replied, "Would you have me conteſt a point with the maſter of fifty legions?" Favorinus was inſtructed in the precepts of philoſophy by that illuſtrious ornament of the Stoical ſchool, Epictetus; but his writings, and manner of living, proved him unworthy of ſo excellent a maſter. None of his works are extant [a].

Under the reign of Antoninus Pius flouriſhed Calvisius Taurus [b], of Beryta, who is mentioned as a Platoniſt of ſome note. Among his pupils was Aulus Gellius, a man of various learning, who has preſerved ſeveral ſpecimens of his preceptor's method of philoſophiſing. He examined all ſects, but preferred the Platonic: in which he had at leaſt the merit of avoiding the infection of that ſpirit of confuſion, which at this period ſeized almoſt the whole body of the philoſophers, eſpecially thoſe of the Platonic ſchool. In a work, which he wrote concerning the differences in opinion among the Platoniſts, Ariſtotelians, and Stoics, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the attempts of the Alexandrian philoſophers, and others, to combine the tenets of theſe ſects into one ſyſtem. He wrote ſeveral pieces, chiefly to illuſtrate the Platonic philoſophy. He lived at Athens, and taught, not in the ſchools, but at his table. A. Gellius, who was frequently one of his gueſts, and whoſe *Noctes Atticæ* "Attic Evenings" are, doubtleſs, much indebted to theſe philoſophical entertainments, gives the following account of the manner in which they were conducted [c]: "Taurus, the philoſopher, commonly invited a ſelect number of his friends to a frugal ſupper, conſiſting of lentils, and a gourd, cut into ſmall pieces upon an earthen diſh; and during

[a] Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 15. Dio. l. 69. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 8. § 1. Suidas. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5.

[b] Suidas. Euſeb. Chron. 148. Syncellus, p. 351.

[c] Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 13. Conf. l. i. c. 26. l. ii. c. 2. l. vi. c. 13. l. xii. c. 5. l. xvii. c. 8. l. xviii. c. 2.

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the repaſt, philoſophical converſation, upon various topics, was introduced. His conſtant diſciples, whom he called his Family, were expected to contribute their ſhare towards the ſmall expence which attended theſe ſimple repaſts, in which intereſting converſation ſupplied the place of luxurious proviſion. Every one came furniſhed with ſome new ſubject of enquiry, which he was allowed in his turn to propoſe, and which, during a limited time, was debated. The ſubjects of diſcuſſion, in theſe converſations, were not of the more ſerious and important kind, but ſuch elegant queſtions as might afford an agreeable exerciſe of the faculties in the moments of convivial enjoyment; and theſe Taurus afterwards frequently illuſtrated more at large with ſound erudition."

The ſame period produced LUCIUS APULEIUS [a], of Medaura, a city in Africa, on the borders of Numidia and Getulia, ſubject to Rome. From ſome particulars which occur in his writings, it is probable that he lived under the Antonines. With conſiderable ability he united indefatigable induſtry, whence he became acquainted with almoſt the whole circle of ſciences and literature. His own account of himſelf is, that he not only taſted of the cup of literature under grammarians and rhetoricians at Carthage, but at Athens drank freely of the ſacred fountain of poeſy, the clear ſtream of geometry, the ſweet waters of muſic, the rough current of dialectics, and the nectarious but unfathomable deep of philoſophy; and, in ſhort, that, with more good will indeed than genius, he paid equal homage to every muſe [b]. Upon his removal to Rome, he ſtudied the Latin tongue with ſo much ſucceſs, that he became an eminent pleader in the Roman courts. He expended a large patrimony in his travels, which he undertook chiefly for the ſake of gaining information concerning the religious rites and cuſtoms of different countries [c]. In order to repair his fortune, he married a rich widow of Oea in Africa [d]. A rumour was upon this circulated, that he had employed magical incan-

[a] Apul. Apol. p. 203. ed Pet. Scriv.

[b] Apul. Flor. c. 18. p. 366. Apol. p. 190, 370. Metamorph. l. i. c. 5.

[c] Apol. p. 203. Met. l. iii. p. 47. l. xi. p. 177, 183.

[d] Apol. Met. l. ii. p. 18.

tations

tations to obtain her love. It was to refute this report, that he wrote his Apology; a work replete with learning. Although it may be easily believed that this was a false accusation, Apuleius was commonly ranked among the professors of magic, and was, probably, no mean proficient in those arts of imposture, which he had learned from priests of different countries. This opinion is confirmed by his Milesian fable, or the Metamorphosis of Lucius into an Ass, commonly known under the title of "The Golden Ass." Apuleius chiefly owes his celebrity to this fanciful work, in which the story of Cupid and Psyche is a curious philosophical romance. In philosophy, his principal piece is, *De Dogmate Platonis*, "A summary View of the Doctrine of Plato;" which may be read with great advantage, together with the Introductions to the Platonic system, written by Alcinous and Albinus. Apuleius also wrote an interpretation of Aristotle's treatise *De Mundo*; "An Apology for Socrates;" and a work entitled *Florida*, which, though rather rhetorical than philosophical, serves in many particulars to illustrate the history of philosophy [a].

Another Platonist, who flourished under M. Aurelius Antoninus, was Atticus; chiefly memorable for the laudable pains he took to ascertain the exact points of difference between the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. Several fragments of his works are preserved by Eusebius, in which he argues against Aristotle concerning the ultimate end of man, providence, the origin of things, the immortality of the soul, and other topics. Plotinus, in the Eclectic school, held the writings of Atticus in high estimation, and recommended them as exceedingly useful in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Platonic system. Atticus pronounced it impossible for those who had imbibed the Peripatetic notions, to elevate their minds to a capacity of understanding and relishing the sublime conceptions of Plato [b].

[a] Apol. p. 204, 205, 216. Florid. p. 362. Fabric. Bibl. Lat. t. i. p. 516, 518.

[b] Syncell. p. 353. Euseb. Chron. sub. Aurel. A. 179. Prep. l. xv. c. 4, &c. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 54.

NUMENIUS, of Apamea in Syria, was a writer of the ſame claſs with Atticus. Euſebius ranks him among the Platoniſts; and Origen and Plotinus mention him with reſpect: but none of his works are extant, except ſome fragments preſerved by Euſebius [a].

MAXIMUS TYRIUS, though chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence, has obtained ſome degree of celebrity as a philoſopher. According to Suidas he lived under Commodus; according to Euſebius and Syncellus, under Antoninus Pius. The accounts of theſe chronologers may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing that Maximus flouriſhed under Antoninus, and reached the time of Commodus. Although he was frequently at Rome, he probably ſpent the greater part of his time in Greece. Several writers ſuppoſe him to have been the preceptor, of whom the emperor Marcus Antoninus ſpeaks under the name of Maximus; but it is more probable, that this was ſome other philoſopher of the Stoical ſect. That Maximus Tyrius poſſeſſed the moſt captivating powers of eloquence, ſufficiently appears from his elegant Diſſertations: they are for the moſt part written upon Platonic principles, but ſometimes lean towards ſcepticiſm [b].

To theſe ornaments of the Platonic ſchool in Rome muſt be added two other celebrated writers, who, though they ſtudied philoſophy, are commonly ranked among the Platoniſts; Plutarch, and Galen.

That PLUTARCH [c] ought to be admitted among the philoſophers of his time, no one will doubt who is converſant with his writings. He was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia [d], but was far from partaking of the proverbial dulneſs of his country. The time of his birth is not exactly known; it is certain, however, that he flouriſhed

[a] Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 17. Euſeb. Prep. l. xi. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. l. xiv. c. 5. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. iv. p. 204. l. v. p. 276. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 342. Theodoret. Therap. l. ii.
[b] Max. Tyr. Diſs. xi. Suidas. Euſeb. Chron. M. Ant. de Seipſo. l. i. § 15. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 33. Stollii Hiſt. Ph. Mor. § 254. p. 572. edit. Heinſ. Lugd. Bat. 1614, 8vo. Davis, Cantab. 1703.
[c] Suid. Vit. ap. Oper. ed. Rualdi Par. 1624. D. Celer. Par. 1617.
[d] De Curioſ. t. ii. p. 237.

from the time of Nero to that of Adrian [a]. His preceptor was Ammonius, a learned philoſopher, ſometimes confounded with Ammonius Sacca, the father of the Eclectic ſect, who lived a century later [b]

As ſoon as Plutarch had completed his juvenile ſtudies, he was engaged in civil affairs. He was firſt appointed, by a public decree, legate to the proconſul, and afterwards undertook the office of archon or prætor. The emperor Trajan, a friend to learned men, patroniſed him, and conferred upon him the conſular dignity. Under Adrian, he was appointed procurator of Greece [c].

Civil occupations did not, however, prevent Plutarch from devoting a great part of his time to literary and philoſophical ſtudies. He both taught philoſophy, and was a voluminous writer. A catalogue of his works, drawn up by his ſon Lamprius [d], is ſtill extant, from which it appears, that more of his pieces have been loſt, than have been preſerved. Thoſe of his writings which remain are a valuable treaſure of antient learning, ſerving to illuſtrate not only the Grecian and Roman affairs, but the hiſtory of philoſophy. They abound with proofs of indefatigable induſtry and profound erudition; and, notwithſtanding the harſhneſs of the writer's ſtyle, they will always be read with pleaſure, on account of the great variety of valuable and amuſing information which they contain. But it is in this view chiefly that Plutarch is to be admired. In extent and variety of learning, he had few equals; but he does not appear to have excelled as much in depth and ſolidity of judgment. Where he expreſſes his own conceptions and opinions, he often ſupports them by feeble and ſlender arguments; where he reports, and attempts to elucidate, the opinions of others, he frequently falls into miſtakes, or is chargeable with miſrepreſentation. In proof of this aſſertion, we may particularly mention what

[a] Photius Cod. 145. p. 642. Plut. de Delph. Inſcr. t. i. p. 555. Apothegm. Traj. t. i. p 322. Syncellus, p. 349. [b] Junius ad Eunap. Voſſ. de Sect. c. 21. § 6.

[c] Precept. de ger. Rep. t. ii. 457. Sympoſ. l. vi. 2. 8. t. iii. p. 239. Suidas.

[d] Vit. Demoſth. t. iii. p. 21. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 333. Plut. Op. Ed. Franc. 1620. Par. 1524.

he had advanced concerning Plato's notion of the ſoul of the world, and concerning the Epicurean philoſophy. To this we muſt add, that Plutarch is often inaccurate in method; and ſometimes betrays a degree of credulity unworthy of a philoſopher. On moral topics he is moſt ſucceſsful. His didactic pieces not only abound with amuſing anecdotes, but are enriched with many juſt and uſeful obſervations.

Plutarch appears to have derived his philoſophical tenets from various ſources. Ariſtotle was his chief guide in ethics: his doctrine of the ſoul he borrowed from the Egyptians, or more probably the Pythagoreans: in metaphyſics, he principally followed Plato, and the Old Academy. We ſometimes find him aſſerting with the Dogmatiſts, and ſometimes doubting with the Pyrrhoniſts; but he always wages open war with the Epicureans and the Stoics. The truth ſeems to be, that Plutarch had not digeſted for himſelf any accurate ſyſtem of opinions, and was rather a memorialiſt and interpreter of philoſophers, than himſelf an eminent philoſopher. He died about the fourth or fifth year of the reign of Adrian; that is, about the year 119, or 120[a].

GALEN[b], whom, with Plutarch, we have ranked among the Platonic philoſophers, was born in the year one hundred and thirty-one, at Pergamus in Aſia. In his childhood he was well inſtructed by his father, and other preceptors, in uſeful and ornamental learning. He ſtudied philoſophy, firſt under Caius a Platoniſt, and afterwards under Albinus; whilſt, at the ſame time, he proſecuted the ſtudy of medicine under various maſters. After travelling to Corinth, Alexandria, and other places, for improvement in medical and philoſophical knowledge, he began to practiſe ſurgery about the twenty-eighth year of his age. The countenance, which was at this time given to learned men by Marcus Antoninus, induced Galen to take up his reſidence at Rome. Here he obtained great

[a] Num Seni ger. Rep. t. ii. p. 448.
[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. v. c. ult. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 509.

reputation in his profeffion, and enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and the friendfhip of many illuftrious Romans. He remained at Rome, excepting a few interruptions, till his death, which happened about the year two hundred. Galen wrote many books, not only upon medical but philofophical fubjects. Among the latter are a treatife, "On the beft Doctrine," againft Favorinus; "A Differtation on the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato;" "A Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," and feveral pieces "On Dialectics." This writer has been frequently cenfured for impiety; but his Demonftration of Divine Wifdom, from the ftructure of the human body, in his treatife *De Ufu Partium corporis humani,* "On the Ufes of the Parts of the Human Body," is a fufficient refutation of this calumny[a]. *

[a] Vit. ap. Op. Bas. 1562. Vit. ap. Arker. de Affectuum Cognitione, Rudolftadt. 1715. Cleric. Hift. Med. Labbei Elog. Chron. in Gal. Par. 1660.

* Vidend. Jonf. de Scrip. H. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. 7. 9. 10. Vofs. de Hift. Gr. l. iv. c. 10. 16. Meurs. ad Nicom. p. 166. Schmid. Difs. de Hipparchone, Theon. Sect. ii. p. 14. Vofs. de Sc. Math. c. 33. § 13. Gaudent. de Phil. Rom. c. 93. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. v. c. 9. Bayle. Blount. Cenf. Auth. p. 143. 170. Warb. Div. Leg. Mof. t. ii. p. 117. Mofheim. Hift. Chr. ante Conftant. Sec. iii. § 21.

SECT. 4.

OF THE ECLECTIC SECT.

UPON the foundation of the Platonic philosophy, with an abundance of heterogeneous materials collected from every other sect, was erected an irregular, cumbrous, and useless edifice, called the ECLECTIC SCHOOL. The founders of this sect formed the flattering design of selecting, from the doctrines of all former philosophers, such opinions as seemed to approach nearest the truth, and combining them into one system. But, in executing this plan, they did nothing better than pile up a shapeless and incoherent mass, *rudis indigestaque moles*, not unlike that chaos, which they admitted as an essential article in their doctrine of nature. In some particulars, indeed, they attempted to adorn and enrich the system with fancies of their own; but with what little success, will sufficiently appear in the sequel.

The Eclectic sect took its rise at Alexandria in Egypt; a country, which, in more remote periods, had admitted foreign dogmas and superstitions, particularly after the invasion of the Persians. Egypt having in consequence of the conquests of Alexander become a part of the Grecian empire, the Egyptian priests accommodated themselves, not only to the laws and manners, but even to the speculative tenets of their conquerors. That they might not appear inferior to the Greeks in learning, they affected to admire and adopt their philosophy. The Pythagoric and Platonic systems, especially, gained an easy admission into the Egyptian schools, on account of the respect which they paid to religion, and the opportunities which they afforded of reconciling vulgar superstitions, and vernacular traditions, with systematic science.

The confuſion of opinions, which aroſe from this cauſe, was doubtleſs increaſed by the promiſcuous concourſe of ſtrangers, who, at this period, flocked from all quarters to Alexandria, bringing with them, from their reſpective countries, their different tenets in philoſophy and religion. And the evil was aggravated by the return of a body of Alexandrian philoſophers, who, under the troubleſome and oppreſſive reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon, had been diſperſed through Aſia [a], and who had there learned a new ſpecies of oriental philoſophy, chiefly derived from the Perſian Zoroaſter, which they found it not difficult to incorporate with the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras.

The preſent ſtate of the ſeveral Grecian ſects was, in no ſmall degree, favourable to the coaleſcing plan of the Eclectic philoſophy. The dogmatiſts had now ſo long engaged in undecided conteſts, as ſufficiently to betray their weakneſs to their common adverſaries, the Academics and Sceptics. Scepticiſm, on the other ſide, was ſeen to contradict the common ſenſe and experience of mankind, and to threaten the world with univerſal uncertainty and confuſion. In theſe circumſtances, nothing could be more natural, than the deſign of ſeparating from each former ſyſtem its pureſt and beſt ſupported tenets, and forming them into a new inſtitute of philoſophy, in which truth might be ſeen under a fairer and more perfect form, than ſhe had hitherto been able to aſſume.

The Chriſtian religion, too, which had now found its way to Alexandria, became, incidentally, the occaſion of encouraging and promoting this coalition of opinions. For when the Heathen philoſophers perceived that this new eſtabliſhment, ſupported by the ſplendour of its miracles, and the purity of its doctrines, was daily gaining credit even in the ſchools of Alexandria; and ſaw that, like the riſing ſun, it was likely ſoon to eclipſe every inferior light; deſpairing of being able either to refute its claims by argument, or to ſtem its progreſs by authority, they determined to oppoſe it by every

[a] Athæn. l. iv. p. 184. Conf. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9.

effort

effort of ingenuity and artifice. In order to ſupport the declining credit of their own ſchools, they incorporated Chriſtian ideas and principles into their new ſyſtem. Several fathers of the Chriſtian church themſelves, ſuch as Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and the author of the work called the Shepherd of Hermas, by ſtudying philoſophy in the Alexandrian ſchool, injudiciouſly favoured the views of their opponents, and from their ſacred magazine contributed their ſhare towards that confuſed maſs of opinions, Egyptian, Oriental, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Chriſtian, which, about the cloſe of the ſecond century, roſe up into the ECLECTIC SYSTEM.

The Eclectic ſect is not commonly known among antient writers under any diſtinct name, for this obvious reaſon, that its moſt celebrated ſupporters choſe rather to paſs themſelves upon the world as Platoniſts, than to aſſume a new title; but, that the ſect really exiſted as ſuch, no one, who attends to the facts by which its riſe and progreſs are marked, can entertain a doubt [a].

The firſt projector of this plan appears to have been POTAMO, a Platoniſt. The practice of philoſophiſing eclectically was indeed known long before his time. It had been formerly adopted, as we have ſeen, by ſeveral of the leaders of the Greek ſects, particularly Plato, Zeno, and Ariſtotle; it had been not uncommon among the Alexandrian philoſophers from the commencement of their ſchools; and it was followed, in the period of which we are now treating, by Plutarch, Pliny, Galen, and others. But Potamo appears to have been the firſt who attempted to inſtitute a new ſect upon this principle. Diogenes Laertius relates [b], "that not long before he wrote his Lives of the Philoſophers, an Eclectic ſect, ἐκλεκτική τις αἵρεσις, had been introduced by Potamo of Alexandria, who ſelected tenets from every former ſect." He then proceeds to quote a few particulars of his ſyſtem from his Eclectic inſtitutes, reſpecting the principles of reaſoning, and certain general topics of philoſophical in-

[a] Vid. Olearii Diſſ. de Sect. Eclect. ap. Stanley's Lives of Phil. et Moſheim. Diſſ. Hiſt. Eccl. p. 85.   [b] Proœm. ſub fin.

quiry;

quiry; from which nothing further can be learned, than that Potamo endeavoured to reconcile the precepts of Plato with thoſe of other maſters. As nothing remains concerning this philoſopher beſides the brief account juſt referred to in Laertius, an obſcure paſſage in Suidas [a], and another, ſtill more obſcure, in Porphyry [b], it is probable that his attempt to inſtitute a ſchool upon the Eclectic plan proved unſucceſsful. The time when Potamo flouriſhed is uncertain. Suidas places him under Auguſtus; but it is more probable, from the account of Laertius, that he began his undertaking about the cloſe of the ſecond century.

The complete conſtitution of the Eclectic ſect muſt be referred to AMMONIUS, ſurnamed, from the kind of life which he followed, SACCA. If Plotinus attended both upon his lectures and thoſe of Potamo, as Porphyry intimates, Ammonius flouriſhed about the beginning of the third century. He was born of Chriſtian parents, and was early inſtructed in the catachetical ſchools eſtabliſhed at Alexandria. Here, under the Chriſtian preceptors, Athenagoras, Pantœnus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, by whom this ſchool was ſucceſſively conducted, and who themſelves united Gentile philoſophy with Chriſtian doctrine, he acquired a ſtrong propenſity towards philoſophical ſtudies, and became exceedingly deſirous of reconciling the different opinions which at that time ſubſiſted among philoſophers [c].

Porphyry relates [d], that Ammonius paſſed over to the legal eſtabliſhment, that is, apoſtatiſed to the Pagan religion. Euſebius [e], and Jerom [f], on the contrary, aſſert, that Ammonius continued in the Chriſtian faith to the end of his life. But it is probable that theſe Chriſtian fathers refer to another Ammonius, who, in the third century, wrote a Harmony of the Goſpels, or to ſome other perſon of this name: for they refer to the ſacred books of Ammonius;

[a] Suidas in Αἱρεσις, t. i. p. 656. et in Potam. t. iii. p. 161.

[b] Vit. Plot. c. ix. p. 108. Bibl. Gr. Fabr. vol. iv. p. 108. Olear. Diff. de Ph. Eclec. § 2.

[c] Suidas in Ammon. t. i. p. 143. in Plot. t. iii. p. 133. Bayle.

[d] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. vi. c. 19.

[e] L. c. p. 221.

[f] De S. E. c. lv. p. 132. Bib. Eccl. Fabr.

whereas

whereas Ammonius Saccas, as his pupil Longinus atteſts, wrote nothing [a]. It is not eaſy to account for the particulars related of this philoſopher, but upon the ſuppoſition of his having renounced the Chriſtian faith. It ſeems improbable, that a Chriſtian would have accepted the chair in a Pagan ſchool, or would have been followed by diſciples, who waged perpetual war againſt Chriſtianity. That he was well acquainted with the Chriſtian doctrine, and endeavoured to incorporate it into his ſyſtem, will, however, be readily admitted.

According to Hierocles, Ammonius was induced to execute the plan of a diſtinct Eclectic ſchool, by a deſire of putting an end to thoſe contentions which had ſo long diſtracted the philoſophical world. "Animoſities," ſays Hierocles [b], "having hitherto exiſted among the Platoniſts, Ariſtotelians, and other philoſophers, which were at this time carried to ſuch a height, that they did not ſcruple to corrupt the writings of their leaders, in order to furniſh themſelves with weapons of defence; Ammonius, a man divinely inſtructed, abandoning the controverſies which had ſo long diſgraced philoſophy, and clearing away the ſuperfluities of each ſyſtem, demonſtrated that, in certain great and neceſſary points, the doctrines of Plato and Ariſtotle were perfectly harmonious, and thus delivered to his diſciples an inſtitution of philoſophy free from diſpute." How far the ſyſtem, which Ammonius and his followers framed, deſerved the praiſe which Hierocles beſtows upon it, will afterwards appear.

Ammonius had many eminent followers and hearers, both Pagan and Chriſtian; who all, doubtleſs, promiſed themſelves much illumination from a preceptor, who undertook to collect into a focus all the rays of antient wiſdom. He taught his ſelect diſciples certain ſublime doctrines, and myſtical practices, and was called, θεοδίδακτος, the heaven-taught philoſopher. Theſe myſteries were communicated to them under a ſolemn injunction of ſecrecy. Por-

[a] Compare Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 160. 172, Balt. Defenſe de S. Peres, l. i. c. 3. Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. c. 36.   [b] De Fato ap Phot. Cod. 214. 151.

phyry relates[a], that Plotinus, with the rest of the disciples of Ammonius, promised, not to divulge certain dogmas which they learned in his school, but to lodge them safely in their purged minds. This circumstance accounts for the fact, already mentioned on the authority of Longinus, that he left nothing in writing. Ammonius probably died about the year two hundred and forty-three[b].

Among those disciples of Ammonius, who were admitted to the knowledge of his mysteries were, Herennius, Origines, Longinus, and Plotinus.

Herennius and Origines[c] are memorable for nothing, except their infidelity to their master, in violating their promise by divulging the secrets of his school. This Origenes must not be confounded with Origen, the celebrated teacher of the Christian church in Alexandria; for the former was a Pagan, and seems to have written only two small treatises, which are now lost; whereas the latter rose to great distinction among the Christian fathers, and was the author of many valuable works.

Dionysius Longinus[d], a native of Emesa in Syria, was instructed by Cornelius Fronto, a nephew of Plutarch, in rhetoric, and afterwards became his heir. Whilst he was young he visited several celebrated seats of the muses, particularly Athens, Alexandria and Rome, and attended upon the most eminent masters in language, eloquence, and philosophy. He was a great admirer of Plato[e], and honoured his memory with an annual festival[f]. He chiefly followed the Eclectic system of Ammonius. So extensive and profound was

[a] L. c. c. 3. [b] Jons. de Scr. Hist. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. p. 282.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 120. Porph. l. c. c. 2. [d] Suidas. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. xx. c. xiv. [e] Euseb. Prep. l. x. c. 3.
[f] The common reading in Eusebius is Πλωτίνεια, but we think, with Fabricius[a], that the passage should be read Πλατώνεια, for it is not probable that Longinus, who was contemporary with Plotinus, and wrote against him, should observe a festival in honour of his memory. Longinus survived Plotinus only a few years.

Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 436.

his

his erudition, that he was called the living library[a]. It is much to be regretted, that none of the writings of this celebrated ſcholar are extant, except one piece, which will be an eternal monument of his genius and taſte, "A Treatiſe on the Sublime." Longinus was preceptor in the Greek language to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; and, having been admitted to her counſels, ſhared her fortunes. That princeſs being conquered and taken priſoner by the emperor Aurelian, in the year two hundred and ſeventy-three, Longinus, her miniſter, was, by the emperor's command, put to death[b]. Longinus had ſeen the Jewiſh ſcriptures; he quotes a paſſage from the writings of Moſes, as an example of the Sublime; "And God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light[c]."

The ſchool of Ammonius was continued, and the Eclectic ſyſtem completed, by the moſt celebrated of his diſciples, Plotinus, the chief of the Alexandrian Platoniſts, from whom the ſchool afterwards took its name. For our knowledge of the hiſtory and opinions of this philoſopher, we depend almoſt entirely upon the authority of Porphyry, who muſt, indeed, have been well acquainted with the particulars of his life, having enjoyed an intimate friendſhip with him for many years; but whoſe partiality for his ſect, and propenſity to fiction, will not ſuffer us to allow him implicit credit[d]. The probable truth with reſpect to this philoſopher is as follows:

PLOTINUS was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, in the year two hundred and five. Concerning his parents, family, and early education, nothing is known. About the age of twenty years, he began to apply to the ſtudy of philoſophy. After attending lectures in the different ſchools with which Alexandria at this time abounded, he attached himſelf to Ammonius, and continued to proſecute his philoſophical ſtudies under this maſter eleven years; probably becauſe he found in Ammonius a diſpoſition towards ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, ſimilar to his own. Upon the death of his preceptor, having, in his ſchool, frequently heard the Oriental philoſophy commended, and

[a] Eunapii Vit. Sophiſt. p. 14. [b] Vopiſcus in Aurel. c. 30. [c] Gen. i. 3.
[d] Conf. Porph. Vit. Plotin. ap. Fab. Eunap. p. 1. Suidas in Porph. t. iii. p. 133.

expecting to find in it that kind of doctrine concerning divine natures, which he was most desirous of studying, he determined to travel into Persia and India to learn wisdom of the Magi and Gymnosophists. In this design he was probably encouraged by the success of Apollonius Tyanæus, whose magic arts, said to have been derived from these sources, had obtained him universal fame. It happened opportunely, that the emperor Gordian was, at this time, undertaking an expedition against the Parthians. Plotinus seized the occasion, and, in the year two hundred and forty-three, joined the emperor's army. The affairs of Gordian proving unfortunate, and the emperor himself being killed, the philosopher fled, not without hazard, to Antioch; and afterwards came to Rome, where the purple was now possessed by Philip.

For some time Plotinus was prevented from laying open the stores of wisdom which he had collected, by the oath of secrecy which he had taken in the school of Ammonius: but, after his fellow disciples, Herennius and Origines, had disclosed the mysteries of their master, he thought himself no longer bound by his promise, and became a public preceptor in philosophy, upon eclectic principles. During a period of ten years, he confined himself entirely to oral discourse; always conversing freely with his disciples, who were very numerous, and encouraging them to start difficulties, and propose questions, upon every subject. At last he found it necessary, for his own convenience and that of his pupils, to commit the substance of his lectures to writing. Many volumes of metaphysics, dialectics, and ethics, thus produced with haste and inaccuracy in the midst of various engagements, were suffered to pass into the hands of his pupils without being transcribed. This may in part account for the great obscurity and confusion, which are still found in these writings, after all the pains that Porphyry took to correct them. These books, which are fifty-four in number, are distributed under six classes, called Enneads. Proclus wrote commentaries upon them, and Dexippus defended them against the Peripatetics [a].

[a] Fabricius, v. iv. p. 154.

Although

Although the novelty of the plan of inſtruction, which Plotinus followed, brought him many hearers, through the obſcurity and ſubtlety of his doctrine he had but few diſciples. Nothing could exceed the aſſiduity with which he taught thoſe who were willing to become his followers, or the ardour with which he himſelf applied to philoſophical ſpeculations. It was his frequent practice, to prepare himſelf for his ſublime contemplations by watching and faſting. In ſuch high reputation was Plotinus for wiſdom, that many private quarrels were referred to his arbitration, and parents, upon their death-beds, often ſent for him to intruſt him with the charge of their children. He reſided twenty-ſix years at Rome, where he enjoyed the friendſhip of many perſons of high rank, and particularly of the emperor Galienus. The uſe which Plotinus made of his intereſt with that prince was a memorable proof of the romantic turn of his mind. He requeſted the emperor to re-build a city in Campania, which had been formerly raſed, and to grant it, with the neighbouring territory, to a body of philoſophers, who ſhould be governed by the laws of Plato, and ſhould call the city Platonopolis; at the ſame time promiſing, that he himſelf, with his friends, would lay the foundation of this philoſophical colony. The emperor was himſelf inclined to liſten to the propoſal, but was diſſuaded by his friends.

It was another proof of the fanatical ſpirit of Plotinus, that, though well ſkilled in the medical art, he had ſuch a contempt for the body, that he could never be prevailed upon to make uſe of any means to cure the diſeaſes to which his conſtitution was ſubject, or to alleviate his pain. He had learned from Pythagoras and Plato, that the ſoul is ſent into the body for the puniſhment of its former ſins, and muſt, in this priſon, paſs through a ſevere ſervitude, before it can be ſufficiently purified to return to the divine fountain from which it flowed. Such was his contempt of the corporeal vehicle in which his ſoul was incloſed, that he would never ſuffer the day of his birth to be celebrated, or any portrait to be taken of his perſon. Amelius, one of his pupils, however, deſirous of obtaining a picture of his maſter, introduced a painter, named Caſterius, into the ſchool,

 which

which any one was at liberty to viſit, in hopes that, by attentively obſerving his features, he might be able to delineate the likeneſs from memory. This the painter accompliſhed with great ſucceſs; and Amelius became poſſeſſed of a portrait of Plotinus without his knowledge.

By his rigorous abſtinence, and determined neglect of his health, Plotinus, at laſt, brought himſelf into a ſtate of diſeaſe and infirmity, which rendered the latter part of his life exceedingly painful. Forſaken by his friends, excepting only Euſtochius (for Porphyry was at that time in Sicily) he left Rome, and retired into Campania, to the eſtate of Zathus, one of his former diſciples, now deceaſed. By the hoſpitality of the heirs of this old friend, Plotinus was ſupported till his death. When he found his end approaching, he ſaid to Euſtochius, "The divine principle within me is now haſtening to unite itſelf with that divine being which animates the univerſe:" herein expreſſing a leading principle of his philoſophy, that the human ſoul is an emanation from the divine nature, and will return to the ſource whence it proceeded. Plotinus died in the year two hundred and ſeventy, aged ſixty-ſix years.

Porphyry, in relating the life of Plotinus, repreſents him as having been poſſeſſed of miraculous powers, ſimilar to thoſe which he aſcribes to Pythagoras, and doubtleſs with the ſame artful deſign: but the characters of fiction are ſo ſtrongly marked upon the whole narrative, that, after what has been already ſaid concerning the marvellous parts of the hiſtory of Pythagoras, and of Apollonius Tyanæus, it is wholly unneceſſary to allow thoſe of Plotinus further notice in the hiſtory of philoſophy.

From the life and writings of this philoſopher it clearly appears, that he belonged to the claſs of fanatics. His natural temper, his education, his ſyſtem, all inclined him to fanaticiſm. Suffering himſelf to be led aſtray, by a volatile imagination, from the plain path of good ſenſe, he poured forth crude and confuſed conceptions, in obſcure[a] and incoherent language. Sometimes he ſoared, in extatic flights,

[a] Vid. Eunap. p. 17.

into

into the regions of myſticiſm. Porphyry relates[a], that he aſcended through all the Platonic ſteps of divine contemplation, to the actual viſion of the deity himſelf, and was admitted to ſuch intercourſe with him, as no other philoſopher ever enjoyed. They who are well acquainted with human nature will eaſily perceive, in theſe flights, unequivocal proofs of a feeble or diſordered mind, and will not wonder that the ſyſtem of Plotinus was myſtical, and his writings obſcure. The truth ſeems to be, that this philoſopher made it the main ſcope and end of his life to dazzle his own mind, and the minds of others, with the meteors of enthuſiaſm, rather than to illuminate them with the clear and ſteady rays of truth. How much is it to be regretted, that ſuch a man ſhould have become, in a great degree, the preceptor of the world, and ſhould, by means of his diſciples, have every where diſſeminated a ſpecies of falſe philoſophy, which was compounded of ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and impoſture! The muddy waters, ſent forth from this polluted ſpring, were ſpread through the moſt celebrated ſeats of learning, and were even permitted, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, to mingle with the pure ſtream of Chriſtian doctrine.

Not only at Rome, where Plotinus had taught, but firſt in Alexandria, afterwards in many of the principal cities of Aſia Minor, and even at Athens, the antient ſeat of wiſdom, the ſyſtem of Ammonius and Plotinus was embraced and propagated by men, who, in learning and abilities, were greatly ſuperior to its founders. We ſhall trace the progreſs of the Plotinian, or Eclectic, ſchool through a long ſeries of Pagan profeſſors; reſerving to a ſubſequent part of the work the conſideration of its influence upon the opinions of Chriſtian writers.

AMELIUS[b], a Tuſcan, who in his youth had been inſtructed in philoſophy by Lyſimachus, a Stoic, and who had, in the courſe of his ſtudies, acquired a great fondneſs for the writings of Plato, in

[a] L. c. c. 13. 15. 23.

[b] Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 7, &c. Suidas. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 405. Eunap. l. c.

the

the year two hundred and forty-fix became a pupil of Plotinus. His mafter found his talents and tafte fo fimilar to his own, that he foon admitted him to his friendfhip, and employed him in writing folutions of queftions propofed to him by his difciples, and refutations of the objections and calumnies of his enemies. He had been eighteen years with Plotinus, when Porphyry entered the fchool, and probably affifted him in ftudying the doctrine of their mafter [a]. Before the death of Plotinus, he retired to Apamea, where he furvived his mafter a few years.

Among the moft celebrated preceptors of the Plotinian fchool, and the Alexandrian fect, is PORPHYRY, a learned and zealous fupporter of Pagan theology, and an inveterate enemy to the Chriftian faith. Porphyry [b] was, as we learn from himfelf, a Tyrian [c]. He was born in the year two hundred and thirty-three [d]. His father very early introduced him to the ftudy of literature and philofophy under the Chriftian preceptor Origen, probably whilft he was teaching at Cæfarea in Paleftine [e]. His juvenile education was completed at Athens by Longinus, whofe high reputation for learning and genius brought him pupils from many diftant countries. Under this excellent inftructor he gained an extenfive acquaintance with antiquity, improved his tafte in literature, and enlarged his knowledge of the Plotinian philofophy. It is, doubtlefs, in a great meafure to be

[a] Suidas had probably no other ground for faying that Porphyry was a difciple of Amelius.

[b] Eunap. Vit. Soph. p. 17. Suidas in Porph. t. iii. p. 158. Diff. de Vita Porph. Rom. 1630. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 207. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. viii. 107.

[c] Jerom [a] and Chryfoftom [b] call Porphyry a Batanean: whence fome have fuppofed [c], that he was born in the country of Bafan, a part of Trachonites, in Paleftine. It is more probable [d] that Batanea was a part of Syria bordering upon Tyre, in which a colony of Tyrians had fettled: and if this was the place of Porphyry's birth, he might chufe rather to call himfelf a Tyrian, than to derive his appellation from an obfcure region.

[d] Ib. c. 4. [e] Eufeb. Ecc. H. l. iii. c. 19.

[a] Pref. Epift. ad Galat. [b] Hom. vi. in 1 Cor. p. 58. [c] Cæf. Baron. ad A. C. 325. Le Moyne ad var. Sac. t. ii. p. 607. [d] Stephan. in Ethnicis. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 181.

ascribed to Longinus, that we find so many proofs of erudition, and so much elegance of style, in the writings of Porphyry [a].

From this time, we have little information concerning this philosopher, till we find him, about the thirtieth year of his age, becoming, at Rome, a disciple of Plotinus, who had before this time acquired great fame as a teacher of philosophy [b]. Porphyry was six years a diligent student of the Eclectic system; and became so entirely attached to his master, and so perfectly acquainted with his doctrine, that Plotinus esteemed him one of the greatest ornaments of his school, and frequently employed him in refuting the objections of his opponents, and in explaining to his younger pupils the more difficult parts of his writings: he even intrusted him with the charge of methodising and correcting his works [c]. The fanatical spirit of the philosophy, to which Porphyry addicted himself, concurred with his natural propensity towards melancholy to produce a resolution, which he formed about the thirty-sixth year of his age, of putting an end to his life; purposing hereby, according to the Platonic doctrine, to release his soul from her wretched prison, the body. From this mad design he was, however, dissuaded by his master, who advised him to divert his melancholy by taking a journey to Sicily, to visit his friend Probus, an accomplished and excellent man, who lived near Lilybæum. Porphyry followed the advice of Plotinus, and recovered the vigour and tranquillity of his mind [d].

After the death of Plotinus, Porphyry, still remaining in Sicily, appeared as an open and implacable adversary to the Christian religion [e]. Some have maintained, that in his youth he had been a Christian; but of this there is no sufficient proof. It is not improbable that, whilst he was a boy, under the care of Origen, he gained some acquaintance with the Jewish and Christian scriptures. He wrote fifteen distinct treatises against Christianity, which the emperor Theodosius ordered to be destroyed: an injudicious act of zeal,

[a] Vit. Plot. c. 21.
[b] Vit. Plot. c. 4. 5. [c] C. vii. 13. 20. [d] Vit. Plot. c. 11. Eunap. p. 14.
[e] Euseb. & Hier. Conf. Lactant. l. v. c. 2.

which

which the real friends of Chriſtianity, no leſs than its enemies, will always regret: for truth can never ſuffer by a fair and full diſcuſſion; and falſehood and calumny muſt always, in the iſſue, ſerve the cauſe they are deſigned to injure. The ſpirit of thoſe writings of Porphyry which are loſt, may be in ſome meaſure apprehended from the fragments which are preſerved by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. Many able advocates for Chriſtianity appeared upon this occaſion, the principal of whom were Methodius, Apollinaris, and Euſebius [a]. So vehement and laſting was the indignation which was excited againſt the memory of Porphyry, that Conſtantine, in order to caſt the ſevereſt poſſible cenſure upon the Arian ſect, publiſhed an edict [b], ranking them among the profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity, and requiring that they ſhould from that time be branded with the name of Porphyrians.

Porphyry, after remaining many years in Sicily, returned to Rome, and taught the doctrines of Plotinus; pretending to be, not only a philoſopher endued with ſuperior wiſdom, but a divine perſon, favoured with ſupernatural communications from heaven. He himſelf relates [c], that in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, he was in a ſacred extacy, in which he ſaw the Supreme Intelligence, the God who is ſuperior to all gods, without an image. This viſion Auguſtine [d] ſuppoſes to have been an illuſion of ſome evil ſpirit: we are rather inclined to believe it to have been the natural effect of a heated imagination; unleſs indeed it be added to the long liſt of fictions, with which the writings of Porphyry abound. He died about the year three hundred and four. Of his numerous works, the only pieces which have eſcaped the depredation of time (except ſundry fragments diſperſed through various authors) are, his "Life of Pythagoras;" a book "On the Cave of the Nymphs in Homer;" "Homeric Queſtions;" "A Fragment on the Stygian Lake;" "An Epiſtle to Anebo, an Egyptian prieſt;" "A Treatiſe on the

[a] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 197. et Syllab. Script. de Ver. Ch. Rel. c. 3.
[b] Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 9.
[c] Vit. Plot. c. 23.
[d] De Civ. Dei, l. x. c. 10.

Five

Five Predicables," commonly prefixed to the logical works of Ariſtotle;" "Thoughts on Intelligibles;" "A Treatiſe on Abſtinence from Animal Food;" and "The Life of Plotinus," which contains alſo memoirs of Porphyry himſelf[a].

Porphyry was, it muſt be owned, a writer of deep erudition; and had his judgment and integrity been equal to his learning, he would have deſerved a diſtinguiſhed place among the ancients. But neither the ſplendour of his diction, nor the variety of his reading, can atone for the credulity, or the diſhoneſty, which filled the narrative parts of his works with ſo many extravagant tales, or intereſt the judicious reader in the abſtruſe ſubtleties, and myſtical flights, of his philoſophical writings.

The Alexandrian philoſophy had, after Porphyry, many learned and able defenders. Among theſe, one of the moſt celebrated was his immediate ſucceſſor, JAMBLICHUS[b], a native of Chalcis in Cælo-Syria. He flouriſhed, as may be inferred from the age of his preceptor Porphyry, about the beginning of the fourth century. His firſt inſtructor was Anatolius, who preſided in a Peripatetic ſchool in Alexandria; but he ſoon left this ſchool, and became a diſciple of Porphyry. He became perfect maſter of all the myſteries of the Plotinian ſyſtem, and taught it with ſuch credit and ſucceſs, that diſciples crowded to his ſchool from various quarters. Though he fell far ſhort of Porphyry in eloquence, he won the affections of his followers by the freedom with which he converſed with them upon philoſophy, and was, at the ſame time, careful to excite their admiration, and command their reverence, by high pretenſions to theurgical powers. He aſtoniſhed them with wonders, which he profeſſed to perform by means of an intercourſe with inviſible beings. Hence he was called, The Moſt Divine and Wonderful Teacher.

The writings of Jamblichus diſcover extenſive reading; but his ſtyle is ſo deficient in accuracy and elegance, that even his encomiaſt,

[a] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 180.
[b] Eunap. Vit. Soph. Fabr. ib. p. 282.

Eunapius, acknowledges it more likely to diſguſt than to allure the reader. He borrows freely from other writers, particularly Porphyry, without the ſmalleſt acknowledgment. His philoſophical works are exceedingly obſcure, but are valuable as authentic documents reſpecting the Alexandrian ſchool. "The Life of Pythagoras;" "An Exhortation to the Study of Philoſophy;" "Three Books on Mathematical Learning;" "A Commentary upon Nicomachus's Inſtitutes of Arithmetic;" and "A Treatiſe on the Myſteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Aſſyrians," are all the writings of Jamblichus now extant [a]. The time and place of his death are uncertain; but, from a paſſage of Eunapius, in which he ſays, that his diſciple Sopater went, after his maſter's death, to the court of Conſtantine, it appears probable that Jamblichus died before that emperor, that is, about the year three hundred and thirty-three. This Jamblichus muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the perſon of the ſame name, to whom the emperor Julian dedicates his epiſtles; for Julian was ſcarcely born at the time when Porphyry's ſucceſſor died.

The ſchool of Jamblichus produced many Eclectic philoſophers, who were diſperſed through various parts of the Roman empire. But the fate of one of their number, Sopater, who was put to death by order of the emperor (probably for inſidious practices againſt the peace of the ſtate) and the diſcredit into which the Pagan theology was now, through the general ſpread of Chriſtianity, almoſt univerſally fallen, induced theſe philoſophers to propagate their tenets, and practice their myſteries, with caution and concealment [b]. In this ſtate of depreſſion the ſect continued through the reigns of Conſtantine and Conſtantius. But under the emperor Julian, who apoſtatiſed from the Chriſtian faith, the Alexandrian ſect revived, and again flouriſhed in great vigour. Many pretenders aroſe, who, under the cloak of philoſophy, practiſed magical deceptions with great ſucceſs, and induſtriouſly diſſeminated myſticiſm and enthuſiaſm. Their

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 289. Ed. Gale, Ox. 1678. Kuſter, Amſt. 1707.
[b] Sozomen. Hiſt. Ecc. l. i. c. 5.

biographer

biographer is Eunapius, a writer of the ſame ſchool, who relates, and ſeems to have credited, many marvellous ſtories.

The immediate ſucceſſor of Jamblichus, was ÆDESIUS[a], of Cappadocia. After the example of his maſter, he pretended to ſupernatural communications with the deity, and practiſed theurgic arts. Among the wonderful events which are ſaid to have happened to him, one of the moſt ludicrous is, that, in anſwer to his prayers, his future fate was revealed to him in hexameter verſes, which ſuddenly appeared upon the palm of his left-hand. Towards the cloſe of his life, he left his ſchool in Cappadocia to the care of his diſciple and friend EUSTATHIUS, and removed to Pergamus, where he had a numerous train of followers. Of Euſtathius, his wife Soſipatra, and his ſon Antoninus, ſeveral tales are related by Eunapius, which only ſerve to expoſe the fraud of theſe pretended philoſophers, and the credulity of their biographer[b].

EUSEBIUS, of Myndus in Caria[c], though one of the diſciples of Ædeſius, appears, from a conference which he had with Julian, to have conſidered all pretenſions to intercourſe with dæmons, or inferior divinities, as illuſions of the fancy, or tricks of impoſture; and to have diſcouraged them, as unworthy of the purity and ſublimity of true philoſophy. His deſign ſeems to have been, to reſtore the contemplation of Intelligibles, or Ideas, as the only real and immutable natures, according to the doctrine of Porphyry, and of Plato himſelf: but the fanatical doctrine of an intercourſe between dæmons and men, and the arts of theurgy founded upon this doctrine, were now too generally eſtabliſhed, and found too uſeful, to be diſmiſſed. Euſebius of Myndus was therefore leſs acceptable to the emperor Julian than another diſciple of Ædeſius, Maximus of Epheſus.

MAXIMUS, according to Eunapius[d], was, through the recommendation of his maſter, appointed by Conſtantius preceptor to Julian:

[a] Eunap. p. 34. [b] Eunap. p. 50, &c. Conf. Ammian. Marc. l. xx—xxii. [c] Eunap. p. 86, &c. [d] l. c. Socrat. Hiſt. Ecc. l. iii. c. 1. Nicephor. l. x. c. 1.

according to the Christian historians, he introduced himself to Julian, during his Asiatic expedition, at Nicomedia. By accommodating his predictions to the wishes and hopes of the emperor, and by other parasitical arts, he gained entire possession of his confidence. The courtiers, as usual, followed the example of their master, and Maximus was daily loaded with new honours. He accompanied Julian in his expedition into Persia, and there, by the assistance of divination and flattery, persuaded him, that he would rival Alexander in the glory of conquest. The event, however, proved as unfortunate to the philosopher as to the hero; for Julian being slain in battle, after the short reign of Jovian, Maximus fell under the displeasure of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and, for the imaginary crime of magic, underwent a long course of confinement and suffering, which was not the less truly persecution, because they were inflicted upon a Pagan. At last Maximus was sent into his native country, and there fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the proconsul Festus [a].

To the list of Eclectic philosophers, who enjoyed the patronage of the emperor Julian, must be added PRISCUS of Thesprotium, who also accompanied him into Persia; and CHRYSANTHIUS of Sardis, appointed by Julian high priest of Lydia, who was supposed to possess a power of conversing with the gods, and of predicting future events [b].

The emperor JULIAN is generally acknowledged to have been not only a patron of philosophers, but himself a philosopher. Referring to the civil historians [c] for the particulars of his political conduct, we shall mention such incidents as more immediately respect his philosophical character.

Julian, in the early part of his life, was carefully instructed in literature and science by Christian preceptors [d]. Whilst he was

[a] Amm. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 1. Socr. et Niceph. l. c. Theodoret. Hist. Ecc. l. ii. c. 27. [b] Eunap. p. 114, &c. Suidas.

[c] Amm Marcell. Victor. Zosimus. Libanus in Orat, &c.

[d] Socr. l. iii. c. 1. 23. Sozomen. l. vi. c. 2. Liban. § 5. ap. Faor. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 228.

pursuing

pursuing his studies at Nicomedia, his uncle Constantius strictly charged him not to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated Pagan Sophist, Libanius. This prohibition had no other effect, than to awaken the young man's curiosity, and kindle an earnest desire of visiting the Pagan schools. Notwithstanding every precaution, he conversed freely with philosophers, and grew fond of the fanciful system taught by the Alexandrian Platonists. His natural disposition, which was tinctured with enthusiasm, favoured this attachment; and it was confirmed by the intimacy which, during his residence at Nicomedia, he formed with Maximus of Ephesus. Under his instructions, and those of Chrysanthius and others, he became a great proficient in the abstruse speculations, and in the theurgic arts of this school [a]. With the permission of his uncle, he finished his studies at Athens; where he acquired great reputation in learning and philosophy, and was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries [b].

When Julian was called by Constantius to exchange the school of philosophy for the field of war, he made great use of the magic arts, which he had learned from Maximus, in executing his political purposes. Whilst he was at Vienna, he reported that, in the middle of the night, he had been visited by a celestial form, which had, in heroic verse, promised him the possession of the imperial dignity [c].

As soon as Julian reached the summit of his wishes, he employed his power in restoring the heathen superstitions [d]. He at this time, however, used no violent measures to compel the Christians to forsake their religion; rightly judging, that "false opinions can never be corrected by fire and sword [e]." His principal favourites were the Pagan philosophers of the school of Ædesius; but learned men of

[a] Eunap. p. 83. Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1. l. xxii. c. 12. l. xxiii. c. 2. 5, 11. Liban. ib. § 9, 10.

[b] Sozomen. l. v. c. 2. Soc. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. § 13. p. 233, 238.

[c] Liban. § 34. p. 260. Amm. Marc. l. xxi. c. 2.

[d] Sozom. l. v. c. 3, 16. Am. M. l. xxv. c. 6. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. adv. Jul.

[e] Lib. § 58. p. 256.

every

every claſs were encouraged in his court. When he afterwards ſhut up the Chriſtian ſchools, it was in hopes of ſuppreſſing the Chriſtian religion by involving its profeſſors in ignorance and barbariſm[a].

This prince not only encouraged letters by his patronage, but was himſelf a learned writer. It is eaſy to perceive, from a ſlight inſpection of his works, that he ſtrictly adhered to the Alexandrian or Eclectic ſchool. He profeſſes himſelf a warm admirer of Pythagoras and Plato, and recommends a union of their tenets with thoſe of Ariſtotle[b]. The later Platoniſts, of his own period, he loads with encomiums, particularly Jamblichus, whom he calls, The Light of the World, and, The Phyſician of the Mind[c]. Amidſt the numerous traces of an enthuſiaſtic and bigotted attachment to Pagan theology and philoſophy, and of an inveterate enmity to Chriſtianity[d], which are to be found in his writings, the candid reader will diſcern many marks of genius and erudition[e].

Concerning the manners of Julian, Libanius writes, that no philoſopher, in the loweſt ſtate of poverty, was ever more temperate, or more ready to practiſe rigorous abſtinence from food, as the means of preparing his mind for converſing with the gods[f]. Like Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and others of this fanatical ſect, he dealt in viſions and extacies, and pretended to a ſupernatural intercourſe with divinities. Suidas relates, probably from ſome writings of the credulous Eunapius now loſt, an oracular prediction concerning his death[g].

His philoſophical character attended him in his military exploits, and accompanied him to the laſt. After he had received his mortal

[a] Amm. M. l. xxii. c. 10. Jul. Epiſt. 42. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 77.

[b] Orat. Jul. in Cynic. p. 188. Orat. v. in Mat. Deor. p. 162.

[c] Ep. ad Jamblich. 24, 40, 60.

[d] The reader will find many proofs of Julian's averſion to Chriſtianity, and his injurious treatment of Chriſtians, adduced in Prieſtley's Hiſtory of the Chr. Church. Per. ix. § 2, 3, 4. [e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 78. [f] Lib. § 83. p. 309.

[g] Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 3, 4.

wound,

wound, he held a conference with the philoſophers Maximus and Priſcus concerning the ſoul, in the midſt of which he expired, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

On the whole, although the emperor Julian muſt not be denied the place which has long been allowed him among philoſophers, it muſt be owned, that his philoſophy was neither able to preſerve him from ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm, nor to raiſe his mind above the influence of the narroweſt and moſt pernicious prejudices.

We muſt not, in this place omit the biographer of the Ædeſian ſchool, EUNAPIUS [a], a native of Sardis, and a pupil of Chryſanthius. He followed the profeſſion of a Sophiſt, and at the ſame time practiſed medicine. He appears to have been initiated in all the myſteries of theurgy. His "Lives," a maſs of extravagant tales, diſcover a feeble underſtanding, and an imagination prone to ſuperſtition. Eunapius wrote in the reign of the emperor Theodoſius.

Towards the cloſe of the fifth century flouriſhed HIEROCLES, who was born, and taught, in Alexandria. He ſuffered ſeverely for his adherence to the Pagan ſuperſtitions [b]. At Conſtantinople he was cruelly ſcourged; and, in the midſt of his torture, receiving ſome of the blood into his own hand, he threw it upon the face of his judge, repeating the following verſe from Homer [c]:

Κύκλωψ, τῆ, πίε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα [d].

Hierocles wrote a treatiſe "On Providence," in which he appears as an advocate for the Eclectic philoſophy. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſes thoſe writers, who had maintained, that the opinions of Plato and Ariſtotle were inconſiſtent with each other; and attempts to reconcile their doctrines concerning providence, the origin of the world, the immor-

[a] Eunap. p. 77, 99, 162, 198. Phot. Cod. 77.
[b] Suidas Phot. Cod. 214. 251. p. 283. 749.
[c] Odyſſ. l. ix. v. 347.

[d] Cyclops! ſince human fleſh has been thy feaſt,
Now drain this goblet potent to digeſt.
POPE.

tality

tality of the ſoul, and other ſubjects. The ſame method of philoſophiſing is purſued in his book "On Fate," and in his "Commentary on the Golden Verſes of Pythagoras." Little confidence is, therefore, to be placed in his repreſentation of the opinions of antient philoſophers. This Hierocles is not to be confounded with Hierocles of Bythinia, who wrote a book againſt Chriſtianity, which was anſwered by Euſebius [a].

Hitherto we have traced the riſe and growth of the Eclectic philoſophy in Alexandria, and in various parts of Aſia. It remains, that we follow its progreſs in Europe, and particularly at Athens.

Although, after Greece became ſubject to Rome, its philoſophers were diſperſed, and its antient ſeat of wiſdom was for a time neglected, Athens, through the favour of ſeveral of the Roman emperors, eſpecially Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, recovered, in ſome meaſure, its former honours [b]. Adrian founded a library, and Aurelius erected magnificent ſchools, and eſtabliſhed profeſſors in rhetoric, and in the principal ſects of philoſophy. Theſe ſchools were liberally endowed, and, according to Lucian [c], a large ſum was annually paid by the public to the Athenian preceptors. Through this imperial munificence, Athens was again diſtinguiſhed by a numerous train of philoſophers and ſcholars [d]. The ſalaries, which had been probably diſcontinued under the Chriſtian emperors, were renewed by Julian, who appointed Chryſanthius preceptor in Athens. The Athenian ſchools, during the incurſions of the Goths, at the cloſe of the fourth century, ſuffered great injury. They, however, ſurvived that hazardous period, and continued to flouriſh till after the time of Juſtinian [e].

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 413. Needham. ed.

[b] Pauſan. in Attic. Xiphilin. in M. Ant.

[c] Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160.

[d] Eunap. Proæres. p. 138. Chryſanth. p. 198. Philoſtrat. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

[e] Meurſ. de Fort. Attic. c. 8. Syneſ. Ep. vi. Marin. Vit. Procli. c. xvi. p. 37.

It

It was not till the reign of Julian, that the Alexandrian philosophy was publicly professed at Athens[a]. After Chrysanthius, the next professor of this system was Plutarch the son of Nestorius[b], He was an eminent teacher of philosophy, and a famous master of the theurgic arts: he had a large body of disciples, who bore his name, and continued in his public capacity to an advanced age. He left the charge of his school to Syrian, an Alexandrian. This Plutarch died about the year four hundred and thirty-four.

Syrian prosecuted the eclectic method of philosophising with great ingenuity and industry; not only combining the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, but embellishing his complex system with the allegories of Orpheus, Homer, and other antient poets. "In less than two years," says Marinus[c], "Syrian read, with his pupil Proclus, all the works of Aristotle; after which he conducted him to the sacred school of Plato, that he might in his writings contemplate the true mysteries with a pure mind." He wrote, "A Commentary on the Theology of Orpheus," and "A Treatise on the Agreement of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato;" but nothing remains of this philosopher, except his "Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics[d]." Among his pupils, his chief favourite was Proclus, who always retained a warm affection for the memory of his master, and at his death gave orders, that he should be buried in the same grave with Syrian, and that the following epitaph should be inscribed upon their tomb[e]:

Proclus ego heic Lycius jaceo, tuus, optime, alumnus,
Successorque tuus qui, Syriane, fui:
Condita communi tumulo hoc sunt corpora nostra,
Sic et utramque animam cœlica templa tenent[f].

[a] Eunap. in Maxim. [b] Suidas. Marin. Vit. Proc. c. 12. Phot. Cod. 242.
[c] Vit. Proc. c. 12. Suidas. Phot. Cod. 241.
[d] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 450. [e] Marin. c. 36.

[f] Here, much lov'd Syrian, in thy sacred tomb,
Thy pupil Proclus seeks a peaceful home:
As in one bed now sleeps our mingled clay,
So may our souls together win their way
To the blest mansions of celestial day!

Proclus, according to his biographer Marinus [a], was a native of Conſtantinople, and was born in the year four hundred and twelve. His parents having been inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia, he is commonly ſpoken of as a Lycian. He received the firſt rudiments of learning at Xanthus; and afterwards ſtudied eloquence and polite literature under Iſaurus at Alexandria, with a view to qualify himſelf for the profeſſion of the law. This deſign, however, he ſoon relinquiſhed, and wholly devoted himſelf to philoſophy. From Olympiodorus he learned the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem combined with the Platonic; and he was inſtructed in mathematics by Hero. His facility of conception and ſtrength of memory were ſuch, that when his maſter's lectures, through the rapidity of his utterance, or the abſtruſe nature of his ſubject, were not clearly underſtood by the reſt of the pupils, he was able to give an accurate ſummary of the arguments, in the order in which they had been delivered: a circumſtance, which gained him great credit and eſteem among his fellow-ſtudents.

Having ſpent ſeveral years in the Alexandrian ſchools, Proclus determined to viſit Athens. Here he firſt became acquainted with Syrian, who introduced him to Plutarch the ſon of Neſtorius. The old man was delighted with the attainments of this young ſtranger, and undertook to conduct him into the more recondite myſteries of philoſophy. Plutarch, dying two years afterwards, left Proclus to the care of his ſucceſſor Syrian, under whoſe direction the young man proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry. He reaped great benefit from the practice, recommended to him by Plutarch, of writing, from his own recollection, compendious abridgments of the lectures which he had heard from his preceptor. At the age of twenty-eight, he had written, beſides many other pieces, his "Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," full of that kind of learning which at this time prevailed in the Platonic ſchools.

In order to reach the point, which was in theſe ſchools eſteemed the ſummit of wiſdom, Proclus diligently ſtudied the theology of the ſect; both that which reſpects the contemplation of the Supreme Deity, and that which was ſuppoſed to lead to an intercourſe

[a] Vit. Procli, paſſim. Suidas.

with

with inferior divinities. He was inſtructed in the Chaldean arts of divination, and in the uſe of myſtical words, and other charms, by Plutarch's daughter Aſclepigenia, who inherited from her father many ſecrets of this kind. He was alſo initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries. By theſe helps, and by a diligent ſtudy of the writings of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Jamblichus, he became, if Marinus be to be credited, a complete maſter, not only of divine ſcience, but of theurgic powers.

Thus accompliſhed, Proclus was judged by Syrian worthy to ſhare with him the honours and profits of the Platonic chair. And there can be no doubt, after what has been related, that he was eminently qualified for the office of preceptor in the Alexandrian philoſophy. His biographer may be eaſily credited when he aſſerts, that Proclus excelled all his predeceſſors in the knowledge of this ſyſtem, and that he improved it by many new diſcoveries, and was the author of many opinions, which had never before entered into the mind of man, both on the ſubject of phyſics, and in the ſublime ſcience of Ideas. The lectures which Proclus delivered in his ſchool were obſcure and enthuſiaſtic; but they ſuited the genius and taſte of the age, and he had many followers.

The piety of Proclus is highly extolled by his biographer. Of what ſort it was, may be learned from the ſuperſtitious manner in which he conducted his devotions. Beſides his general abſtinence from animal food, in which he followed the Pythagorean diſcipline, he often practiſed rigorous faſtings; and he ſpent whole days and nights in repeating prayers and hymns, that he might prepare himſelf for immediate intercourſe with the gods. He obſerved with great ſolemnity the new moons, and all public feſtivals, and, on theſe occaſions, pretended, or fancied, that he converſed with ſuperior beings, and was able, by his ſacrifices, prayers and hymns, to expel diſeaſes, to command rain, to ſtop an earthquake, and to perform other ſimilar wonders. Marinus does not ſcruple to aſſert, that, on theſe occaſions, Proclus partook of divine inſpiration, and that a celeſtial glory irradiated his countenance. He even relates, that God himſelf appeared to him in a human form, and with an audible

voice hailed him as the glory of the city. In his old age, his mental infirmities, as might naturally be expected, increaſed with thoſe of his body; and he fancied, between ſleeping and waking (the ſeaſon in which theſe viſions commonly happen) that Eſculapius approached him in the form of a dragon, and relieved his pain. Without attempting accurately to determine how much of theſe tales is to be aſcribed to the invention of Marinus, and how much to the fanaticiſm of his maſter, we may perceive in them proofs of ſuperſtitious weakneſs, or artful hypocriſy, or of a ſtrange union of both, abundantly ſufficient to juſtify us in ranking Proclus among enthuſiaſts or impoſtors, rather than among philoſophers.

If the reader require any further evidence on this head, we muſt refer him to the writings of Proclus, in which he appears at once a man of erudition and a fanatic. They contain a rude and indigeſted maſs of materials, collected, with bold variations, from the Chaldaic, Orphic, Hermetic, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Ariſtotelian doctrines, and adorned with fictions and allegories, which, while they involve the ſubjects, upon which the writer treats, in thick darkneſs, diſcover great luxuriance of imagination. The confuſion and obſcurity of his works may be in part owing to the haſty manner in which they were written, but are chiefly to be aſcribed to the enthuſiaſtic caſt of the writer's mind, and to the myſtical ſpirit of the ſyſtem which he eſpouſed. Of the works of Proclus which remain, ſome are philoſophical, as his "Commentaries upon the Timæus," and ſeveral other dialogues of Plato; ſome theological, as his "Inſtitutes of Theology;" ſome critical, as his "Chreſtomathia," of which Photius has preſerved an Epitome; and ſome mathematical, as his "Paraphraſe upon Ptolemy, Euclid," &c. and his "Doctrine of the Sphere." This laſt piece was in part copied, without acknowledgment, from the Iſagoge of Geminus, an aſtronomer of ſome diſtinction in the time of Cicero [a]. Proclus died of the gout, in the year four hundred and eighty-five.

[a] Voſſ. de Scient. Math. c. 32. § 26. Fabr. de Procli Scriptis. § 11. Bib. Gr. l. viii. p. 518.

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The eclectic ſchool at Athens was continued by MARINUS[a], a native of Sichem in Paleſtine, and a convert from the Samaritan to the Gentile religion. If the mathematical writings which bear his name be really his, which has been doubted, they are a ſufficient proof of his proficiency in this kind of learning. His life of Proclus rather delineates a picture of a perfect philoſopher, than relates the actions and opinions of his hero. The work abounds with ridiculous tales, and deſtroys its own credibility by manifeſt contradictions. Towards the cloſe of his life Marinus, perceiving his health decline, was anxious to find a ſucceſſor, who might continue, with credit, what was called the chain of the Platonic ſucceſſion, and for that purpoſe made choice of Iſidorus, who ſoon afterwards removed to Alexandria, and left the Athenian ſchool in the hands of ZENODOTUS[b], a pupil of Proclus.

ISIDORUS, as we learn from his biographer Damaſcius[c], was a native of Gaza in Paleſtine, a city which retained the Gentile ſuperſtitions long after chriſtianity had been commonly embraced in the neighbouring countries. At Alexandria, whither he was ſent by his parents for education, he was inſtructed in rhetoric and polite learning by Aſclepiodotus, a Platoniſt; but he neglected theſe ſtudies, that he might devote himſelf entirely to ſublimer ſpeculations. The fame of Proclus as a preceptor in theology ſoon induced him to repair to his ſchool at Athens. Bringing with him a mind inured to profound meditation, and an imagination inflamed with enthuſiaſm, he found it no difficult labour, under the direction of Proclus, to ſoar into the regions of myſticiſm. After the death of his maſter, he entertained a ſuperſtitious reverence for his memory, and offered ſacrifices to him as to a divinity[d]. Relinquiſhing, however, for reaſons which do not appear, the chair to which he had been appointed by Marinus, he returned to Alexandria. After a ſhort reſidence in that city, he fled, with ſeveral other philoſophers, into

[a] Damaſcius in Vit. Iſidori, ap. Phot. Cod. 181. Suidas. Voſſ. ib. p. 442. Fab. [illegible]. 364. [b] Damaſc. ib. p. 563. [c] Ib. Cod. 181, 242. Suidas.
[d] Damaſcius, p. 566, 569, 570.

Perſia,

Perſia, to eſcape the perſecution of Juſtinian. About the year five hundred and thirty-three, he returned from his voluntary exile [a]. As Iſidorus had been a pupil of Proclus, he muſt have been far advanced in life when he left Perſia. The exact dates of his birth and death cannot be aſcertained; but it is probable that he was not born later than the year four hundred and ſixty-five, and that he did not die before the year five hundred and forty.

The ſucceſſion of the Platonic or Eclectic ſchool in Alexandria terminated in Damascius, a native of Syria. He ſtudied both at Athens and Alexandria, and in the latter ſchool was a profeſſor of philoſophy, till he was driven into Perſia by the ſeverities which, as we have ſaid, were exerciſed by the emperor Juſtinian againſt the Gentile philoſophers. His "Lives of Iſidorus and Others," and the few fragments of his philoſophy which remain, are ſtrongly marked with the characters of the eclectic ſchool, obſcurity, fanaticiſm, and impoſture.

To this liſt of Alexandrian philoſophers muſt be added the celebrated female, Hypatia [c], whoſe extenſive learning, elegant manners, and tragical end, have rendered her name immortal. Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, a celebrated mathematician of Alexandria. She poſſeſſed an acute and penetrating judgment, and great ſublimity and fertility of genius, and her talents were cultivated with aſſiduity by her father, and other preceptors. After ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of polite learning, and of the ſciences of geometry and aſtronomy, as far as they were then underſtood, ſhe entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy. She proſecuted this ſtudy with ſuch uncommon ſucceſs, that ſhe was importuned to become a public preceptreſs in the ſchool where Plotinus and his ſucceſſors had taught: and her love of ſcience enabled her ſo far to ſubdue the natural diffidence of the ſex, that ſhe yielded to the public voice, and exchanged her female decorations for the philoſopher's cloak [d],

[a] Agathias de reb. Juſtin. l. ii. 49. Suidas in πρεσβυς, t. iii. p. 171. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. vii. c. 8. [b] Phot. Cod. 181. p. 212. Cod. 242. p. 566. Suidas.
[c] Suidas. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15.
[d] Nicephor. l. xiv. c. 16. Syneſii Epiſt. ad Hypat.

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In the ſchools, and in other places of public reſort, ſhe diſcourſed upon philoſophical topics, explaining, and endeavouring to reconcile, the ſyſtems of Plato, Ariſtotle, and other maſters. A ready elocution, and graceful addreſs, united with rich erudition and ſound judgment, procured her numerous followers and admirers; among whom was Syneſius, afterwards to be mentioned. But that which reflects the higheſt honour upon her memory is, that, though ſhe excelled moſt of the philoſophers of her age in mathematical and philoſophical ſcience, ſhe diſcovered no pride of learning; and, though ſhe was in perſon exceedingly beautiful, ſhe never yielded to the impulſe of female vanity, or gave occaſion to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion againſt her chaſtity.

The extraordinary combination of accompliſhments and virtues, which adorned the character of Hypatia, rendered her houſe the general reſort of perſons of learning and diſtinction. But it was impoſſible that ſo much merit ſhould not excite envy. The qualifications and attainments, to which ſhe was indebted for her celebrity, proved in the iſſue the occaſion of her deſtruction. It happened that, at this time, the patriarchal chair of Alexandria was occupied by Cyril, a biſhop of great authority, but of great haughtineſs and violence of temper. In the vehemence of his bigotted zeal, he had treated the Jews with ſeverity, and at laſt baniſhed them out of Alexandria. Oreſtes, the prefect of the city, a man of a liberal ſpirit, highly reſented this expulſion, as an unpardonable ſtretch of eccleſiaſtical power, and a cruel act of oppreſſion and injuſtice againſt a people, who had inhabited Alexandria from the time of its founder. He reported the affair to the emperor. The biſhop, on his part, complained to the prince of the ſeditious temper of the Jews, and attempted to juſtify his proceedings. The emperor declined to interpoſe his authority; and the affair rapidly advanced to the utmoſt extremity. A body of about five hundred monks, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Cyril, came into the city with a determination to ſupport him by force. Meeting the prefect, as he was paſſing through the ſtreet in his carriage, they ſtopped him, and loaded him with reproaches; and one of them threw a ſtone at his head, and

wounded him. The populace, who were by this time aſſembled on the part of the prefect, routed the monks, and ſeized one of their leaders. Oreſtes ordered him to be put to death. Cyril buried his body in the church, and gave inſtructions, that his name ſhould be regiſtered among the ſacred martyrs. Hypatia, who had always been highly reſpected by the prefect, and who had, at this time, frequent conferences with him, was ſuppoſed by the partizans of the biſhop to have been deeply engaged in the intereſt of Oreſtes. Their reſentment, at length, roſe to ſuch a height, that they formed a deſign againſt her life. As ſhe was one day returning home from the ſchools, the mob ſeized her, forced her from her chair, and carried her to the Cæſarean church; where, ſtripping off her garments, they put her to death with extreme barbarity; and having torne her body limb from limb, committed it to the flames. Cyril himſelf has, by ſome writers, been ſuſpected of ſecretly prompting this horrid act of violence. And if the haughtineſs and ſeverity of his temper, his perſecution of the Jews, his oppreſſive and iniquitous treatment of the Novatian ſect of Chriſtians and their biſhop, the vehemence of his preſent indignation againſt Oreſtes and his party, and, above all, the protection which he is ſaid to have afforded to the immediate perpetrator of the murder of Hypatia, be duly conſidered, it will perhaps appear, that this ſuſpicion is not wholly without foundation. Hypatia was murdered under the reign of the emperor Theodoſius II. in the year four hundred and fifteen[a]. Hence it is certain, that ſhe could not have been, as Suidas[b], with his uſual precipitation, relates, the wife of Iſidorus: it is probable, that through her whole life ſhe remained in a ſtate of celibacy.

Beſides the philoſophers of the Alexandrian or Eclectic ſect who have been enumerated, and others of inferior note, there were many perſons, who, though not philoſophers by profeſſion, eſpouſed the doctrines of Platoniſm, as they were new modelled in this ſchool. Among theſe were ſeveral celebrated writers; particularly,

[a] Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15. [b] Hypat. t. iii. p. 533.

MACROBIUS,

MACROBIUS[a], who flouriſhed in the reigns of Honorius and Theodoſius II..and wrote, beſides other pieces, "A Commentary on Scipio's Dream," as deſcribed by Cicero, a work full of Platonic notions; and alſo *Saturnalia*, or "Learned Converſations;" and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, an hiſtorian of credit, who mentions, with high reſpect, ſeveral philoſophers of the Platonic ſchool[b].

Having thus far taken an hiſtorical ſurvey of the riſe and progreſs of the Eclectic ſect, it remains that we endeavour, ſomewhat more diſtinctly, to mark the circumſtances which contributed towards its eſtabliſhment, and to enumerate its peculiar tenets. This is the more neceſſary, as the doctrines of this ſchool were widely diſſeminated, and obtained a powerful influence, not only in other philoſophical ſects, but even in the Chriſtian church.

The Eclectic ſect took its riſe, as we have ſeen, among the Egyptians, a people peculiarly addicted to ſuperſtition, among whom the art of divination is ſaid to have originated[c]. It was formed in Alexandria, a city colonized from many different nations, whoſe inhabitants brought with them their reſpective religious and philoſophical tenets. The Pythagoric and Platonic doctrine had been in many reſpects ſimilar to that of the Egyptians, and therefore obtained an eaſy admiſſion into their ſchools, at a time when the philoſophy of Greece, already univerſally celebrated, was introduced under the ſanction of conqueſt. Before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, the return of thoſe philoſophers who had, during the reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon, been diſperſed in Aſia, and had there learned the Oriental philoſophy, increaſed the chaotic maſs of opinions in theology and philoſophy, which had been forming in the Alexandrian ſchools from their firſt eſtabliſhment; the confuſion and inconſiſtency of which were now, with much induſtry, concealed under the veil of allegory. It will clearly appear from an attentive compa-

[a] Cod. Theodoſ. l. vi. t. 8.
[b] L. xxii. 16. xxiii. 6. xxx. 4.
[c] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

riſon of theſe circumſtances, that the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing began at a period prior to the time of Chriſt.

The violent diſſentions, which diverſity of opinions produced in the Alexandrian ſchools, inclined many to wiſh for a general coalition of ſects. This project appears to have been firſt formed by Potamo, and to have been carried into execution by Ammonius and his followers. The philoſophy of Plato, already united with that of Pythagoras, was made the baſis of this new ſyſtem; whence the ſect was conſidered as a Platonic ſchool, and its followers have been commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the later Platoniſts. With the doctrines of Plato, they attempted to blend thoſe of Ariſtotle, who from the time of Demetrius Phalereus had been in high eſtimation in Alexandria. In dialectics, this union was not difficult; but in phyſics and metaphyſics, the leading dogmas of theſe philoſophers were ſo widely different, and in many reſpects even contradictory, that it was impoſſible to bring them together, without diſtorting and miſrepreſenting both, and contriving ſtrange and fanciful hypotheſes to reconcile them. One memorable example of theſe, among many which might be adduced, is the dogma of the Eclectic ſchool concerning the eternal generation of the world in the divine mind, which neither agrees with Plato's doctrine of Ideas, nor with Ariſtotle's notion concerning the eternity of the world. The Stoic ſyſtem was alſo in the Eclectic ſchool accommodated to the Platonic; and the moral writings of the followers of Zeno were explained upon the principles of Plato. The Enchiridion of Epictetus, for inſtance, is platoniſed in the Commentary of Simplicius. The only ſect, with which the Alexandrian ſchool could come to no terms of agreement, was that of Epicurus, whoſe mechanical principles of nature were contrary to the fundamental doctrines of Platoniſm. It muſt be evident, on the moſt curſory view, that a method of philoſophiſing, which thus undertook to combine the tenets of different ſects, could anſwer no other purpoſe than to confound all former diſtinctions, and to give birth to new abſurdities.

Plato having propoſed the intuitive contemplation of Intelligibles, and eſpecially of the Firſt Intelligence, the Supreme Deity, as the

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summit of human felicity, the philosophers of the Eclectic sect were peculiarly ambitious of this sublime attainment, and even carried their notions and pretensions on this subject further than their master. Not satisfied with arriving at a formal and essential intuition of divine natures, they aspired after a sort of deification of the human mind. That they might the more easily reach, in imagination, this point of perfection, they forsook the DUALISTIC SYSTEM which Plato had assumed, and adopted from the Oriental philosophy the SYSTEM OF EMANATION, which supposed an indefinite series of spiritual natures, derived from the supreme source; whence, considering the human mind as a link in this chain of intelligence, they conceived that, by passing through various stages of purification, it might at length ascend to the First Fountain of intelligence, and enjoy a mysterious union with the divine nature. They even imagined that the soul of man, properly prepared by previous discipline, might rise to a capacity of holding immediate intercourse with good dæmons, and even to enjoy, in extacy, an intuitive vision of God: a point of perfection and felicity which many of their great men, such as Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and Proclus, were supposed actually to have attained.

Several circumstances concurred to give this enthusiastic cast to the Alexandrian school. The Platonic sect had, from its first institution, leaned towards enthusiasm. That part of their system, which these later Platonists had borrowed from the oriental school, was wonderfully calculated to cherish the flights of a luxuriant fancy. And the union of the two characters of philosopher and priest, which, as appears in the lives of Apollonius, Apuleius, and others, was at this period not unusual, whilst it would in some cases be favourable to imposture, would, in others, serve to minister fuel to the fire of enthusiasm.

In order to account still further for some of the more striking features of the Eclectic sect, it is necessary particularly to remark the arts, which the leaders of this sect employed to obstruct the progress of the Christian religion. By combining into one system all the important tenets, both theological and philosophical, which were at

that time received, either in the Pagan or the Chriſtian ſchools, they hoped to confirm the heathens in their attachment to their old ſuperſtitions, and to reconcile the Chriſtians to Paganiſm. They endeavoured to conceal the abſurdities of the antient religion, by caſting over its fables the veil of allegory, and thus repreſenting them as founded upon important truths. The numerous train of heathen divinities they repreſented as emanations from the Supreme Deity, through whom he himſelf was worſhipped. That their ſyſtem might, if poſſible, rival that which was taught in the Chriſtian ſchools, they ſpeculated, after the manner of Plato, upon divine and intelligent natures: they even attempted to incorporate with their own dogmas ſeveral of the peculiar doctrines received among the Chriſtians, and made no ſcruple to deck themſelves with borrowed ornaments, by imitating, on many occaſions, the language of the Chriſtian fathers. In hopes of counteracting the credit which Chriſtianity derived from the exalted merit of its Founder, and from the purity of manners which prevailed among his followers, theſe philoſophers practiſed rigorous abſtinence, by which they profeſſed to purify themſelves from every tincture of moral defilement, and paſſed whole days and nights in contemplation and devotion. With a view to deſtroy the authority which the Chriſtian religion derived from miracles, or at leaſt to reduce it to a level with their own, they pretended to a power of performing ſupernatural operations by the aid of inviſible beings; and maintained, that the miracles of Chriſt were wrought by the ſame magical, or theurgic, powers which they themſelves poſſeſſed. Laſtly, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the credit of Paganiſm againſt that of Chriſtianity, they obtruded upon the world many ſpurious books, under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, and other illuſtrious antients.

The Eclectic ſect, thus raiſed upon the foundations of ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and impoſture, proved the occaſion of much confuſion and miſchief both to the Chriſtian religion and to philoſophy.

In the infancy of the Alexandrian ſchool, not a few among the profeſſors of Chriſtianity ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far deluded by the pretenſions of this ſect, as to imagine that a coalition

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might, with great advantage, be formed between its ſyſtem and that of Chriſtianity; and this union ſeemed the more deſirable, as ſeveral philoſophers of this ſect became converts to the Chriſtian faith. But the conſequence was, that Pagan ideas and opinions were by degrees mixed with the pure and ſimple doctrine of the goſpel; the fanatical philoſophy of Ammonius corrupted the pure religion of Chriſt; and his church became a field of contention, and a nurſery of error.

This project for a coalition of ſyſtems was not leſs injurious to philoſophy. Before this period, although the philoſophical world had been divided into many ſects, and diſturbed by endleſs controverſies, ſtill each ſect had its peculiar character and tenets; ſo that any one, who was deſirous of knowing the truth, might form a judgment for himſelf of their reſpective merits, and might adopt that ſyſtem which he judged to be moſt conſonant to reaſon. But, in attempting to combine the leading tenets of each ſect into one common ſyſtem, theſe philoſophers were obliged, in many caſes, to underſtand them in a ſenſe different from that of their original authors; whence it becomes impoſſible, from their writings, to form an accurate notion either of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, the Egyptian, or the Oriental philoſophy. Finding it impracticable to produce an appearance of harmony among ſyſtems eſſentially different from each other, without caſting a veil of obſcurity over the whole, they exerted their utmoſt ingenuity in deviſing fanciful conceptions, ſubtle diſtinctions, airy ſuppoſitions, and vague terms; combinations of which, infinitely diverſified, they attempted, too ſucceſsfully, to impoſe upon the world as a ſyſtem of real and ſublime truths. It is not eaſy to conceive, how many thorns and briars, from this time, obſtructed the path of ſcience. Loſt in ſubtleties, theſe pretenders to ſuperior wiſdom were perpetually endeavouring to explain, by imaginary reſemblances, and arbitrary diſtinctions, what they themſelves probably never underſtood. Diſdaining to ſubmit to the guidance of reaſon and good-ſenſe, they gave up the reins to imagination, and ſuffered themſelves to be borne away through the boundleſs regions of metaphyſics, where the

the eye labours in vain to follow them. If any one be desirous of proofs or illustrations of these remarks, we refer him to the writings of Plotinus and Proclus, on the subjects of the Deity and inferior divine natures, where he will meet with innumerable examples of egregious trifling, under the appearance of profound philosophy.

It would be an undertaking wholly impracticable, to frame an accurate delineation of the Eclectic doctrine; both, because its authors were not agreed among themselves in any one system, and because they do not appear to have themselves clearly conceived the meaning of many of their own dogmas. We shall, however, lay before the reader a brief specimen of this philosophy, in metaphysics, from Plotinus; in theology, from Jamblichus; and in morals, from Porphyry.

In metaphysics Plotinus taught thus:

The First Principle of the universe is not the universe, but above all, and the power of all; without which nothing could be; which, though the fountain of being, is itself incapable of division or increase. This first principle, the cause of intellectual life, the source of essence and being, is simple, and having no place, has neither motion nor rest. It is infinite, not as being immense, but as it is one, and has nothing by which it can be limited. Because that from which all things proceed can permit nothing to exist better than itself, it is the best of all beings. It is essential good, most fair and beautiful; and because it is in itself lovely, and the author of all that is lovely, it is the beginning and end of beauty. No attribute is to be ascribed to this First Principle in the same sense in which it is ascribed to other beings, but in a manner wholly inexplicable. Its nature is to be comprehended rather by profound contemplation, than by any act of the understanding [a].

From this First Principle proceeds Mind, or Intellect; and Soul, or the Active Principle. The primary Essential Good is the cen-

[a] Plotin. Enn. iii. l. viii. c. 9. En. v. l. ii. c. 1. l. v. c. 10, 11. En. vi. l. ii. c. 9. l. vii. c. 23, 33. l. viii. c. 7. Jambl. de Myst. S. viii. c. 2.

ter;

ter; Mind, the light emerging from it, and remaining fixed; Soul, the motion of the emaning light; Body, the opaque substance which is illuminated by the soul. In the production of the Second Principle, Mind, no kind of action, or will, is to be supposed; for then that action, or will, would be the second, and mind the third emanation. The first principle, having been always perfect, has always produced the second; which is inferior to the producing cause, but superior to all other natures. This second principle, Mind, is necessarily united to its source, and is the image of God, bearing such resemblance to him as light bears to the sun: it is produced by the energy of the first principle, and is the exerted power of vision, reflection, or intelligence. This second principle being produced, its energy produces within itself the fair universe of ideas, or intelligible natures; whence it comprehends a plenitude of all things as essential principles, before they exist as material substances. Intelligence is the act of intellect, or mind, contemplating intelligible natures. These natures may be considered as numbers proceeding from the Monad, or first principle, and Duad, or first emanation: but the first principle, considered in itself, must be distinguished from these; for intellect, being exercised in contemplating intelligible natures within, but distinct from, itself, wants that simplicity which is essential to the first principle [a].

From the emanative energy of Mind is produced Soul, or the Active Principle of life. This divine principle is the fountain, whence all life is derived. It subsists, as well as Intellect, within the divine essence, and is, therefore, ὑπερκόσμιον, supramundane [b]. This is the immediate source of the principle which animates the world, εγκόσμιον, and which is diffused, in various portions, through animated nature [c].

[a] En. ii. l. ix. c. 1. En. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 17. En. v. l. i. c. 4, 6, 7. l. iv. c. ult. l. v. c. 1, 12. l. vi. c. 1, 2. l. vii. c. 1. l. ix. c. 6, 8.

[b] En. iii. l. v. c. 2. En. v. l. i. c. 7. l. viii. c. 4.

[c] Proclus in Tim. l. ii. p. 92.

Matter is the receptacle and ſubject of forms, but has in itſelf neither figure, quality, magnitude, nor place, and can therefore only be defined negatively: nevertheleſs, it is not a mere name, but truly exiſts as the baſis of qualities. Matter exiſts potentially; bodies actually, with their peculiar characters [a].

There never was a time, when matter and form exiſted ſeparately, or when the univerſe was not animated [b]. To ſuppoſe the formation of the univerſe the effect of chance is abſurd. The world is to be conceived as having always exiſted, and mind as prior to it, not in the order of time, but of nature, and therefore as the eternal and neceſſary cauſe, both formal and efficient, of its exiſtence [c]. The ſenſible world is produced after the pattern of the intelligible world, by the energy of mind pouring forth ſome portion of its own nature upon matter, and hereby giving it the firſt unconſcious principle of motion and form [d]. The world contains ſuperior and inferior regions, the former of which are inhabited by gods and other celeſtial beings, the latter by men and inferior animals. Becauſe the world includes every thing within itſelf, ſo that there is nothing into which it can be changed, nor any external force by which it can be diſperſed, it muſt be perpetual in its duration [e].

Among Celeſtial Natures, there are various orders, poſſeſſing different degrees of perfection, and all entitled to religious worſhip, Gods, Dæmons, Genii, Heroes. The ſouls of men and inferior animals form the common limit between the intellectual and ſenſible world [f].

The human ſoul is derived from the ſupramundane ſoul, or firſt principle of life, and is in this reſpect ſiſter to the ſoul of the world. Souls are not in the body as their place, nor as their receptacle, nor as

a Plot. En. ii. l. iv. c. 1.—6, 11, 12. l. v. c. 2.

b En. iv. l. iii. c. 9.

c En. iii. l. i. c. 1. Porphyr. Ant. Nymph. p. 131. Jamb. Myſt. Ægypt. ſ. viii. c. 3.

d From this doctrine Cudworth, in his *Intellectual Syſtem*, derives his Plaſtic Nature.

e En. iii. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4, 8—10.

f En. iii. l. v. c. 6.

their

their ſubject, nor as a part of a whole, nor as form united to matter, but ſimply as the animating principle; for it is in this reſpect only that we know the ſoul to be preſent with the body. The power of the ſoul is diffuſed through every part of the body; and though it be ſaid to reſide in its chief inſtrument the brain, it is incorporeal, and exiſts entirely every where within the ſphere of its energy. Partaking of the nature of real being, it is immutable. It is the principle of motion, moving itſelf, and communicating motion to bodies. The vices and infelicities of the ſoul are wholly derived from its union with the body [a].

Souls, in the periodical revolutions of nature, ſeparate themſelves from their fountain, and deſcend into the lower regions of the world. In their paſſage, they attract to themſelves an ethereal vehicle, and at laſt ſink into animal bodies, as into a cavern, or ſepulchre. But when, by the power of reminiſcence, they again turn themſelves to the contemplation of intelligible and divine natures, they regain their freedom [b]. God, on account of his greatneſs, is not known by intelligence, or ſenſe, but by a kind of intuition ſuperior to ſcience, by means of which the ſoul can ſee him in his real nature, as the fountain of Life, Mind, and Being, and the cauſe of Good [c]. A ſoul which has attained to this viſion of God will lament its union with the body, and will rejoice to leave its priſon, and return to the divine nature from which it proceeded [d]. After death, the ſouls of men paſs into other animals, or aſcend into ſuperior regions, and are converted into beings of an higher order, according to their preſent degree of defilement or of purification [e].

The theological doctrine of Jamblichus is briefly this:

The human ſoul has an innate knowledge of God prior to all reaſoning, having originally derived its eſſence from, and ſubſiſted in, the divine nature. By the intervention of dæmons, it enjoys communications

[a] En. v. l. i. c. 2. En. iv. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 20. l. i. p. 360. l. ii. c. 1. En. ii. l. ii. c. 18. l. ix. c. 5. En. iv. l. vii. c. 1, 2, 9, 11.

[b] En. iv. l. iii. c. 12. l. iv. c. 16. l. ix. c. 4. En. vi. l. viii. c. 1.

[c] Enn. vi. l. ix. c. 4, 7. [d] C. 8, 9.

[e] En. i. l. ii. c. 1. En. iii. l. iv. c. 2.

with

with the ſuperior divinities, and with God himſelf. Prayers, hymns, luſtrations, ſacrifices, are the means by which this intercourſe is maintained. Gods, dæmons, and heroes, appear to men under various forms, in dreams or waking viſions, to render them bodily or ſpiritual ſervices, and to enable them to predict future events. Theſe communications with divine natures are not to be obtained, but by the obſervance of certain ſacred rites, whoſe ſymbolical meaning is only known to the gods, and to thoſe who are converſant with theſe myſteries. The ſigns of divine communication, ἐνθυσίασμȣ̃, are a temporary ſuſpenſion of the ſenſes and faculties, the interruption of the ordinary functions of life, and a capacity of ſpeaking and doing wonders, ſo that the perſon doth not live an animal, or human, but a divine life [a].

Upon the foundation of theſe enthuſiaſtic notions was raiſed the Ethical ſyſtem of the Alexandrian ſchool. Their moral doctrine, as it appears in the writings of Porphyry and others, was, briefly, as follows:

The mind of man, originally a portion of the divine nature, having fallen into a ſtate of darkneſs and defilement by its union with the body, is to be gradually emancipated from the chain of matter, and, by contemplating real entities, to riſe to the knowledge and viſion of God. The end of philoſophy is, therefore, the liberation of the ſoul from its corporeal impriſonment. For this purpoſe, it muſt paſs through the ſeveral ſtages of the Human and Divine Virtues. The Human Virtues are phyſical, œconomical, and political; or, thoſe which reſpect the care of the body, and the offices of domeſtic and civil life. The Divine Virtues are purgative, theoretic, and theurgic: the firſt claſs conſiſts in bodily abſtinence, and other voluntary mortifications; the ſecond comprehends all thoſe exerciſes of the intellect and imagination, by which the mind contemplates abſtract truth, and intelligible natures; the third includes thoſe religious exerciſes, by which the philoſopher is qualified for, and admitted to, an immediate intercourſe with ſuperior beings, attains a

[a] Jamblich. de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum. Ed. Gal. Oxon. 1702. fol.

power over dæmons, and afcends fo far above the ordinary condition of humanity, as to enjoy the vifion of God in this life, and to return, at death, to the Divine Mind, whence it firft proceeded[a].

On reviewing the fpeculative part of the Eclectic fyftem, as it appears in the preceding fummary, the reader will eafily perceive that the Alexandrian philofophers, though they founded their fyftem chiefly upon the doctrine of Plato, departed from him in many particulars. Their notions of the divine nature are not ftrictly Platonic, but the fanciful conceptions of Plato purfued to a higher degree of extravagance, and blended with the Egyptian and Oriental doctrine of emanation. Thofe of the Oriental philofophers, who were called Gnoftics, carried this doctrine to fo abfurd an extreme, as to imagine a long genealogy of divine effences, flowing from the firft fountain of exiftence, and dwelling within the infinite plenitude of the Divine Nature; to thefe they gave the name of Æons. Plotinus maintained, againft the Gnoftics, that there are only three diftinct ὑποςασεῖς, fubfiftences, in the divine nature[b]. He receded from Plato, in fuppofing one of thefe, the foul or animating principle, to be a part of the divine nature, and not a feparate and fubordinate principle, the foul of the world. Others[c] converted this trinity into a quaternity, by conceiving three principles, Intellect, Ideas, and Soul, to be derived from one common fource, the firft principle of all exiftence. In what manner they fuppofed the intelligible world to fubfift in the divine nature, whilft neverthelefs it retained its fimplicity, it may be difficult to explain. But it appears evident, that, with Plato, they underftood thefe Ideas to be fomething more than mere conceptions, and imagined them to have a real exiftence,

[a] Porphyr. de Abftinentiæ, et Sententiæ, &c. Jambl. Serm. Protrept. pafs. Conf. Plot. En. iii. l. ix. c. 9, 10. En. iv. l. iii. c. 7. En. vi. l. ult. Amm. Marcell. l. xxv. c. 4. Macrob. Som. Sc. l. i. c. 7, 13. Simplic. in Epict. p. 5.

[b] En. ii. l. ix. c. 1.

[c] Cyril. Alex. adv. Julian. l. i. p. 35. l. viii. p. 371. Proclus in Tim. Plat. l. ii. p. 93.

comprehended within the divine essence[a]. Plotinus expresses his notion of these intelligible natures, under the image of waters existing in their fountain before they flow forth in streams[b]. Another essential difference between the doctrine of Plato himself, and that of the later Platonists, is, that while Plato held the DUALISTIC SYSTEM, which supposed matter to have existed eternally as a substance distinct from mind, the Alexandrian philosopher conceived matter itself to have proceeded by eternal emanation from the divine nature. To this we may add, that Plato taught, that the universe was formed, at a certain finite time, by the voluntary energy of divine power upon the eternal mass of matter; but the Alexandrian Platonists, that intelligible forms have been eternally impressed upon matter, that is, that the universe has existed from eternity.

It is wonderful to observe how laboriously these philosophers tortured their imaginations in attempting to solve difficulties, which existed only in their own fanciful system, or which lie beyond the reach of the human understanding. They took infinite pains to distinguish between intelligible and intelligent natures[c]; to shew, how Ideas, not in themselves intelligent, but the objects of intelligence, could exist in the divine intellect; to explain the manner in which the divine mind acts upon matter; to make it evident, that matter is sent forth by emanation from an immaterial source; and to clear up other imaginary, or inexplicable mysteries. "The divine mind," says Plotinus[d], "acts upon matter by means of ideas, not externally, after the manner of human art, but internally, as a forming nature; neither separate from matter, nor mixed with it, he sends forth from himself ideas, or forms, and impresses them upon matter." "God," says Jamblichus, "produced matter, by separating Materiality from Essentiality."

But it is wholly unnecessary to dwell longer upon the visionary subtleties of the Alexandrian philosophy. The facts and opinions which we have laid before the reader respecting the Eclectic sect

[a] Plot. En. v. l. i. c. 7.
[b] En. iii. l. viii. c. 9.
[c] Plot. Enn. l. viii. c. 4.
[d] Enn. vi. l. v. c. 8. En. iii. l. i. c. 2.

will,

will, we doubt not, be thought abundantly ſufficient to juſtify this general concluſion; that the Plotinian ſchool, by combining ſyſtems which were originally diſtinct from each other; by perſonifying abſtract conceptions, and ſpeaking of them as real beings; by inventing ſtrange fictions concerning the Supreme Being, and concerning ſubordinate divinities; and by raiſing upon theſe fictions the baſeleſs fabric of enthuſiaſm and fanaticiſm, introduced infinite confuſion into philoſophy, and fatally obſtructed, inſtead of promoting, the progreſs of uſeful knowledge. The pernicious influence of the Eclectic ſyſtem, both upon opinions and manners, through many ſucceeding ages, will be ſeen in the ſequel*.

* Vidend. Voſs. de Sect. c. 21. § 23. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 327. Geſner. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 851. Moſheim, de Turb. per recent. Plat. Eccl. § 8. Selden in Orig. Alexand. p. 147. Oudin. de Scr. Eccl. t. 1. p. 230, 238. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. xxi. c. 10. Blount. Cenſ. p. 203. Jonſ. l. ii. c. 9, 18. l. iii. c. 11, 15, 16, 17. Holſten. Vit. Porph. ed. Rom. Baſnage Annal. t. ii. An. 278. Vincent. Lirinenſio. Commonit. c. 23. ed Bal. Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. p. ii. c. 1. Huet. Origen. An. l. i. c. 1. Thomas Obſ. de Porph. ap. Heuman. t. iii. p. 53. Miſc. Lipſ. t. i. p. 317. Clerici Bibl. Anc. et Mod. t. x. Reland. Palæſtin. l. i. c. 48. Voſs. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 18. Conring. Ant. Acad. Diſſ. 1. Schmidii Diſſ. de Hypatia. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Sac. p. 251. Voſs. de Sc. Math. c. xvi. § 9. Bayle. Moſhem. de Studio Ethnicorum Chriſtianos imitandi. Diſs. H. E. p. 330. Idem de Cauſis ſuppoſ. lib. ibid. p. 217. Cudworth, c. iv. § 23, 30, &c. cum Notis Moſhem. Fabr. Proleg. in Vit. Procli. De Bleterie Vie de Julien. Amſt. 1735. Rechenberg. de Apoſt. Jul. Toland's Tetradymus. Werenſdorf. Diſs. 1734.

SECT. 5.

OF THE STATE OF THE PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

WHILST Platoniſm, and the Eclectic ſect, which roſe out of Platoniſm, flouriſhed at Alexandria and Athens, and had many advocates in Rome, the other antient ſects ſtill continued to exiſt in their reſpective forms, and to be ſupported by able patrons.

The Peripatetic philoſophy, which had been introduced into Rome, as we have ſeen, by Tyrannio and Andronicus, by whom the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus were reſcued from oblivion, regained its antient credit under the Cæſars. From the time of Andronicus to that of Ammonius, the preceptor of Plutarch, that is, till the reign of Nero, the doctrines of this ſect were taught with great purity in its ſchools. But after Ammonius, it began to experience the influence of that ſpirit of confuſion, which prevailed among the Eclectic philoſophers; and the plan of Antiochus, who had formerly attempted a coalition between Ariſtotle, Plato, and Zeno, was revived. The Peripatetic ſect was from this time divided into two branches; the one conſiſting of ſuch as attempted to combine the doctrines of other ſchools with thoſe of Ariſtotle; the other, including thoſe who wiſhed to follow more cloſely the ſteps of the Stagyrite[a].

Julius Cæſar, and Auguſtus, patronized the Peripatetic philoſophy; the former in the perſon of Soſigines, the latter in that of Nicolaus. Under the tyrannical reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, it

[a] Nunnes. ad Vit. Ariſt. p. 153. Patricii Diſc. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 127. xi. p. 145. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 271.

experienced

experienced worse fortune; many excellent men of this sect, as well as others, being either banished from Rome, or obliged, through fear of persecution, to remain silent. In the reign of Nero, a fortunate circumstance for a while raised philosophy from the dust. Agrippina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, having formed the design of advancing her son Nero to the imperial power, in order to give the people high expectations concerning him, committed the charge of his education to philosophers of the first eminence, particularly Seneca the Stoic, and Ægeus the Peripatetic. In consequence of this appointment, philosophers continued, for about five years, to enjoy the patronage of the Imperial Court: but, after that period, they shared the fate of the professors of magical arts, or, as they were then called, mathematicians, and were again banished the city[a]. During the first century of the Roman empire, we find few celebrated names among the Peripatetic philosophers. The principal are Sosigenes, Boethius, Nicolaus, and Ægeus.

SOSIGENES, a native of Egypt, acquired great celebrity by his acquaintance with mathematical science, and was employed by Julius Cæsar in correcting the calendar. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle's treatise *De Cœlo*[b].

BOETHIUS OF SIDON was a pupil of Andronicus[c]. Strabo mentions him as his fellow-pupil in the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, and ranks him among the most famous philosophers of his time[d].

NICOLAUS[e], a native of Damascus in Syria, flourished in the time of Augustus. He was a man of extensive learning, and an illustrious ornament of the Peripatetic school. Herod the Great made choice of him for his preceptor in philosophy; and, when he sailed to Rome, for the purpose of visiting the emperor, took him as his companion in the voyage. Afterwards, interrupting

[a] Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 1. [b] Plin. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf. Patric. l. x. p. 13[illegible]. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 33. [c] Ammon. in Categ. p. 8.

[d] Menag, ad Laert. l. vi. § 443. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 757. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 299.

[e] Athenæus l. vi. p. 249. Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 4. Phot. Cod. 189. Suidas. Suet. in Aug. c. 79. Simplic. l. ii. de Cœlo. Fabr. v. ii. p. 809.

the ſtudy of philoſophy, that prince proſecuted hiſtorical learning under Nicolaus, who, at his requeſt undertook to write a Univerſal Hiſtory. Introduced by Herod to Auguſtus, he was admitted to his intimate friendſhip, and received from him many valuable tokens of regard. The integrity and generoſity of his ſpirit, and the urbanity of his manners, obtained him univerſal reſpect. Nicolaus wrote ſeveral treatiſes on the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; "A Diſſertation on the manners of Various Nations;" "Memoirs of Auguſtus;" and "His own Life." Of theſe ſome fragments are preſerved by Valeſius.

Alexander Ægeus wrote a commentary upon Ariſtotle's Meteorology, in the manner of the antient Peripatetics. He was, as we have ſaid, one of Nero's preceptors, but gained little credit in this capacity, for he is ſuſpected of having contributed to the corruption of his royal pupil. This philoſopher is ſometimes confounded with Alexander Aphrodiſeus [a].

About this time Ammonius, the preceptor of Plutarch, attempted to extend the authority of Ariſtotle beyond the limits of his own ſect, by blending the Platonic and Stoic doctrine with the Peripatetic. He taught and died at Athens. From this time, many Platoniſts ſtudied the writings of Ariſtotle, and commented upon them; and thus the way was prepared for the formation of the Eclectic ſect under Ammonius Sacca, who flouriſhed about a century later than Ammonius the Peripatetic [b].

After this time, however, we ſtill meet with ſeveral genuine followers of Ariſtotle, of whom the moſt celebrated was Alexander Aphrodiseus, ſo called from a town in Caria which gave him birth [c]. This philoſopher penetrated, with ſo much ſucceſs, into the meaning of the moſt profound ſpeculations of his maſter, that he was not only reſpected by his contemporaries as an excellent preceptor, but was followed by ſubſequent Ariſtotelians among the

[a] Suidas. Fab. v. ii. p. 273. v. iv. p. 63.

[b] Eunap. Proem. Vit. Soph. p. 5. Suidas. Plut. de Ei Delph. Fab. v. ii. p. 274. v. iii. p. 330. v. iv. p. 171.

[c] Suidas. Aphrod. de Anim. Pref. l. 1. De Fato, init. Topic. l. ii. p. 72. De Anim. l. i. 11. l. ii. 144. l. iii. c. 7. p. 138.

Greeks, Latins, and Arabians, as the beſt interpreter of Ariſtotle. On account of the number and value of his commentaries, he was called, by way of diſtinction, The Commentator. Under the emperor Septimius Severus he was appointed public profeſſor of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, but whether at Athens or Alexandria is uncertain. He flouriſhed about the year two hundred. Several of his works are ſtill extant, among which is a learned and elegant treatiſe "On Fate[a]," wherein he ſupports the doctrine of Divine Providence. Upon this head he leaned towards Platoniſm, but on moſt other ſubjects adhered ſtrictly to Ariſtotle. In his book concerning the Soul, he maintains that, it is εἶδός τι τȣ̃ σώματος ὀργανικȣ̃, καὶ ȣ̓κ ȣ̓σιαν αὐτὴν καθ' αυτὴν, not a diſtinct ſubſtance by itſelf, but the *form* of an organized body[b].

Many of the Eclectic philoſophers undertook to explain and illuſtrate the writings of Ariſtotle, particularly on the ſubject of dialectics, which Plato had left imperfect. Beſides Porphyry, Jamblichus, Plutarchus, Neſtorius, and others already mentioned, we may reckon Dexippus, Themiſtius, Olympiodorus, and Simplicius, among the Eclectic commentators upon Ariſtotle[c].

Dexippus was a diſciple of Jamblichus; but though he gave his name to the Platonic ſchool, he was more inclined to the doctrine of Ariſtotle, than to that of Plato, as appears from his "Reply to the Objections of Plotinus againſt Ariſtotle's Categories," a work ſtill extant[d].

Themistius, who was born in an obſcure town of Paphlagonia, fixed his reſidence at Conſtantinople, and taught eloquence and philoſophy with great ſucceſs. He had many diſciples, both Pagan and Chriſtian: among the former was Libanius; among the latter, Gregory Nazianzen. He enjoyed the favour of the emperors, by whom he was admitted to the higheſt honours. Conſtantius, in the year three hundred and fifty-five, received him into the ſenate, and

[a] Ed. Lond. 1658.

[b] Qu. & Sol. l. ii. c. 8.

[c] Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. l. vii. c. 32. Niceph. l. vi. c. 36. Hieron. Cat. Scrip. c. 73. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 14.

[d] Simplic. in Categ. p. 1. Suidas.

afterwards, in return for an eloquent eulogium, preſented him with a brazen ſtatue. Julian received him as a friend, and frequently correſponded with him. In the year three hundred and ſixty-two he was appointed by this emperor prefect of Conſtantinople. He enjoyed equal diſtinction under the ſucceeding emperors, from whom he obtained by his eloquence whatever he wiſhed. Theodoſius the Great, during his viſit to the Weſtern empire, intruſted Themiſtius with the care and education of his ſon Arcadius. His eloquence, wiſdom, and ability in public affairs, united with uncommon gentleneſs of temper and urbanity of manners, were the foundation of that long courſe of civil honours, by which his life was diſtinguiſhed. About the year three hundred and eighty-ſeven, Themiſtius withdrew, at an advanced age, from public buſineſs, and ſoon after died [a].

A memorable example of the liberal ſpirit of Themiſtius is related by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians [b]. The emperor Valens, who favoured the Arian party, inflicted many hardſhips and ſufferings upon the Trinitarians, and daily threatened them with ſtill greater ſeverities. Themiſtius, to whom theſe meaſures were exceedingly diſpleaſing, addreſſed the emperor upon the ſubject in an eloquent ſpeech, in which he repreſented the diverſity of opinions among the Chriſtians as inconſiderable, compared with that of the Pagan philoſophers; and pleaded, that this diverſity could not be diſpleaſing to God, ſince it did not prevent men from worſhipping him with true piety. By theſe and other arguments Themiſtius prevailed upon the emperor to treat the Trinitarians with greater lenity.

Themiſtius illuſtrated ſeveral of the works of Ariſtotle, particularly the Analytics, the Phyſics, and the book on the Soul, in Commentaries written with great perſpicuity and elegance [c]. His "Orations" are ſtrongly marked with the ſame characters. He is

[a] Suid. Phot. Cod. 74. Them. Orat. 4, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 27, 31, 33. Liban. Epiſt. i. 139, 40. Jul. ep. ad Them.

[b] Socrat. l. iv. c. 32. Sozom. l. vi. c. 36. Niceph. l. xi. c. 46.

[c] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 1. 37. Ed. Venet. 1534. Par. 1684.

to be diſtinguiſhed from Themiſtius, a Chriſtian deacon of Alexandria, who lived after the council of Chalcedon, held in the year five hundred and fifty-one, and was the head of the ſect of the Agnoetæ [a]; ſo called, becauſe they taught that Chriſt, the λόγος, was ignorant of many things. There is nothing in the writings of Themiſtius the philoſopher, from which it can be inferred that he ever deſerted the Pagan ſchools.

In the following century, about the year four hundred and thirty, flouriſhed OLYMPIODORUS, an Alexandrian philoſopher, celebrated for his knowledge of the Ariſtotelian doctrine. Proclus, before he was twenty years of age, attended upon his ſchool. This philoſopher is to be diſtinguiſhed from a Platoniſt of this name, whoſe commentary upon Plato is preſerved among the Manuſcripts in the king's library at Paris; and alſo from a Peripatetic of a later age, who wrote a Commentary upon Ariſtotle's Meteorology [b].

SIMPLICIUS CILIX, a Platoniſt, who flouriſhed under the emperor Juſtinian, wrote commentaries upon Ariſtotle, which diſcover ſound judgment and extenſive reading; but his fondneſs for the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, led him to mix the Platonic and Stoic with the Peripatetic doctrines. His "Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus" affords a curious example of this combination of heterogeneous tenets. He ſtrenuouſly defended Ariſtotle's doctrine concerning the eternity of the world againſt Philoponus. Simplicius was one of thoſe Platoniſts, who, about the beginning of the ſixth century, fled from the perſecution of the emperor to Choſroës king of Perſia [c].

From the preceding detail, a ſufficiently accurate idea may be formed of the fate of the Peripatetic philoſophy under the Roman emperors, before it took refuge, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, among the Arabians. Under ſeveral of the Cæſars, the philoſophers of this ſchool ſhared, with their brethren, the common diſcouragements and

[a] Phot. Cod. 108. 23. [b] Suidas. Marin. Vit. Procli, c. 9.

[c] Simp. ad Phyſ. l. i. com. 12. p. 32. l. iv. com. 53. 141. De Cælo. p. 113. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 621.

infelicities of oppreſſion. The conciſe and logical method of philoſophiſing, which prevailed in this ſchool, could obtain few admirers at a period remarkable for a looſe and florid kind of eloquence. The doctrine, which the Peripatetics of this period had received from their maſter, ſuffered much adulteration from the unwearied endeavours of the Alexandrian philoſophers to eſtabliſh an Eclectic ſyſtem. Notwithſtanding the external ſplendour in which this ſect, with ſeveral others, appeared under the Antonines, it was from that time impaired by internal diſeaſe and corruption. Many bold, but injudicious grammarians and critics attempted to ſupply chaſms, and to clear up obſcurities, in the writings of Ariſtotle, from their own ingenious conjectures, which they preſumed to incorporate with the author's text. Even Alexander Aphrodiſeus, who profeſſed to reſtore the genuine Ariſtotelian ſyſtem, not confining himſelf to the doctrine of his maſter, contributed towards its adulteration. But nothing proved ſo injurious to the Peripatetic philoſophy, as the rage for commenting upon the works of Ariſtotle, which prevailed among his followers. Notes, paraphraſes, arguments, ſummaries, and diſſertations, piled up, century after century, under the general name of Commentaries upon Ariſtotle, created, as might be expected, endleſs diſputes concerning the meaning of his writings: and it may, perhaps, be aſſerted with truth, that their genuine ſenſe, after all the pains which have been taken to explore it, yet remains, in many particulars, undiſcovered.*

* Vidend. Cozzand. de Magiſtr. Ant. Ph. l. ii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Sc. Math. c. 33. § 9. c. 59. § 14. Id. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 4, 15, 20. Grot. Epiſt. 262. Cleric. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. c. 9. Jonſ. l. ii. c. 16. l. vi. c. 19. Ruald. in Vit. Plutarch. c. 7. Meurſ. ad Ariſtoxen. et de Fortuna Attica, c. 8. Labb. Conſpect. Interpr. Pl. et Ariſt. Schelhorn. Amœnit. Lit. P. iii.

SECT.

SECT. 6.

OF THE STATE OF THE CYNIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE antient Cynic ſect was inſtituted, as hath been ſhewn, rather with a view to exhibit a pattern of philoſophical virtue, than to introduce a new ſyſtem of opinions. For this end, the original authors and ſupporters of this ſect devoted themſelves to voluntary poverty, lived upon the charity of the rich, practiſed the moſt rigorous abſtinence from pleaſure, and became cenſors of public manners. Whilſt the Cynics adhered to their original principles and character, they commanded, notwithſtanding their forbidding peculiarities, great attention and reſpect, not only from the vulgar but even from perſons of the higheſt rank. But, in proceſs of time, their independent ſpirit roſe into inſufferable haughtineſs and inſolence; and their unnatural ſeverity of manners degenerated into a groſs contempt of decorum, and an impudent freedom of ſpeech. Even ſo early as the time of Cicero, this ſect was fallen into ſuch diſcredit, that it was his opinion that the whole body ought to be baniſhed from the ſtate, for their ſhameful violations of modeſty [a]. Under the Cæſars, their infamous exceſſes furniſhed Lucian with a copious theme for ſatire [b]. In his Fugitives [c], he draws a humorous picture of thoſe falſe Cynics, who, without the virtues of Diogenes, carried his ſingularities to the moſt extravagant height.

The groſs and ſhameleſs manners of theſe pretended philoſophers

[a] De Off. l. i. [b] Lucian. Diog. & Crates: Vit. Auct. &c.
[c] T. iv. p. 321.

exposed

exposed them to ridicule and insult from the lowest and most profligate vulgar. Hence Persius says [a],

——— Multum gaudere paratus,
Si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellet [b].

Julian [c], speaking of the Cynics of his time, says, that they led a wandering and brutish life, and were alike troublesome and mischievous by the malignant reproaches which they cast upon the most excellent characters, and by the base adulation which they bestowed upon the most infamous. It is no wonder that this body, so injurious to society, as well as disgraceful to philosophy, was, under the virtuous Antonines, forbidden to hold public schools; and that in the fifth century, as the poet Sidonius intimates [d], the sect became almost extinct. In the midst of the numerous herd of Cynics whose names are forgotten, there were a few persons whose singular virtues, or vices, have preserved their names from oblivion.

Musonius, a Babylonian (confounded by Suidas with Musonius the Tuscan, a Stoic philosopher) is ranked by Eunapius [e] among the most virtuous and excellent of the modern Cynics. Philostratus speaks of him as next to Apollonius in wisdom, and as an eminent philosopher. His cynical spirit would not permit him to spare the vices of Nero; and the resentment of that tyrant consigned him to prison. Whilst he was in confinement, he formed a friendship with Apollonius, and held a correspondence with him, some specimens of which are preserved by Philostratus. He was, at last, banished to the Isthmus of Greece, and condemned to remain a

[a] Sat. i. v. 133.

[b] And then, O then, art most supremely blest,
When some wise Cynic's beard becomes a jest.

Brewster.

[c] Orat. 6. 7. Conf. Maxim. Tyr. Diss. 21. Arrian. Diss. Epict. l. iii. c. 22. p. 229.
[d] Carm. 2. [e] In Proem. p. 6.

slave,

ſlave, and to labour daily with the ſpade. His friend Demetrius, ſeeing him in this condition, expreſſed great concern at his misfortunes; upon which Muſonius, ſtriking his ſpade firmly in the ground, ſaid, "Why, Demetrius, do you lament to ſee me digging in the Iſthmus? You might indeed lament, if you ſaw me, like Nero, playing upon the harp [a]." Julian ſpeaks with admiration of his magnanimity [b]. The time of his death is uncertain; and none of his writings remain [c].

DEMETRIUS of Corinth [d], the friend of Muſonius, was alſo baniſhed from Rome in the time of Nero, for his free cenſure of public manners. After the death of this emperor he returned to Rome; but the boldneſs of his language ſoon offended Veſpaſian, and again deprived him of his liberty. Apollonius, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip, prevailed upon Titus to recal him; but under Domitian he ſhared the common fate of the philoſophers, and withdrew to Puteoli. Seneca, who was intimately acquainted with Demetrius, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of panegyric concerning his maſculine eloquence, ſound judgment, intrepid fortitude, and inflexible integrity. "Leaving," ſays he, "the nobles clad in purple, I converſe with, and admire, the half-naked Demetrius: and why do I admire him, but becauſe I perceive, that in the midſt of his poverty he wants nothing!—When I hear this excellent man diſcourſing from his couch of ſtraw, I perceive in him, not a preceptor only, but a witneſs of the truth; and I cannot doubt, that providence has endued him with ſuch virtues and talents, that he might be an example, and a monitor, to the preſent age [e]." Demetrius laid down to himſelf this prudent maxim, That it is better to have a few precepts of wiſdom always at hand for uſe, than to learn many things which cannot be applied to practice. He attended Thraſeas

[a] Vit. Apoll. l. iv. c. 35, 46. l. v. c. 19. l. vii. c. 11, 16. Suidas.
[b] Epiſt. ad Themiſt. p. 262. [c] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 365.
[d] Eunap. Vit. Soph. p. 7. Philoſt. l. iv. c. 42. l. v. c. 19. l. vi. c. 30. l. vii. c. 11. Suet. in Veſp. c. 13. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Arrian. Ep. l. i. c. 26.
[e] Sen. de Vit. Beat. c. 25.

Pætus

Pætus in his laſt moments, before his execution, and fortified his mind by converſing with him upon ſubjects of philoſophy [a].

Among the Cynics of this period is commonly reckoned, both by antient and modern writers, Oenomaus, who wrote a treatiſe to expoſe the frauds and impoſtures of Oracles, and another, to cenſure the degeneracy of the later Cynics. He flouriſhed under Adrian. His writings are not extant [b].

A diſtinguiſhed place among the genuine Cynics who were friends to virtue appears to be due to Demonax; whoſe hiſtory, though related only by Lucian [c], deſerves credit, ſince it is not probable that the Satyriſt, who lived at the ſame period, would have ventured to give a falſe narrative of a well-known character, or that he would have gone ſo far out of his uſual track of ſatire, merely to draw a fictitious portrait of a good man. Demonax, according to Lucian, was born in Cyprus. His parents were poſſeſſed of wealth and rank; but he aſpired after higher honours in the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the practice of virtue. Early in life he removed to Athens, where he afterwards continued to reſide. In his youth he was intimately converſant with the poets, and committed the moſt valuable parts of their writings to memory. When he engaged in the ſtudy of philoſophy, he did not lightly ſkim over the ſurface of ſubjects, but made himſelf perfect maſter of the tenets of the ſeveral ſects. In his habit and manner of living Demonax reſembled Diogenes, and is therefore properly ranked among the Cynics; but he imitated Socrates in making philoſophy, not a ſpeculative ſcience, but a rule of life and manners. He never openly eſpouſed the doctrines of any particular ſect, but took from each whatever tenets he judged moſt favourable to moral wiſdom. Avoiding all ridiculous ſingularity, diſguſting ſeverity, and forbidding haughtineſs, he aſſociated freely with all, and converſed with ſuch graceful eaſe, that

[a] Sen. Ep. 20. 62, 67, 91. De Benef. l. vii. c. 1, 8, 9, 11. Qu. Nat. l. iv. Præf. de Prov. c. 4, 5. Tacit. Annal. xv. c. ult.

[b] Suidas. Fabr. B. Gr. v. ii. p. 365. Jul. Orat. vi. vii.

[c] In Demonacte, t. ii. p. 560.

perſuaſion might be ſaid to dwell upon his lips. He poſſeſſed the happy art of rendering even reproof acceptable; like a prudent phyſician, curing the diſeaſe without fretting the patient. His ſimple manner of living gave him perfect independence; and his virtues procured him ſuch a degree of influence, that he was often employed in ſettling domeſtic diſſentions. His philanthropy was univerſal; and he never withdrew his regard from any, but ſuch as would not be perſuaded to forſake their vices. So perfect was his equanimity, that nothing ever deeply affected him, except the ſickneſs or death of a friend. He lived nearly to the age of an hundred years, without ſuffering pain or diſeaſe, or becoming burdenſome to any one. In extreme old age he went from houſe to houſe whereever he pleaſed, and was every where received with reſpect. As he paſſed along the ſtreets, the ſellers of bread would beg him to accept of ſome from their hands; and children would offer him fruits, and call him father. He died with the ſame placid countenance with which he had been accuſtomed to meet his friends. The Athenians honoured his body with a public funeral, which was attended by a numerous train of philoſophers and others, who all lamented the loſs of ſo excellent a man. If this picture, which is that of Lucian in miniature, was originally taken from real life, the biographer had ſome reaſon to ſpeak of Demonax, as the beſt philoſopher he ever knew.

From the anecdotes of Demonax, related by Lucian, we ſhall ſelect the following. Soon after Demonax came to Athens, a public charge was brought againſt him for neglecting to offer ſacrifice to Minerva, and to be initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries. Appearing before the aſſembly in a white garment, he pleaded, that Minerva did not ſtand in need of his offerings; and that he declined initiation into the myſteries, becauſe, if they were bad he ought not to conceal them, and if they were good, his love to mankind would oblige him to diſcloſe them: upon which he was acquitted. One of his companions propoſing to go to the temple of Eſculapius, to pray for the recovery of his ſon from ſickneſs, Demonax ſaid, "Do you ſuppoſe that Eſculapius cannot hear you as well from this place?"

Hearing two ignorant pretenders to philoſophy converſing, and remarking that the one aſked fooliſh queſtions, and the other made replies which were nothing to the purpoſe, he ſaid, "One of these men is milking a he-goat, while the other is holding a ſieve under him." Adviſing a certain rhetorician, who was a wretched declaimer, to perform frequent exerciſes; the rhetorician anſwered, "I frequently practiſe by myſelf." "No wonder," replied Demonax, "that you are ſo bad a ſpeaker, when you practiſe before ſo fooliſh an audience." Seeing a Spartan beating his ſervant unmercifully, he ſaid to him, "Why do you thus put yourſelf upon a level with your ſlave?" When Demonax was informed that the Athenians had thoughts of erecting an amphitheatre for gladiators, in imitation of the Corinthians, he went into the aſſembly, and cried out, "Athenians, before you make this reſolution, go and pull down the Altar of Mercy."

Of a character very different from that of Demonax was CRESCENS, a Megalopolitan. He even diſgraced the name of Cynic by his infamous practices: nevertheleſs, he declaimed eloquently in praiſe of abſtinence, magnanimity, and contempt of death. Creſcens is mentioned by Tatian, Juſtin Martyr, and Jerom, as a vile calumniator of the Chriſtians. His malicious accuſation of Juſtin for atheiſm before the magiſtrate, crowned that illuſtrious ornament of the Chriſtian church with the honours of martyrdom[a].

About this period lived PEREGRINUS, of Parium in Pontus. Lucian, relating the particulars of his life[b], ſays, that after having been guilty of many enormities, he became a Chriſtian, and obtained a temporary credit among the Chriſtians in Paleſtine; but that, returning to his old habits, he was diſmiſſed from their ſociety, and went to Egypt, where, in the character of a mendicant Cynic, he practiſed the moſt extravagant exploits of fanaticiſm; that he afterwards roved about through Italy and Greece, pouring forth the

[a] Tatian. Or. adv. Græc. p. 157. Juſt. Apol. i. p. 46. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. iv. c. 16. Syncell. p. 351. Phot. Cod. 125. Hieron. Cat. Script. c. 23.

[b] De Morte Peregrini. t. iv. p. 268. Athenag. legat. c. 23.

moſt

moſt impudent invectives againſt men of rank, and even againſt the emperor himſelf; and that at laſt, to procure himſelf, an immortal name, he went to the Olympic games, and, in the preſence of a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, raiſed a funeral pile, upon which, in imitation of Hercules, he devoted himſelf to voluntary death. It is very probable, that in this account the ſatiriſt has not given a juſt repreſentation of the character of Peregrinus; for Aulus Gellius [a] ſpeaks of him as a philoſopher of reputation in Athens, who was admired for his conſtancy, and whoſe moral lectures were much frequented. The ſtory of his laſt mad adventure is probably true [b]. Euſebius relates, that he committed himſelf to the flames in the year one hundred and ſixty-eight.

The laſt name, which remains to be added to the liſt of antient Cynics, is that of SALUSTIUS, a Syrian, who flouriſhed about the beginning of the ſixth century. After having ſtudied and practiſed eloquence, he attended upon Proclus at Athens, and was inſtructed by him in the Alexandrian philoſophy. But, being diſguſted with the futile ſpeculations, and the chaotic confuſion of this ſchool, he determined to adopt a kind of philoſophy, which he judged to be better ſuited to the purpoſes of human life, and addicted himſelf to the Cynic ſect. Leaving Athens, he went with Iſidorus to Alexandria, where he freely cenſured the vices of the times, and inveighed, with great acrimony, againſt the ſpeculative philoſophers of every ſect. A treatiſe "On the Gods," edited by Gale in his *Opuſcula Mythologica*, was, probably, not the work of this Saluſtius, but of a Platoniſt of the ſame name, who lived in the time of Julian [c].

[a] Noct. Att. l. viii. c. 3. l. xii. c. 11.

[b] Tatian. Or. adv. Gr. c. 41. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. § 13. Euſeb. Chron. Ol. 236.

[c] Suidas. Phot. Cod. 242. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 643.

SECT. 7.

OF THE STATE OF THE STOIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Stoic philoſophy, which had obtained ſo much authority during the Roman republic, eſpecially among the profeſſors of the law, continued to flouriſh under the emperors, till after the reigns of the Antonines. Its ethical doctrine became the permanent baſis of the Roman juriſprudence; and the high tone of wiſdom and virtue, which it aſſumed, induced many perſons of great diſtinction and eminent merit to declare themſelves of the Stoic ſect, or at leaſt to prefer its moral ſyſtem to that of any other ſchool. The prevalence of the Chriſtian doctrine at this period ſeems to have contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the ſucceſs of Stoiciſm, by leading its followers, to whom the language and tenets of Chriſtianity could not be unknown, to ſoften the extravagancies of their own ſyſtem, and to clothe its dogmas in a more popular dreſs. Add to this, that the Stoic ſect acquired great credit and authority from the illuſtrious examples of many perſons of both ſexes, who, in theſe times of civil oppreſſion, bravely encountered death in the cauſe of liberty and virtue. Among the heroines of this age, Tacitus mentions the two Arrias, the wives of Cæcina Pætus and Thraſeas, and Fannia the wife of Helvidius. From theſe and other cauſes, the Stoic ſect, in the time of Juvenal, prevailed almoſt through the whole Roman empire.

——— Melius nos
Zenonis præcepta monent, nec enim omnia quædam
Pro vita facienda putat, ſed Cantaber unde

Stoicus, antiqui præſertim ætate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas [a] *

Under Antoninus Pius, ſchools of Stoiciſm were ſupported at the public expence in Athens, Alexandria, and probably too at Rome; for Antoninus, after he came to the purple, viſited the houſe of Apollonius the Stoic to ſtudy philoſophy [b]. At Tarſus in Cilicia there was alſo a Stoic ſchool, which produced ſeveral celebrated philoſophers, afterwards to be mentioned.

But, notwithſtanding the general credit which the Stoic doctrine obtained, it met with powerful oppoſition from ſeveral quarters; particularly from the Sceptics, who were ingenious, and indefatigable, in their endeavours to overturn every dogmatic ſyſtem; and from the Alexandrian ſect, which, by its deſtructive plan of coalition, corrupted the genuine doctrine of every other ſchool. From the period when the motley Eclectic ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed, Stoiciſm began to decline; and in the age of Auguſtine it no longer ſubſiſted as a diſtinct ſect. It was only during the ſhort ſpace of two hundred years, that the Roman ſchool of Zeno was adorned with illuſtrious names which claim a place in the hiſtory of philoſophy [c].

The firſt Stoic who merits attention in this period is ATHENODORUS [d], of Tarſus in Cilicia. He lived at Rome, and on account of his learning, wiſdom, and moderation, was highly eſteemed by Auguſtus. His opinion and advice had great weight with the emperor, and are ſaid to have led him into a milder plan of government

[a] Sat. xv. v. 108.

* Zeno indeed has taught us ſounder wit,
" Better to die than a vile deed commit."
But how ſhould Spaniards know the Stoic lore?
Which Rome e'en knew not in thoſe days of yore.
Learning indeed is now more widely ſpread,
And Greek and Latin every where are read. OWEN.

[b] Lucian. in Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160. Capitolin. in Anton. P. c. 11. in Aurel. c. 10. Xiphil. in Ant. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 673. Athen. l. iv. p. 186.

[c] Euſeb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 2. Phot. Cod. 124. Aug. adv. Acad. l. iii. c. 18.

[d] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 391. Zoſim. l. i. c. 6. Lucian. in Macrob. t. ii. p. 829. Suet. in Claud. c. 4. Suidas.

than he had at firſt adopted. He obtained for his fellow citizens, the inhabitants of Tarſus, relief from a part of the burden of taxes which had been impoſed upon them, and was on this account honoured with an annual feſtival. Athenodorus was entruſted by Auguſtus with the education of the young prince Claudius; and, that he might the more ſucceſsfully execute his charge, his illuſtrious pupil became, for a while, a reſident in his houſe. This philoſopher retired in his old age to Tarſus, where he died in his eighty-ſecond year.

At the beginning of the reign of Nero lived, and taught, at Rome, ANNÆUS CORNUTUS[a], an African; a name not without diſtinction in the family of the Stoics. He excelled in criticiſm and poetry; but his principal ſtudy was philoſophy. His merit, as a teacher of the Stoic doctrine, ſufficiently appears from his having been the preceptor of that honeſt advocate of virtue, the ſatiriſt Perſius. How highly the maſter was eſteemed by his pupil may be inferred from the following paſſage, among many others[b]:

Cumque iter ambiguum eſt, et vitæ neſcius error
Deducit trepidas ramoſa in compita mentes
Me tibi ſuppoſui: teneros tu ſuſcipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, ſinu, tunc fallere ſolers
Appoſita intortos extendit regula mores:
Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat,
Artificemque tuo ducit ſub pollice vultum.

Perſius,

[a] Suidas. A. Gell. l. ii. c. 6. l. ix. c. 10. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 401.
[b] Sat. v. ver. 34.

* Scarce had I reach'd the ſlippery point of life,
Where vice and virtue wage a doubtful ſtrife;
Where inexperience flexile youth betrays,
And leads it devious thro' her mazy ways;
But lo! Cornutus, thy directing hand
Sudden I ſought, I ſtoop'd to thy command:
On thy Socratic boſom lay reclin'd,
While wholeſome precepts form'd the liſt'ning mind.

Thy

Persius, dying before his master, left him his library, with a considerable sum of money; but Cornutus, accepting only the books, gave the money to the sisters of Persius. The poet Lucan was also one of his pupils. Under Nero, Cornutus was driven into exile for his freedom of speech. The emperor having written several books in verse upon the affairs of Rome, and his flatterers advising him to continue the poem, this honest Stoic had the courage to remark, that he doubted whether so large a work would be read; and when it was urged, that Chrysippus had written as much, he replied, "His writings were useful to mankind." After such an unpardonable offence against imperial vanity, the only wonder was, that Cornutus escaped with life[a].

CAIUS MUSONIUS RUFUS[b], a Tuscan of equestrian rank, who enjoyed military honours, was a great admirer of the Stoic philosophy, and took much pains to disseminate its principles and precepts among the Roman youth; particularly among the officers of the army. The attempt was ridiculed by some, and offended others. Nero, who, perhaps, did not himself escape the admonitions of this bold reformer, was displeased at his freedom, and banished him to Gyæra. He was afterwards, however, recalled by Vespasian: and that emperor was so well pleased with his conduct, particularly in his strenuous opposition to the measures of Egnotius Celer, a man universally detested, that when, at the instigation of Mucian, he banished the philosophers from Rome and Italy, Musonius alone

Thy standard rule with nice address applied,
Corrected every thought that warp'd aside.
My soul by reason's force convicted stood,
Its error saw, and strove to be subdued.
Thy abler skill submissive it obey'd;
It took the stamp thy forming finger made.

BREWSTER.

a A. Gell. l. vi. c. 2. Dio, l. lxii. p. 715. Euseb. Ecc. H. l. vi. c. 19. Suidas. Gale Opusc. Myth. Pref.

b Suidas. Tacit. Ann. l. iv. c. 10, 40. l. xiv. c. 59, 60. Hist. l. iii. c. 81. Philostr. Vit. Apol. l. vii. c. 16. Xiphil. et Zen. in Vesp. Orig. adv. Cels. l. iii. p. 156.

was

was permitted to remain in the city. His philoſophy, like that of Socrates, was adapted to the purpoſes of life and manners, as may be inferred from a diſſertation which he has left "On the Exerciſe of the Mind," preſerved by Stobæus [a].

Among the Stoics of this period we muſt alſo reckon CHÆREMON, [b], an Egyptian, who in his youth had the charge of the Alexandrian library, but afterwards removed to Rome, where he was employed, with Alexander Ægeres, as one of the preceptors of Nero. Under his name the epigrammatiſt Martial [c] ridicules the whole ſect of the Stoics for their contempt of riches; but it is not probable, that Chæremon was ever in that ſtate of poverty, which the poet deſcribes. This philoſopher wrote a book concerning comets, quoted by Origen; and an account of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and prieſthood, of which a curious fragment is preſerved by Porphyry.

In the whole ſchool of Zeno, there is no name more highly celebrated than that of Seneca; and whether we conſider his natural abilities, his extenſive erudition, or the number and merit of his writings, this philoſopher is certainly entitled to particular attention.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was a native of Corduba, an antient and flouriſhing Roman ſettlement in Spain [d]. His father, Marcus Annæus Seneca, a man of equeſtrian rank, was a celebrated orator; his mother's name was Heluia. He was born about fifteen years before the death of Auguſtus, or the year before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra [e]; and was brought to Rome while a child, probably for education, by his aunt, who accompanied him on account of the delicate ſtate of his health [f]. His firſt ſtudies were devoted by his father to eloquence; but his mind, naturally diſpoſed towards ſerious and weighty purſuits, ſoon paſſed over from words to things;

[a] Serm. 117. [b] Suidas. Euſeb. Prep. l. v. c. 10. l. xi. c. 57. Porph. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. iv. p. 360. Orig. adv. Celſ. l. i. p. 46. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 5. [c] L. xi. ep. 57.
[d] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. iii. c. 1. Strabo, l. iii. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 54.
[e] Qu. Nat. l. i. c. 1. [f] Conſ. ad Helv. c. 16. Ep. 108.

and

and he chofe rather to reafon with the philofophers, than to declaim with the rhetoricians. This propenfity was difpleafing to his father, who, having himfelf no tafte for philofophy, thought it a frivolous ftudy, and had no other object of ambition, either for himfelf or his children, than eloquence. His fon Junius Gallio fucceeded in this purfuit, and was celebrated for the melody of his elocution: but Lucius was not to be diverted from his purpofe of devoting himfelf to wifdom. Sotion, a philofopher, who, though of the Pythagorean fect, inclined to the Stoic doctrine concerning morals, was fixed upon as his preceptor. But, whether it was that Seneca was difgufted with the feverity of the Pythagoric difcipline, or that he was diffatisfied with the obfcure dogmas of this fchool, he foon forfook Sotion, and became a difciple of Attalus, a Stoic; at the fame time, occafionally converfing with philofophers of other fects, and freely examining the writings, or doctrines, of the feveral founders of the Grecian fchools. Through his father's importunity, he for a fhort time interrupted his philofophical ftudies to engage in the bufinefs of the courts; and we are affured by fo good a judge as Quintilian, that, whilft he continued to plead, his fpeeches, if deficient in fome of the graces of oratory, abounded with that good fenfe and ftrength of thought, which are the bafis of eloquence [a].

Thus furnifhed with plentiful ftores of learning, and with a competent fkill in the art of fpeaking, Seneca, as foon as he arrived at the age of manhood, afpired to the honours of the ftate. The firft office with which he was invefted was that of Quæftor; but at what time he obtained it is uncertain [b]. From this time, his good fortune made rapid advances; and he foon rofe to diftinction in the court of Claudius: but the particulars of his public life, during this period, are no where preferved. Hence it is impoffible to difcover with certainty the caufe of the charge, which was publicly brought againft him, of adultery with Julia, the daughter of Germanicus,

[a] Dial. de Cauff. Corr. Eloq. De Vit. Beat. c. 3. De Benef. l. ii. c. 17. l. iv. c. 7. De Prov. c. 5. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 29. Ep. 9, 18, 21, 33, 41, 45, 48, 58, 65, 75, 89, 94, 97, 100, 107.

[b] Conf. ad Helv. c. 16.

and wife of Vinicius. It is probable, however, from the infamous character of Meſſalina [a], who inſtigated the proſecution, that he was accuſed without any ſufficient ground. The affair, notwithſtanding, terminated in his baniſhment: and Seneca, after having for many years enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and been diſtinguiſhed among the great, was obliged to remain eight years an exile in the iſland of Corſica. Here, if we are to credit his own account, he paſſed his time agreeably, devoting himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and elegant learning. In a letter to his mother, he ſays [b], "Be aſſured that I am as cheerful and happy, as in the days of my greateſt proſperity: I may indeed call my preſent days ſuch; ſince my mind, free from care, is at leiſure for its favourite purſuits, and can either amuſe itſelf with lighter ſtudies, or, in its eager ſearch after truth, riſe to the contemplation of its own nature, and that of the univerſe." But it may be queſtioned, whether Stoic oſtentation had not ſome ſhare in dictating this report; for we find him, in another place, expreſſing much diſtreſs on account of his misfortune, and courting the emperor in a ſtrain of ſervile adulation, little worthy of ſo eminent a philoſopher.

Agrippina, the ſecond wife of Claudius, whoſe character was the reverſe of that of Meſſalina, employed her intereſt with the emperor in favour of Seneca; and not only obtained his recal from baniſhment, but prevailed upon Claudius to confer upon him the honourable office of prætor [c]. Her inducement to this meaſure appears to have been, a deſire of engaging a philoſopher of ſo much diſtinction and merit to undertake the education of her ſon. Probably, too, ſhe hoped, by attaching Seneca to her family, to ſtrengthen Nero's intereſt in the ſtate; for the Roman people would, of courſe, entertain high expectations from a prince educated under ſuch a maſter. Afranius Burrhus, a prætorian præfect, was joined with Seneca in this important charge: and theſe two preceptors, who

[a] Suet. in Calig. c. 19. in Claud. c. 29. Dio, l. lx. Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42.
[b] Conſol. ad Hel. c. 4. ad Polyb. c. 21. [c] Tacit. Ann. l. xii. c. 8.

were

were intrusted with equal authority, and had each his respective department, executed their trust with perfect harmony, and with some degree of success; Burrhus instructing his pupil in the military art, and inuring him to wholesome discipline; Seneca furnishing him with the principles of philosophy, and the precepts of wisdom and eloquence; and both endeavouring to confine their pupil within the limits of decorum and virtue [a]. Whilst these preceptors united their authority, Nero was restrained from indulging his natural propensities; but after the death of Burrhus, the influence of Seneca declined, and the young prince began to disclose that depravity, which afterwards stained his character with eternal infamy [b].

Still, however, Seneca enjoyed the favour of his prince: and, after Nero was advanced to the empire, he long continued to load his preceptor with honours and riches. Partly from inheritance and marriage, but chiefly through imperial munificence, he possessed a large estate, and lived in great splendour [c]. Juvenal speaks of

——— Senecæ prædivitis hortos [d].*

A superb mansion at Rome, delightful country seats, rich furniture, including, as Dio particularly mentions, five hundred cedar tables with ivory feet, uniform and of excellent workmanship [e], were articles of luxury hitherto unusual among philosophers; and were thought by many not very consistent with that high tone of indifference, in which the Stoics, and among the rest Seneca himself, spoke of external good. Suilius, one of his enemies [f], asked by what wisdom, or by what precepts of philosophy, Seneca had been able, during four years of imperial favour, to amass the immense sum of three hundred thousand *sestertia* [g].

[a] Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 2. [b] Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 52.
[c] Consol. ad Helv. c. 2. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53. [d] Sat. ix.

* The gardens of the wealthy Seneca.

[e] Dio, l. lx. Ep. 67. [f] Tac. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42. 52, 53.
[g] £. 2,421,875.

Seneca perceived the gathering clouds of jealoufy and envy; and faw that his fovereign himfelf, whofe vices were now become too imperious to endure reftraint, was difpofed to liften to the whifpers of obloquy. In hopes of efcaping the deftruction which threatened him, he earneftly requefted the emperor's permiffion to withdraw from the court, and devote the remainder of his days to philofophy; he even offered to refund the immenfe treafures which royal bounty had lavifhed upon him, and to retire with a bare competency. Nero rejected his propofal, and affured him of the continuance of his favour; but the philofopher knew the emperor's difpofition too well to rely upon his promifes. From this time Seneca declined all ceremonious vifits, avoided company, and, under the pretence of indifpofition, or a defire of profecuting his ftudies, confined himfelf almoft entirely to his own houfe[a].

It was not long before Seneca was convinced, that in diftrufting a tyrant, whofe mind was wholly occupied by fufpicion, he had acted prudently. Antonius Natalis, who had been concerned in the confpiracy of Pifo, upon his examination, in order to court the favour of Nero, or perhaps even at his inftigation, mentioned Seneca among the number of the confpirators. This fingle evidence was by the tyrant deemed fufficient againft the man, to whom he had been indebted for his education, and whom he had called his friend. To give fome colour to the accufation, Natalis pretended, that he had been fent by Pifo to vifit Seneca whilft he was fick, and to complain of his having refufed to fee Pifo, who as a friend might have expected free accefs to him upon all occafions; and that Seneca, in reply, had faid, that frequent converfations could be of no fervice to either party, but that he confidered his own fafety as involved in that of Pifo. Granius Sylvanus, tribune of the prætorian cohort, was fent to afk Seneca, whether he recollected what had paffed between himfelf and Natalis. Seneca, whether by accident or defign is uncertain, had that day left Campania, and was at his country-feat, about four miles from the city. In the evening, while he was at fupper with

[a] Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53, 56. Suet. in Ner. c. 35.

his

his wife Paullina and two friends, the tribune, attended by a military band, came to the houſe, and after giving the ſoldiers orders to ſurround it, delivered the emperor's meſſage. Seneca's anſwer was, That he had received a complaint from Piſo, of his having refuſed to ſee him; and that the ſtate of his health, which required repoſe, had been his apology. He added, that he ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould prefer the ſafety of any other individual to his own; and that no one was better acquainted than Nero with his independant ſpirit.

This reply kindled the emperor's indignation; and he aſked the meſſenger, whether Seneca diſcovered any intention of putting an end to his own life. The tribune aſſured him, that there was no appearance either of terror, or of diſtreſs, in his countenance, or language. Upon this the tyrant, who felt his own puſillanimity reproached by the conſtancy of the philoſopher, ordered him to return without delay to Seneca, with his peremptory command, immediately to put himſelf to death. Silvanus, who had himſelf been one of the conſpirators, had not the courage to meet the face of Seneca upon ſuch an embaſſy, but ſent the fatal meſſage by one of his centurions. The philoſopher received it with perfect compoſure, and aſked permiſſion of the officer to alter his will. This indulgence being refuſed him, he turned to his friends, and requeſted, that, ſince he was not allowed to leave them any other legacy, they would preſerve in their memory a portrait of his life, as a perpetual monument of friendſhip. At the ſame time he reſtrained their tears, and exhorted them to exerciſe that fortitude, which they had profeſſed to learn in the ſchool of philoſophy. " Where are now," ſaid he, " our boaſted precepts of wiſdom? where the armour, which we have been ſo many years providing againſt adverſe fate? Who among us has been a ſtranger to the ſavage ſpirit of Nero? After murdering his mother, and his brother, it was not to be expected that he would ſpare his preceptor."

Having converſed in this manner, for ſome time, with his friends, Seneca embraced his wife, and earneſtly intreated her to moderate her grief, and after his death to conſole herſelf with the recollection

of his virtues: but Paullina refused every consolation, except that of dying with her husband, and earnestly solicited the friendly hand of the executioner. Seneca, after expressing his admiration of his wife's fortitude, proceeded to obey the emperor's fatal mandate, by opening a vein in each arm: but, through his advanced age, the vital stream flowed so reluctantly, that it was necessary also to open the veins of his legs. Still finding his strength exhausted without any prospect of a speedy release; in order to alleviate, if possible, the anguish of his wife, who was a spectator of the scene, and to save himself the torture of witnessing her distress, he persuaded her to withdraw to another chamber. In this situation, Seneca, with wonderful recollection and self-command, dictated many philosophical reflections to his secretary. After a long interval, his friend Statius Annæus, to whom he complained of the tedious delay of death, ministered to him a strong dose of poison; but even this, through the feeble state of his vital powers, produced little effect. At last, he ordered the attendants to convey him into a warm bath; and, as he entered, he sprinkled those who stood near, saying, "I offer this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer." Then, plunging into the bath, he was soon suffocated. His body was consumed, according to his own express order in a will which he had made in the height of his prosperity, without any funeral pomp [a].

Such was the end of Seneca; an end not unworthy the purest and best principles of the Stoic philosophy.

The character, the system, and the writings of this philosopher have been subjects of much dispute among the learned. Concerning his character, a candid judge, who considers the virtuous sentiments with which his writings abound, the temperate and abstemious plan of life which he pursued in the midst of a luxurious court [b], and the fortitude with which he met his fate, will not hastily pronounce him to have been guilty of adultery, upon the evidence of the infa-

[a] Tacit. l. xv. Ann. c. 62.

[b] Ep. 108. 87. 104, 112. Tacit. Ann. l. xv. c. 45, 63. l. xiii. c. 3. l. xiv. c. 7. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 7. Conf. Dio, l. lxi. Xiphilin.

mous

mous Messalina; or conclude his wealth to have been the reward of a servile compliance with the base passions of his prince. It has been questioned whether Seneca ought to be ranked among the Stoic or the Eclectic philosophers; and the freedom of judgment which he expressly claims, together with the respect which he pays to philosophers of different sects, clearly prove, that he did not implicitly addict himself to the system of Zeno; nor can the contrary be inferred from his speaking of *our* Chrysippus, and *our* Cleanthes; for he speaks also of *our* Demetrius, and *our* Epicurus. It is evident, however, from the general tenor and spirit of his writings, that he adhered, in the main, to the Stoic system[a]. With respect to his writings, as it is not our proper business to examine their literary merit, we shall content ourselves with remarking, that, although he is, justly censured by Quintilian[b], and other critics, as among the Romans the first corrupter of style, his works are, nevertheless, exceedingly valuable, on account of the great number of just and beautiful moral sentiments which they contain, the extensive erudition which they discover, and the happy mixture of freedom and urbanity, with which they censure vice, and inculcate good morals. The writings of Seneca, except his Books of "Physical Questions," are chiefly of the moral kind: they consist of one hundred and twenty-four "Epistles," and distinct Treatises, "On Anger; Consolation; Providence; Tranquillity of Mind; Constancy; Clemency; the Shortness of Life; a Happy Life; Retirement; Benefits[c]."

Among the more celebrated Stoics, who lived in the time of Nero, we must also reckon DIO of PRUSA in Bithynia, called for his eloquence Chrysostom. Under Nero and Vespasian he followed the profession of a Sophist; and in his juvenile orations, he treated light subjects in a declamatory and luxuriant style, and frequently inveighed against the most illustrious poets and philosophers of antiquity. This raised no small degree of ill-will against him,

[a] Ep. 96. 78. 41. Conf. ad Marc. c. xix. 25.
[b] Inst. l. x. c. 1. Conf. Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 14. A. Gell. l. xii. c. 2.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 32.

which

which induced him to leave Rome, and withdraw to Egypt. From this time he assumed the character of a Stoic philosopher; but he retained so much of his former manner, that he embellished his philosophical discourses, which turned chiefly upon moral topics, with the graces of eloquence. Both his doctrine and practice being strictly conformable to the principles of virtue, he was a bold censor of vice, and spared no individual on account of his rank. His freedom of speech offended Domitian; and he went into voluntary exile in Thrace, where he lived in great poverty, and was obliged to support himself by servile labour. After the death of Domitian, he returned to Rome, and remained a short time concealed; but, finding the soldiers inclined to sedition, he suddenly brought to their remembrance Dio the orator and philosopher, by haranguing them in a strain of manly eloquence, which soon subdued the tumult. Both Nerva and Trajan admitted him to their confidence, and the former distinguished him by public tokens of favour. He lived to old age; but the time of his death is uncertain. The "Orations" of Dio are still extant, from which it appears, that he was a man of sound judgment and lively fancy, and that he happily united in his style the qualities of animation and sweetness[a].

Euphrates[b] of Alexandria, was a friend of Dio and of Apollonius Tyanæus, who introduced him to Vespasian. This emperor, on some occasion, preferring the opinion of Euphrates to that of Apollonius, a violent quarrel arose between these two philosophers; whence Philostratus, the panegyrist of the latter, inveighs against Euphrates with great severity: but it appears from the testimony of Epictetus, Pliny the Younger, and Eusebius, that he was universally esteemed for his talents and virtues. Pliny's character of this philosopher is too interesting to be omitted. "If ever polite learning flourished at Rome, it certainly does at present. Of this I could

[a] Eunap. in Proem. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 7, 8. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 31. 40. Synesii Op. p. 35, 37. Petav. Phot. Cod. 209. Dion. Orat. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 30, 31, 71, 72, 80.

[b] Eunap. in Proem. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 28, 32. l. vi. c. 7, 13. l. viii. c. 3.

give

give you many inſtances; but I will content myſelf with naming only Euphrates the philoſopher. When, in my youth, I ſerved in the army in Syria, I had an opportunity of converſing familiarly with this excellent man, and took ſome pains to gain his affection; though that indeed was not difficult; for he is exceedingly open to acceſs, and full of that gentleneſs of manners which he teaches. Euphrates is poſſeſſed of ſhining talents, which cannot fail to intereſt even the unlearned. He diſcourſes with great accuracy, dignity, and elegance, and frequently riſes into the ſublimity and luxuriance of Plato himſelf. His ſtyle is copious and diverſified, and ſo wonderfully ſweet, as to captivate even the moſt reluctant auditor. Add to all this, his graceful form, comely aſpect, long hair, and large white beard; circumſtances which, though they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute, however, to procure him much reverence. There is no diſguſting negligence in his dreſs; his countenance is grave, but not auſtere; his approach commands reſpect, without creating awe. With the ſtricteſt ſanctity he unites the moſt perfect politeneſs of manners. He inveighs againſt vice, not againſt men; and, without chaſtiſing, reclaims the offender. You liſten with fixed attention to his exhortations, and even when convinced, ſtill hang with eagerneſs upon his lips[a]."

If this teſtimony to the uncommon merit of Euphrates be compared with the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Epictetus[b] and Euſebius[c], the cenſures of Philoſtratus will appear deſerving of nothing but contempt. In conformity to the principles of the Stoic philoſophy, Euphrates, when he found his ſtrength worn out by diſeaſe and old age, voluntarily put a period to his life by drinking hemlock, having firſt, for ſome unknown reaſon, obtained permiſſion from the emperor Adrian[d].

Another illuſtrious ornament of the Stoic ſchool, who claims reſpectful attention both for his wiſdom and his virtues, is EPICTETUS[e].

[a] Plin. Ep. l. i. ep. 10.
[b] Arrian l. iv. c. 8. p. 427.
[c] Adv. Hierocl. c. 33.
[d] Dio. l. lxix.
[e] Simplic. Proem. comm. in Enchir. Ep. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 259.

This eminent philoſopher was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, in a ſervile condition, and was ſold as a ſlave to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's domeſtics. Antient writers are agreed that Epictetus was lame, but differ with reſpect to the cauſe of his lameneſs. Suidas ſays, that he loſt one of his legs when he was young, in conſequence of a defluxion; Simplicius aſſerts, that he was born lame; Celſus relates, that, when his maſter, in order to torture him, bended his leg, Epictetus, without diſcovering any ſign of fear, ſaid to him, "You will break it:" and when his tormentor had broken the leg, he only ſaid, "Did I not tell you, you would break it?" Others aſcribe his lameneſs to the heavy chains with which his maſter loaded him [a].

Having, at length, by ſome means which are not related, obtained his manumiſſion, Epictetus retired to a ſmall hut within the city of Rome, where, with nothing more than the bare neceſſaries of life, he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Here he paſſed his days entirely alone, till his humanity led him to take the charge of a child, whom a friend of his had through poverty expoſed, and to provide it with a nurſe. Having furniſhed himſelf, by diligent ſtudy, with a competent knowledge of the principles of the Stoic philoſophy, and having received inſtructions in rhetoric from Rufus, who is ſaid to have been himſelf a bold and ſucceſsful corrector of public manners, Epictetus, notwithſtanding his poverty, became a popular moral preceptor. He was an acute and judicious obſerver of manners. His eloquence was ſimple, majeſtic, nervous, and penetrating. His doctrine inculcated the pureſt morals; and his life was an admirable pattern of ſobriety, magnanimity, and the moſt rigid virtue [b].

Neither his humble ſtation, nor his ſingular merit, could, however, ſcreen Epictetus from the tyranny of the monſter Domitian. With the reſt of the philoſophers he was baniſhed, under a mock decree

[a] Simplic. ib. p. 70. Orig. adv. Celſ. l. vii. p. 378. Arrian. l. i. c. 8.

[b] Simplic. p. 70, 180. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2. Arrian. l. i. c. 8, 9, 12. l. iii. c. 15, 23. Orig. l. vi. p. 283.

of the ſenate, from Italy. But he bore his exile with a degree of firmneſs, worthy of a philoſopher who called himſelf a citizen of the world, and could boaſt that, wherever he went, he carried his beſt treaſures along with him. At Nicopolis, the place which he choſe for his reſidence, he proſecuted his deſign of correcting vice and folly by the precepts of philoſophy. Wherever he could obtain an auditory, he diſcourſed concerning the true way of attaining contentment and happineſs; and the wiſdom and eloquence of his diſcourſes were ſo highly admired, that it became a common practice among the more ſtudious of his hearers to commit them to writing[a].

It is uncertain whether Epictetus returned to Rome after the death of Domitian; but the reſpect which Adrian entertained for him renders it probable. The "Conference between Adrian and Epictetus," if the work were authentic, would confirm this probability; but it is impoſſible to compare it with his genuine remains, without pronouncing it ſpurious[b].

Epictetus flouriſhed from the time of Nero to the latter end of the reign of Adrian; but it is improbable, notwithſtanding the aſſertion of Themiſtius[c] and Suidas[d], that his life was protracted to the reign of the Antonines: for Aulus Gellius[e], who wrote in their time, ſpeaks of Epictetus as lately dead; and the emperor Marcus Aurelius mentions him only to lament his loſs: whereas, had he been living when that prince engaged preceptors of different ſects, it is not likely that he would have overlooked the firſt ornament of the Porch, or preferred his diſciple Junius Ruſticus. The memory of Epictetus was ſo highly reſpected, that, according to Lucian, the earthen lamp by which he uſed to ſtudy was ſold for three thouſand drachmas[f]. Epictetus himſelf wrote nothing. His beautiful Moral

[a] A. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. l. xvii. c. 19. Suet. in Domit. c. 10. Lucian. in Peregr. t. iv. p. 283. Arrian. Præf. et Diſſ.

[b] Spartian. in Hadr. c. 16. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 502. v. xiii. p. 557.

[c] Orat. 5. [d] In Epict. [e] L. ii. c. 18. l. vii. § 19.

[f] Adv. Indoct. lib. ement. t. ii. p. 767.

Manual, or *Enchiridion*, and his "Dissertations" collected by Arrian [a], were drawn up from notes which his disciples took from his lips. Simplicius has left a Commentary upon his doctrine, in the eclectic manner. There are also various fragments of the wisdom of Epictetus preserved by Antoninus, Gellius, Stobæus, and others.

Although the doctrine of Epictetus is less extravagant than that of any other Stoic, his writings every where breathe the true spirit of Stoicism. The sum of his moral precepts is, ἀνέχȣ καὶ ἀπέχȣ, Endure and abstain [b]. He inculcates contentment upon the principle, that all things happen according to the appointment of providence, that is, as the Stoics understood the term, according to the inevitable order of fate.

Sextus, of Chæronea [c] in Bœotia, must be added to the list of Stoics of this period. His eminence in philosophy may be inferred from the account which Antoninus [d] gives of the able and faithful manner in which he discharged the duties of a preceptor. Such was the respect which his illustrious pupil continued to entertain for him, that after he was nominated to the succession in the imperial power, he frequently visited Sextus, to converse with him upon philosophical subjects; and after he assumed the Purple, often consulted him in the administration of justice. Certain "Dissertations against Scepticism," which are commonly annexed to the works of Sextus Empiricus, were probably written by this Sextus of Chæronea [e].

The last ornament of the Stoic school, who remains to be mentioned, is the great and good emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [f]; a man, not less distinguished by his learning, wisdom, and

[a] Phot. Cod. 58. Lucian Pseudom. t. i. p. 524. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 269. 246. [b] Gell. l. xvii. c. 19.

[c] Suidas. Apul. Metam. c. 1. Eutrop. l. viii. Dio, l. lxxi. Themist. Orat. ii.

[d] De Seipso, l. i. § 9. Capitolin. in Marc. c. 3.

[e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. xii. p. 617.

[f] Xiphilin. Herodian. Victor. Eutr. Zonar. Capitolin. Suidas.

virtue,

virtue, than by his imperial dignity. We ſhall here conſider him only in the light of a philoſopher, and a patron of philoſophers.

Aurelius, who was born in the year one hundred and twenty-one, after having been early inſtructed in languages, eloquence, and liberal arts, followed the natural bias of his genius, in devoting himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under Sextus Junius, and other profeſſors of the Stoic ſchool. At the ſame time, he omitted no opportunity of acquainting himſelf with the tenets of other ſects. At twelve years of age, he forſook the common purſuits and amuſements of childhood, and aſſumed the habit of a Stoic philoſopher. In order to inure himſelf to the hardineſs of the Stoic character, he uſed to ſleep upon the ground, with no other covering than his cloak; and it was with great difficulty that his mother prevailed upon him to make uſe of a leathern couch. So great was the reſpect which he always retained for his preceptors, that he honoured their memory with ſtatues, and kept their buſts, or portraits, in his domeſtic temple[a].

The accompliſhments and virtues of this excellent youth recommended him to the favour of the emperor Adrian, who conducted him rapidly through the ſeveral ſtages of advancement, and who appointed Antoninus Pius his ſucceſſor upon the expreſs condition, that Aurelius ſhould be next in ſucceſſion. Aurelius, far from being elated with theſe honours, upon his removal from his father's houſe to the emperor's, diſcovered great reluctance, and expreſſed ſtrong apprehenſions of the difficulties and hazards of government. After his advancement, he continued to treat his parents with the ſame reſpect, and to pay the ſame regard to their advice and authority as he had before always done. Nor did he ſuffer the engagements or avocations of his high ſtation to divert him from the proſecution of his ſtudies. Under the direction of Apollonius the Chalcidian, a Stoic philoſopher, he ſtudied philoſophy as the foun-

[a] Capitolin. c. 2, 4. De Seipſo. l. i. § 1—17. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. Dio, l. 69, 71. Macrob. Sat. l. v. c. 1.

dation

dation of policy, in order to qualify himſelf for the offices of government[a].

During the life of Antoninus Pius, this emperor was greatly aſſiſted in the affairs of government by Aurelius, who gave him every poſſible proof of probity, fidelity, and affection. After the death of the emperor, which happened in the year one hundred and ſixty-one, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was, with the unanimous concurrence of the ſenate and people, advanced to the Purple; and through the whole courſe of his reign he exerciſed his power under the direction of philoſophy, and by his juſtice and clemency obtained the general love of his ſubjects[b].

It is much to be lamented, that the mild and gentle ſpirit which this emperor unqueſtionably poſſeſſed, ſhould, with reſpect to the Chriſtians, have ſo far yielded to the importunity of inferior governors, and the tumultuous complaints of the people, that in ſeveral provinces, particularly in Gaul, he permitted them to be harraſſed by perſecution. Perhaps too, that falſe notion of the character and conduct of the Chriſtians, which led him, with many others, to miſtake their meritorious perſeverance for culpable obſtinacy, might have ſome ſhare in producing thoſe ſeverities which were continued through his whole reign[c].*

An invaſion from the north having been, not without great difficulty, repelled, the emperor devoted his attention to the inſtitution of uſeful laws, and the correction of civil and moral diſorders. He never failed to give encouragement to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their talents or merit, and to recommend the ſtricteſt morality by his own example. Whilſt he was indefatigable in his attention to public affairs, he filled up every hour of leiſure with philo-

[a] Capitol. c. 4, 5. Spart. in Hadr. c. 23. Dio, l. 71.
[b] Capitol. c. 6, 7, 8.
[c] Conf. Amm. Marcell. l. xxiv. c. 4. Plin. Ep. l. x. 97. De Seipſo. l. xi. § 3.

* A Reſcript, ſent to Aſia, prohibiting the perſecution of the Chriſtians, has been aſcribed to this emperor; but it is more probable that it was iſſued by his predeceſſor, Antoninus Pius. See Lardner's Heathen Teſt. v. ii. p. 159.

ſophical ſtudies. He ſuffered no material incident to paſs, without writing ſuch reflections upon it as might ſerve to eſtabliſh in his mind the habit of virtuous fortitude. This practice produced thoſe MEDITATIONS, which are deſervedly reckoned among the moſt valuable remains of Stoic philoſophy. Modeſty and humanity, the faireſt fruits of wiſdom, were virtues peculiarly conſpicuous in the character of this amiable prince. He deſpiſed flattery, refuſed magnificent titles, and would ſuffer no temples or altars to be erected in honour of his name. When the rebellion in Syria was ſuppreſſed, and the head of Aulus Caſſius, the leader of the revolt, was brought to Rome, the emperor received it with manifeſt tokens of regret, and ordered it to be buried [a].

During an interval of peace, Aurelius took a journey to Athens. His rout was marked with actions worthy of his character: and when he arrived at the antient ſeat of the Muſes, he gave many welcome proofs of his love of learning and philoſophy, by appointing public profeſſors, liberally endowing the ſchools, conferring honours upon perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, and performing other acts of imperial munificence [b].

Returning to Rome, the emperor retired to Lavinium, with the deſign of devoting himſelf to his favourite ſtudies. But, after a ſhort interval, an irruption of Scythians, and other Northern people, obliged him to lead his forces againſt them. From this expedition he returned victorious; but, in his way home, he was ſeized at Vienna with a mortal diſeaſe. Aurelius met his end with great firmneſs; expreſſing, in the true ſpirit of Stoiciſm, indifference to life, and contempt of death. He died in the ſixtieth year of his age [c].

Through his whole life this illuſtrious philoſopher exhibited a ſhining example of Stoic equanimity. His countenance remained

[a] Capitol. c. 12. 23.
[b] Capitol. c. 24.—26. Philoſtr. l. ii. c. 1. § 12. Dio, l. 71.
[c] Capitol. c. 28, 29. Herodian. c. 4, 5.

unaltered

unaltered by any emotions of joy or ſorrow; he never ſuffered himſelf to be elated by victory, or depreſſed by defeat. The ſeverity, which the philoſophical ſyſtem he eſpouſed was adapted to cheriſh, was, nevertheleſs, happily chaſtiſed by an innate benevolence of heart; and it is deſervedly repreſented as his higheſt praiſe, that he was able, by the united influence of his precepts and example, to make bad citizens good, and the good ſtill better [a].

The philoſophical Commentaries of Aurelius Antoninus, addreſſed to himſelf, Προς Ἑαυτον, are Meditations, or Soliloquies, written for his own uſe [b]. In order to form a true judgment of their meaning and ſpirit, they ſhould be read, not as detached moral maxims, or reflections, but as connected with, and founded upon, the principles of Stoiciſm. Through inattention to this precaution, a meaning has ſometimes been annexed to the words of Aurelius, which is inconſiſtent with his ſyſtem, and which he, probably, never conceived.

From the time of the Antonines to that of Alexander Severus, there were public ſchools of the Stoics in Athens and Alexandria: but their doctrine was corrupted by the prevalence of the Eclectic philoſophy; and where we might expect to find diſciples of Zeno, we only meet with followers of Ammonius.*

SECT.

[a] Capit. l. c. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 12.
[b] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 21—25.

* Vidend. Schilter Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Juriſp. c. 1. Gravina Orig. Jur. Civ. l. i. § 44. Otto de Stoica Vet. Jur. Phil. Lipſ. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. Diſſ. viii. xiv. Werenfels. de Met. Orat. Brucker. Diſſ. de Stoic. ſubdol. Chriſt. Imit. Temp. Helv. t. iii. § 2. Thomas. de Exuſt. Mund. Stoic. Diſſ. x. Menag. Hiſt. mulier. Phil. § 75. Voſſ. de Sect. c. 19. Jonſ. Scr. H. Ph. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 7. Cozzand. de Mag. Ant. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Heum. Act. Ph. v. iii. p. 110. v. i. p. 743. v. iii. p. 486. Gale Præf. ad Opuſc. Mythol. Stoll. Hiſt. Ph. Mor. § 223. 230. 234. 237. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 1. Senec. Vit. a Lipſio ap. Sen. Op. Vit. a Schotto. Gen. 1665. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. iii. p. 496. De Servies Femmes des Douze Cæſars, p. ii. p. 294. Blount. Cenſ. Cel. Auth. p. 109. Malebranche de la Recherche, &c. P. i. l. ii. c. 4. Paſchius de Var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. 3. § 17. Diſſ. de Secta Elpiſtica Miſc. Berol. t. v. Obſ. ult. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. i. l. vi. c. 2. Voſs. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 15. Epict.

Epict. Vit. a Wolfio, Bellegardio, Boileavio. Fabr. Diss. de Eloq. Epict. in Fasciculo. Budd. de Mor. Phil. p. 103. Heins. de Phil. Stoic. Orat. p. 301. Scheffer. de Phil. Ital. c. 10. Crellius de ὑπερσόφοις et ἀσόφοις Epict. Lips. 1716. Vit. Anton. a Daciero et a Wollio. Gataker. Præf. ed. Lond. 1730. Koeler. Diss. de Phil. Aur. Ant. Budd. in Phil. Mor. Anton. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. p. 443.

SECT. 8.

OF THE STATE OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Epicurean sect, though degenerated from the simple manners of its founder, continued to flourish through a long course of years under the Roman emperors. This was owing in part to the freedom of manners which it permitted, and in part to the boldness with which it combated superstition; but principally to the strict union which subsisted among the members of this school, and the implicit deference, which they unanimously agreed to pay to the doctrines of their master[a]. The succession of disciples in this sect was, as Laertius attests[b], uninterrupted, even when other schools began to fail. In many places, the doctrine of Epicurus was publicly taught; and at Athens, the Epicurean school was endowed with a fixed stipend. There can be no doubt, therefore, that there must have been among the Epicureans eminent teachers of their system: and it may seem strange, that their names should not have been transmitted to posterity: but if the genius of this sect be considered, the difficulty will be obviated: for, such was the superstitious reverence, which the disciples of this school paid to the decisions of their master, that they neither ventured to add to his system, nor even to exercise their judgment in writing commentaries upon it; their whole concern was, to transmit the tenets and maxims of

[a] Senecæ, Ep. 33. Themist. Orat. iv. Eusеb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 5. [b] L. x. § 9.

Epicurus uncorrupted to poſterity. Hence, whatever celebrity any of the preceptors of this ſect might have attained during their lives, their names ſoon fell into oblivion. Among the learned men of this period, there were, however, ſome who held the memory of Epicurus in high eſtimation, and in many particulars adopted his doctrine, and who, therefore, may not improperly be ranked in the claſs of Epicureans. Of theſe the principal are, Pliny the Elder, Celſus, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius.

Caius Plinius Secundus, called Pliny the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew Caius Plinius Cæcilius, was born in the reign of Tiberius, about the year twenty-three, and is commonly ſaid to have been a native of Verona. In his youth, he took upon him the military character, and ſerved in the army in the German war: but he ſoon turned the courſe of his ambition into the channel of learning, and by the indefatigable uſe of excellent talents acquired extenſive and profound erudition. During the life of Nero, his dread of the ſavage ſpirit of that tyrant induced him to proſecute his ſtudies in private. Towards the cloſe of the reign of that emperor, he wrote a critical work on ambiguity of expreſſion. Under the more favourable auſpices of Veſpaſian, the ſuperior abilities of Pliny had an opportunity of diſplaying themſelves, not only in literary ſpeculations, but in public affairs; for that emperor admitted him to his confidence, and employed him in important poſts. In the midſt of innumerable avocations, he proſecuted his ſtudies with a degree of induſtry and perſeverance ſcarcely to be paralleled. What his nephew relates on this head muſt not be omitted. After enumerating his writings, he ſays[a]:

" You will wonder how a man of buſineſs could find time to write ſo much, and often upon ſuch difficult ſubjects. You will be ſtill more ſurpriſed when you are informed, that for ſome time he engaged in the profeſſion of an advocate; that he died in his fifty-ſixth year; and that, from the time of his quitting the bar to his death, he was buſily occupied in the execution of the higheſt poſts,

[a] L. iii. ep. 5.

and

and in the ſervice of his prince. But he had a quick apprehenſion, joined to unwearied application. In ſummer, he always began his ſtudies as ſoon as it was night; in winter, generally, at one in the morning, but never later than two, and ſometimes at midnight. He ſlept little, and this often without retiring to his chamber. After a ſhort and light repaſt at noon, according to the cuſtom of our anceſtors, he would frequently, in ſummer, if he was diſengaged from buſineſs, recline in the ſun; ſome author, in the mean time, being read to him, from which he made extracts and obſervations. This indeed was his conſtant practice in reading; for he uſed to ſay, that no book was ſo bad, but ſomething might be learned from it. When this was over, he commonly went into the cold bath, and as ſoon as he came out of it, took a ſlight refreſhment, and then repoſed himſelf for a ſhort time. After which, as if it had been a new day, he reſumed his ſtudies till ſupper-time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he made ſome curſory remarks. In ſummer, he roſe from ſupper by day-light, and in winter, as ſoon as it was dark: and this was an invariable rule with him. Such was his manner of life, amidſt the noiſe and hurry of the town. But in the country, his whole time was devoted to ſtudy. Even in the bath, while he was rubbed and wiped, either ſome book was read to him, or he dictated himſelf. When he was travelling, he attended to no other object. A ſecretary conſtantly attended him in his chariot. For the ſame reaſon he was always, at Rome, conveyed from one place to another in a chair. I remember he once reproved me for walking; "You need not," ſays he, "loſe ſo much time": for he thought all time loſt, which was not devoted to ſtudy. It was this intenſe application which enabled my uncle to write ſo many volumes, beſides a hundred and ſixty, which he left me, containing extracts and obſervations, written in a very ſmall character."

Out of all the rich fruits of Pliny's induſtry, one work only has eſcaped the ravages of time, his "Natural Hiſtory of the World[a]:

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 405. t. ii. p. 562.

a valuable treaſury of antient knowledge; concerning which, notwithſtanding all its errors and extravagancies, we do not ſcruple with ſome allowance for rhetorical decoration, to ſubſcribe to the judgment of the Younger Pliny, who calls it "a comprehenſive and learned work, ſcarcely leſs various than nature herſelf." The author, in the dedication to Veſpaſian, makes this modeſt apology for the defects of his hiſtory:

"The path which I have taken has hitherto been, in a g[illegible] meaſure, untrodden; and holds forth to the traveller few [illegible]ments. None of our own writers have ſo much as attempted theſe ſubjects; and even among the Greeks no one has treated of them in their full extent. The generality of authors in their purſuits attend chiefly to amuſement; and thoſe who have the character of writing with great depth and refinement are involved in impenetrable obſcurity. Such is the extent of my undertaking, that it comprehends every topic which the Greeks include under the name of *Encyclopædia*; of which, however, ſome are as yet utterly unknown, and others have been rendered uncertain by exceſſive ſubtlety. Other parts of my ſubject have been ſo often handled, that readers are become cloyed with them. Arduous indeed is the taſk to give what is old an appearance of novelty; to add weight and authority to what is new; to caſt a luſtre upon ſubjects which time has obſcured; to render acceptable what is become trite and diſguſting; to obtain credit to doubtful relations; and, in a word, to repreſent every thing according to nature, and with all its natural properties. A deſign like this, even though incompletely executed, will be allowed to be grand and noble." He adds afterwards, "Many defects and errors have, I doubt not, eſcaped me; for, beſides that I partake of the common infirmities of human nature, I have written this work in the midſt of engagements, at broken periods which I have ſtolen from ſleep."

It would be unjuſt to the memory of this great man, not to admit this apology in its full extent; and it would be ſtill more unjuſt, to judge of the merit of his work, by comparing it with modern productions in natural hiſtory, written after the additional obſerva-

tions

tions of ſeventeen hundred years. Some allowance ought alſo to be made for the careleſſneſs and ignorance of tranſcribers, who have ſo mutilated and corrupted this work, that, in many places, the author's meaning lies almoſt beyond the reach of conjecture.

With reſpect to philoſophical opinions, Pliny did not rigidly adhere to any ſect, but occaſionally borrowed ſuch tenets from each, as ſuited his preſent inclination or purpoſe. He reprobates the Epicurean tenet of an infinity of worlds; favours the Pythagorean notion of the harmony of the ſpheres; ſpeaks of the univerſe as God, after the manner of the Stoics; and ſometimes ſeems to paſs over into the field of the Sceptics. For the moſt part, however, he leans towards the doctrine of Epicurus[a].

The inſatiable deſire, which this philoſopher always diſcovered to become acquainted with the wonders of nature, at laſt proved fatal to him. An eruption of the volcano of Mount Veſuvius happening while Pliny lay, with the fleet under his command, at Miſenum, his curioſity induced him to approach ſo near to the mountain, that he was ſuffocated by the groſs and noxious vapours which it ſent forth. An intereſting account of the particulars of this tragical event is given by Pliny the Younger[b]: it happened in the year ſeventy-nine.

CELSUS, the adverſary of chriſtianity to whom Origen replies, though in his attack he ſometimes makes uſe of Platonic and Stoic weapons, is expreſsly ranked by Lucian[c], as well as Origen[d], among the followers of Epicurus: and this ſuppoſition beſt accounts for the violence with which he oppoſed the Chriſtian religion; for an Epicurean would of courſe reject, without examination, all pretenſions to divine communications or powers. The extracts from his writings, preſerved by Origen, at the ſame time that they prove him to have been an inveterate enemy to chriſtianity, ſhew that he was not deſtitute of learning and ability. Celſus, beſides his book againſt the Chriſtians, wrote a piece entitled, "Pre-

[a] Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. c. 1, 3, 5, 7. [b] L. vi. ep. 16.
[c] Luc. de Alexandro. [d] Origen cont. Celſum, l. i. p. 8.

cepts

cepts of Living Well," and another "Againſt Magic;" but no part of his writings are extant, except the quotations made by Origen. Lucian dedicates to him his account of Alexander the impoſtor. That Lucian's friend was the ſame Celſus, againſt whom Origen wrote, appears from this circumſtance, that both Lucian and Origen aſcribe to him the work againſt magic. Celſus was born towards the cloſe of Adrian's reign, and was contemporary with Lucian under Aurelius Antoninus[a].

Lucian[b], the celebrated ſatiriſt, was a native of Samoſata, on the borders of the Euphrates, and flouriſhed in the time of the Antonines and Commodus. In his youth, his father, who was of low rank, was deſirous to have diverted his attention from letters, and put him under the care of his uncle, who was a ſtatuary; but, being unfortunate in his firſt attempts, he deſerted his art, and fled to Antioch, where he engaged, not without ſucceſs, in the profeſſion of a pleader. He ſoon, however, grew tired of this employment, and gave himſelf up entirely to the practice of eloquence, in the character of a ſophiſt or rhetorician. In this capacity, he travelled through ſeveral countries, particularly Spain, Gaul, and Greece. At length, he paſſed over to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Without rigorouſly addicting himſelf to any ſect, he gathered up from each whatever he found uſeful, and ridiculed, with an eaſy vein of humour and pleaſantry, whatever he thought trifling or abſurd. Like Maximus Tyrius, Themiſtius, and ſeveral other eminent men of this age, he united the arts of eloquence, and the graces of fine writing, with the precepts of philoſophy[c].

Photius[d], and ſeveral modern writers, have ranked Lucian among the Sceptics: they might more properly have given him a place among the Socratics. But, in truth, there is no ſect which he ſeems to have been ſo much inclined to favour as the Epicurean. He ſpeaks of Epicurus as the only philoſopher, who had been ac-

[a] Orig. cont. Celſ. l. i. p. 52. iii. 136. iv. 204, 206, 215. v. 249. vii. 342. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 809. v. v. p. 219.

[b] Suidas.

[c] In Reviviſc. t. iii. p. 156. Apolog. pro Merced. cond. t. i. 385. Herod. t. iii. p. 219. Luc. Hiſt. t. ii. p. 379. Conviv. t. iv. p. 366.

[d] Cod. 128.

quainted with the nature of things, and of his followers as, in the midſt of mad men, alone retaining a ſound mind. Himſelf a ſworn enemy to impoſture, he preferred the ſect which profeſſed to annihilate ſuperſtition; and he dedicated his narrative of the impoſtures of Alexander to Celſus, an Epicurean [a].

Whatever credit be allowed to Lucian as a humorous ſatiriſt, he is, however, much to be cenſured for having, in many inſtances, ſuffered his propenſity towards ridicule to lead him into ſevere and unjuſt ſarcaſms againſt the whole body of philoſophers, and into a credulous, or illiberal, adoption of tales injurious to the moſt reſpectable characters of antiquity. His miſrepreſentation of the doctrine, and his unſupported inſinuations againſt the character, of Socrates; the contempt with which he treats Chryſippus and Ariſtotle, as mere triflers; and the abſurd ſtories which he admits, without adducing any evidence of their authenticity, are violations of candour and truth, for which no apology can be made, unleſs it be ſaid, that Lucian introduced them for no other purpoſe than to enliven his ſatire, without ſeriouſly believing them himſelf, or expecting that they ſhould be believed by his readers [b]. His ridicule of the Chriſtians was owing to another cauſe, an entire miſapprehenſion of their character, and of the nature of their religion; and is therefore wholly unworthy of notice.

Under Aurelius Antoninus, Lucian was appointed procurator of Egypt, with a liberal ſalary; but how long he continued there, or where he paſſed the latter part of his life, does not appear [c]. He lived to the age of eighty, or, as ſome ſay, ninety years, and died in the reign of Commodus. His dialogues are ſtill extant: they are written with humour, and diſcover great erudition.

We muſt not cloſe our account of eminent men who favoured the Epicurean ſect, without mentioning Diogenes Laertius, a writer, to whom the world is indebted for many facts reſpecting the

[a] Hermot. t. ii. p. 170. Alex. t. i. p. 549—51. 569, 570, 576, 581—84.

[b] Ib. Vit. Auctio, &c. t. iii. 105—128. Piſcator.

[c] Quomodo Hiſt. Scrib. t. ii. p. 343. de Merced. Cond. t. i. p. 382. Tragopodr. t. iii. p. 672. Ocyp. p. 722. Hercul. Gall. t. i. p. 811.

hiſtory

hiſtory of philoſophy. His predilection for Epicureaniſm is ſhewn in the extraordinary pains he has taken to give an accurate ſummary of the doctrine of Epicurus, and a full detail of his life: nevertheleſs, he ſometimes ſeems to favour the doctrine of divine providence. Whatever ſyſtem he eſpouſed, or if he was in reality addicted to none, as a collector of philoſophical facts he is entitled to the praiſe of having caſt much light upon the hiſtory of the Grecian ſects. His Memoirs of "The Lives, Opinions and Apothegms of Celebrated Philoſophers[a]," as a repoſitory of materials for the hiſtory of philoſophy no where elſe to be met with, is exceedingly valuable; but in other reſpects it is a defective and faulty work. The author has collected from the antients with little judgment; patched together contradictory accounts; relied upon doubtful authorities; admitted as facts many tales which were produced in the ſchools of the Sophiſts; and been inattentive to methodical arrangement. The work appears, on the whole, to have been the production of a credulous and feeble mind, and by no means to deſerve implicit credit. Of the author nothing more is known, than is to be gathered from his writings. From his ſurname Ὁ Λαερτιος[b], it is probable that he was a native of Laertes, a town in Cilicia. He certainly flouriſhed before the time of Conſtantine; for Sopater, who lived under that emperor, compiled, as Photius atteſts, the ſixth book of his *Excerpta* from the writings of Diogenes Laertius. His "Lives" probably appeared about the middle of the third century.*

a Menag. ad Laert. b Phot. Cod. 161.

* Vidend. Cozzand. de Magiſtr. Ant. Phil. l. vi. c. 2. Maſſon. Plin. Vit. Cagalin. de Patr. Plin. ed. Plin. Wechelinn. Palermus de Patr. Pl. Veron. 1608. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 29. Blount. Cenſ. p. 128. Marville Melanges de Liter. t. iii. p. 438. Parker de Deo, Diſp. i. p. 63. Reimman. Hiſt. Ath. c. 28. Stoll. Hiſt. Ph. Pag. p. 72. Horn. Hiſt. Ph. l. v. c. 4. Cudworth. c. iv. § 36. Jonſ. l. iv. p. 332. l. iii. c. 10, 12. Voſſ. de Sect. c. v. § 2. c. xiii. § 3. c. xiv. § 6. c. vi. § 24. c. vii. § 2. Eraſm. l. xxx. ep. 5. Heuman. Act. Phil. vol. i. p. 323, 328. Laert. Ed. Wetſt. Amſt. 1693.

SECT. 9.

OF THE STATE OF THE SCEPTIC SECT UNDER THE EMPERORS.

AT the period of which we are now treating, the Sceptic philosophy was either overborne by the general prevalence of the dogmatic fyftems, or concealed under the lefs obnoxious form of the Academic doctrine. A few words may therefore fuffice concerning the ftate of Scepticifm, or Pyrrhonifm, under the Roman emperors.

Contradictory in its firft principles to the common notions of mankind, who are inclined to credit their fenfes; difgraced by the extravagant practices of fome of its profeffors; oppofed with violence by the whole body of Platonifts and Stoics; and deftitute of countenance among the great; it was no wonder that the fchool of Pyrrho was little frequented, and that few perfons were found, who were willing to facrifice intereft, or fame, to the empty profeffion of the fcience of knowing nothing.

Pyrrhonifm, however, was not at this time entirely without avowed advocates. Diogenes Laertius mentions [a] a continued fucceffion of learned Sceptics from the time of Cicero, when Oenefidemus reformed the Sceptic fchool at Alexandria: Zeuxippus, Zeuxis, Antiochus, Menodotus, Herodotus, Sextus, and Saturninus. Of thefe, as if the medical profeffion peculiarly difpofed the mind to fcepticifm, feveral were phyficians. Befides thefe, other Sceptics are men-

[a] L. ix. § 116.

tioned by the antients. So that when Seneca aſks[a], "Who is there now who teaches the doctrine of Pyrrho?" he muſt be underſtood either to ſpeak of the public profeſſors of Pyrrhoniſm, or to repreſent this ſchool as annihilated in compariſon with that of the Stoics.

Only one name occurs among the Sceptics of this period, which merits particular notice, that of SEXTUS EMPIRICUS[b], a celebrated writer. According to Suidas, he was by birth an African; but Sextus himſelf diſtinguiſhes between his own country and Leſbia; the place of his nativity therefore remains uncertain. His ſurname, Empiricus, prefixed to the manuſcripts of his works, and given him by Diogenes Laertius[c], indicates that he was a phyſician of that claſs which was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Empiric: and this he himſelf confirms[d].

It has been ſtrenuouſly maintained, that Sextus Empiricus was the ſame perſon with Sextus Chæronenſis, preceptor to Aurelius Antoninus: but it appears from the liſt of Sceptics given by Laertius[e], that Sextus Empiricus was the third in ſucceſſion from Menodotus and Theudes, who are mentioned by Galen in a work[f] which he wrote in the time of Aurelian, as at that time the laſt of the Empirics; conſequently Sextus Empiricus had not then began to flouriſh, and could not have been the emperor's preceptor. It is probable, that Sextus Empiricus appeared towards the cloſe of the life of Galen, who died upwards of thirty years after he wrote the work juſt mentioned, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Severus, or in the year two hundred.

Sextus Empiricus was entirely devoted to the Sceptic philoſophy; as fully appears from his "Inſtitutes of Pyrrhoniſm," the work to which we have been almoſt wholly indebted for the materials of our

a Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.
b Laert. l. ix. § 116. Suidas. c L. c.
d Conf. adv. Gramm. § 161, 260. adv. Log. l. ii. § 191, 202, 327, 328.
e L. c. § 126. f De Hypotypoſi emperica.

account

account of this ſect. He alſo wrote, at large, in refutation of the dogmatiſts, in his treatiſe "Againſt the Mathematicians." His works diſcover great erudition, and an extenſive acquaintance with the antient ſyſtems of philoſophy; and, on this account chiefly, merit an attentive peruſal.

After the age of Sextus, there were not wanting perſons, who followed the Sceptic method of philoſophiſing[a], either under the name of Academics or Pyrrhoniſts: but the ſect, through the ſpread of the Alexandrian philoſophy, and the Chriſtian religion, by degrees diſappeared, and remained for many centuries wholly unnoticed.*

[a] Laert. l. c. Agathias, l. ii. p. 67.

* Vidend. Huet. de la Foibleſſe, &c. l. i. c. 14. Sext. Emp. ed. Lipſ. 1718. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 591. v. ii. p. 91. Lactant. Inſt. l. iii. c. 5. Euſeb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 18.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING completed the hiſtory of the Grecian philoſophy, during the period of the Roman Republic and Empire, before we paſs on to the conſideration of the ſtate of philoſophy among the Jews, Arabians, and Chriſtians, it will be neceſſary that we endeavour to trace the remains of Barbaric philoſophy in the EAST.

In our hiſtory of the antient philoſophy of the Eaſt, it appeared

that,

that, from the moſt remote times, the Oriental philoſophers endeavoured to explain the nature and origin of things by the principle of Emanation from an Eternal Fountain of Being. That through ſucceeding ages this doctrine remained, and was taught in ſchools of philoſophy in the more civilized regions of Aſia and Africa, is highly probable from ſeveral conſiderations; which we ſhall proceed diſtinctly to lay before the reader, after premiſing, that we do not undertake to prove, that this ſpecies of philoſophy exiſted under any diſtinct name, or can be referred, with certainty, to any ſingle author, or leader, but merely, that a certain metaphyſical ſyſtem, chiefly reſpecting the derivation of all natures, ſpiritual and material, by emanation from the Firſt Fountain, was, before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, taught in the Eaſt, whence it gradually ſpread through the Alexandrian, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian ſchools.

It is well known, that at the riſe of the Grecian ſects, the Eaſtern countries were frequently viſited by the ſages who travelled in ſearch of wiſdom. Clemens Alexandrinus, who was well acquainted with Oriental hiſtory, ſays [a], that the Greeks borrowed what was moſt valuable in philoſophy from barbarians; for philoſophy was publicly taught by the Brachmans, the Odryſii, the Getæ, the Chaldæans, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Paleſtine, the Perſians, and many other nations. Among the Grecian philoſophers who travelled into the Eaſt was Democritus, who viſited Perſia after the ſchools of the Magi had been reformed by Zoroaſter, and travelled to Chaldea, and other Eaſtern countries, for the ſake of learning philoſophy. From the account which Pliny gives of this expedition, ſome idea may be formed of the nature of that philoſophy which Democritus and others found in theſe ſchools. "Democritus," ſays Pliny [b], "undertook what might be more properly called an exile than a journey, for the purpoſe of learning MAGICAL PHILOSOPHY;

[a] Stromat. l. i. p. 303. [b] Hiſt. Nat. l. xxx. Proem.

and,

and, returning home, taught it, in his myſteries, from the writings of certain Oriental philoſophers, which he illuſtrated." Accordingly, the philoſophy which Democritus taught appears to have been of two kinds; public, or that of the Eleatic ſect; and ſecret, in which he followed the myſteries of the Chaldean, Perſian, and other Eaſtern Magi. If theſe facts be compared with the general hiſtory of the barbaric philoſophy, and particularly with that of Zoroaſter and his doctrine, it will appear exceedingly probable, that the doctrine of Emanation continued to be taught (that is, that the Oriental philoſophy ſubſiſted) without interruption in the Eaſt, through the period of the Grecian ſects.

The uninterrupted continuance of the Oriental philoſophy may be further inferred from the ſudden riſe, and rapid ſpread, of thoſe numerous hereſies, which, under the oſtentatious name of Gnoſticiſm, over-ran the churches of the Eaſt.

Porphyry, in his preface to a work of Plotinus againſt the Gnoſtics, ſays, "that there were at that time many heretics, among whom were ſome, who, deriving their hereſy from the ANTIENT PHILOSOPHY, were followers of Adelphinus. Theſe," adds he, "circulated many books of Alexander the Lybian, Philocomus, and Demoſtratus the Lydian, and pretended to teach certain doctrines which they had received from Zoroaſter, Zoſtrianus, Nicotheus, Allogenes, and Meſus, herein, after having been deceived themſelves, impoſing upon others. Theſe heretics aſſert that Plato was little able to penetrate into the depths of intelligent natures. Therefore Plotinus frequently refuted them in his public lectures, and wrote a book, which I have entitled "A Treatiſe againſt the Gnoſtics," leaving it to me to manage this buſineſs according to my own judgment. Amelius has written forty volumes againſt the book of Zoſtrianus; and I, Porphyry, have ſhewn by many arguments, that this book, which they aſcribe to Zoſtrianus, is ſpurious, and of modern date, and has been forged by the authors

of the herefy, that their doctrine might appear to be derived from Zoroafter[a]."

From this paffage, compared with the general defign of Plotinus, in his treatife againft the Gnoftics, it may be inferred, that, prior to the appearance of the Gnoftic herefies among the Chriftians, a fyftem well known by the name of the Antient Philofophy, exifted in the Eaft; that this philofophy is not to be fought among the Greeks, not even in Plato himfelf, but is oppofed to the Grecian philofophy, as more antient, and more confonant to the truth; that this philofophy was commonly underftood to have been taught by Zoroafter; and that the Chriftian Gnoftics forged books, under the names of Eaftern philofophers, from which they pretended to derive their genealogies of emanations from the Firft Fountain of Intelligence. Hence, too, the reafon appears, why Plotinus determined to fpend eleven years in the Eaft, TO EXPLORE THE PHILOSOPHY TAUGHT AMONG THE PERSIANS AND INDIANS[b].

That the Gnoftic herefies were of Eaftern origin may be further concluded from a fragment of Theodotus the Valentinian, commonly annexed to the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, and alfo preferved by Fabricius, entitled, "An Epitome of the Writings of Theodotus," and *τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλȣμενης διδασκαλίας*, OF THE DOCTRINE CALLED THE EASTERN, in the time of Valentinian[c]. This title evidently refers the dreams of Valentinian to an Oriental fource, and therefore fuppofes the exiftence of the Oriental philofophy.

Eunapius, who was himfelf of the Alexandrian fchool, relates[d], that Sofipater was miraculoufly inftructed in philofophy by two ftrangers, who, after being much importuned, acknowledged that they had been initiated in THE WISDOM CALLED CHALDAIC.

[a] Conf. Vit. Plot. c. 3. Plot. Enn. ii. l. v. p. 204. Pref. Porph.
[b] Vit. Plot.
[c] Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. v. p. 135. Fragm. ed. Ulm. 1704.
[d] In Ædefio, p. 61.

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The ſtory, like moſt of thoſe related by this writer, has a fabulous air; but, ſtripped of its diſguiſe, it ſeems plainly to intimate, that in the Greek ſchool of Jamblichus, which flouriſhed in Cappadocia, the appellation of the Chaldaic, or Eaſtern, philoſophy was well known, and that the teachers of this philoſophy communicated their myſtical wiſdom to thoſe who were prepared to receive it, and particularly to the diſciples of the Alexandrian ſchool.

To theſe authorities, in proof of the exiſtence of the Oriental philoſophy, it may be added, as a conſideration of great weight, that, if all the ſyſtems of philoſophy diſtinct from the Grecian ſects, which became famous in Aſia or Egypt, particularly the Ægyptian, Cabbaliſtic, Gnoſtic, and Eclectic, be compared, there will be found among them a wonderful agreement with the general principles of that ſyſtem which we call the Oriental philoſophy; whence it ſeems perfectly reaſonable to admit the exiſtence of this philoſophy as a common ſource, and to make uſe of it as a univerſal key to unlock the myſteries of the reſt.

Upon theſe grounds we conclude, that the Oriental philoſophy, as a peculiar ſyſtem of doctrines concerning the Divine Nature, originated in Chaldea, or Perſia; whence it paſſed through Syria, Aſia Minor, and Egypt, and, mixing with other ſyſtems, formed many different ſects. There ſeems alſo to be ſufficient ground for referring the formation of the leading doctrines of this philoſophy into a regular ſyſtem to Zoroaſter[a], whoſe name the followers of this doctrine prefixed to ſome of their ſpurious books, and whoſe ſyſtem is fundamentally the ſame with that afterwards adopted by the Aſiatic and Egyptian philoſophers.

Among the branches from the Zoroaſtrean ſtock we muſt reckon the Gnoſtic hereſies which aroſe ſo early in the Chriſtian church[b]. This is the only ſource to which they can be ſatisfactorily traced

[a] Porphyr. Vit. Plot. c. 13. 16. p. 118. ed. Fabr.

[b] Iren. l. iii. c. 4. 11. Hieron. Lat. Script. c. 21. Epiph. Hæreſ. 27. § 1. Ph. Caſtr. Hæreſ. 33. p. 71. ed. Fabr.

§ back:

back: for they differ materially from the Platonic doctrine, from which they have been supposed to be derived, as Plotinus has fully shewn in his treatise against the Gnostics. The mixture of Platonic notions which we find in the Asiatic philosophy, as well as of Oriental doctrines among the later Platonists, may be easily accounted for, from the intercourse which subsisted between the Alexandrian and Asiatic philosophers, after the schools of Alexandria were established. From that time, many Asiatics who were addicted to the study of philosophy, doubtless, visited Alexandria[a], and became acquainted with the celebrated doctrines of Plato; and, by blending these with their own, formed an heterogeneous mass of opinions, which in its turn mixed with the systems of the Alexandrian schools[b]. This union of Oriental and Grecian philosophy was further promoted by the dispersion of the philosophers of Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon; many of whom, to escape from tyranny, fled into Asia, and opened schools in various places.

It was, probably, at the time when the Platonic philosophers of Alexandria visited the Eastern schools, that certain professors of the Oriental philosophy, prior to the existence of the Christian heresies, borrowed from the Greeks the name of Gnostics, to express their pretensions to a more perfect knowledge of the Divine Nature than others possessed. That these philosophers assumed this vaunting appellation before their tenets were transferred to the Christians, may be concluded from this circumstance, that we find it, among the Christians, not appropriated as a distinct title to any single sect, but made use of as a general denomination of those sects, which, after the example of the Pagan philosophers, professed to have arrived at the perfect knowledge of God. The Pagan origin of this appellation seems also plainly intimated in two passages in St. Paul's epistles; in one of which he cautions Timothy against ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, "the opposition of false science;" and in the

[a] Ammian. Marc. l. xxi. c. ult.

[b] Jambl. de Myst. Egypt. Sect. viii. c. 2, 3. Marin. in Vit. Procl. c. 26.

[c] 1. Tim. vi. 20.

other

other [a], warns the Coloſſians not to be impoſed upon by a vain and deceitful philoſophy, framed according to human tradition and the principles of the world, and not according to the doctrine of Chriſt.

But, whatever may be thought concerning the name, after what has been advanced, there can be little room left to doubt, that the tenets, at leaſt, of the Gnoſtics, exiſted in the Eaſtern ſchools, long before the riſe of the Gnoſtic ſects in the Chriſtian church under Baſilides, Valentine, and others. The Oriental doctrine of Emanation ſeems frequently alluded to in the New Teſtament [b], in terms which cannot ſo properly be applied to any other dogmas of the Jewiſh ſects. And it appears, from the authorities to which the Gnoſtic heretics appeal, that this doctrine was taught in the Apoſtolic age. Theſe hereſies ſeem to have ariſen in Egypt, and to have paſſed thence into Syria, and into Aſia Minor, where they infected the church ſo early as the reign of Nero [c].

It is much to be regretted that the Greek writers, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the antient hiſtory of philoſophy, took ſo little pains to inform poſterity concerning the opinions which, during the time when the Greek ſects flouriſhed, were taught in other countries, particularly in Egypt and Aſia. In this want of original documents concerning the Oriental philoſophy, we can form an idea of its peculiar tenets only by comparing the antient doctrine of the Eaſt with that of thoſe ſects which ſprang from this ſtock.

The Gnoſtics were chiefly employed in ſupporting the ſyſtem of Divine Emanation, taught by Zoroaſter and his followers [d]. They maintained, that all natures, both intelligible, intellectual, and material, are derived, by a ſucceſſion of emanations, from

[a] Coloſſ. ii. 8.
[b] 1. Tim. i. 4—7. iv. 7. Tit. i. 14. iii. 9. Conf. Acts, viii. 9, 10.
[c] Vitringa Obſ. Sac. l. v. p. 153, 161. Conf. Tertull. de Preſcr. adv. Hær. c. 7. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 24. § 6. Jamb. Myſt. Egypt. S. viii. c. 1.
[d] Theodot. ap. Fab. l. c. Plotin. contr. Gnoſt. et Ennead. 2. l. ix. c. 6.

the infinite fountain of Deity. From this secret and inexhaustible abyss, they conceived Substantial Powers, or Natures, of various orders, to flow; till, at the remote extremity of the emanation, evil dæmons, and matter, with all the natural and moral evils necessarily belonging to it, were produced. This notion was pursued in the Alexandrian philosophy, in the Jewish Cabbala, and in the Gnostic system, through a long course of fanciful conceptions. The Gnostics conceived the emanations from deity to be divided into two classes; the one comprehending all those Substantial Powers, which are contained within the Divine Essence, and which complete the Infinite Plenitude of the Divine Nature: the other, existing externally with respect to the Divine Essence, and including all finite and imperfect natures. Within the Divine Essence, they, with wonderful ingenuity, imagined a long series of Emanative Principles, to which they ascribed a real and substantial existence, connected with the First Substance as a branch with its root, or a solar ray with the sun. When they began to unfold the mysteries of this system in the Greek language, these Substantial Powers, which they conceived to be comprehended within the πλήρωμα Divine Plenitude, they called αἰῶνες, Æons; and they discoursed about them with as much confidence and familiarity, as if they had been objects of sight. The notion which they entertained of these Æons, like the Platonic notion of Ideas, was that of ȣσίας αὖτὰς καθ' αὐτὰς, beings which existed distinctly and substantially. They included within this series the Demiurgus, or maker of the world, whom they supposed to have been an Æon, so far removed from the first Source of Being as to be allied to matter, and capable of acting upon it. Having conceived both the spiritual and material world to have flowed from the same fountain, their system required Substantial Virtues, or Powers, of two kinds, active and passive: hence, in their figurative and emblematical language, they speak of male and female Æons[a].

[a] Plotin. contr. Gnost.

If the reader ſhould think this account of the Gnoſtic doctrine of Emanation obſcure, we requeſt him to lay the blame upon the myſtical genius of the fabricators of this fanciful edifice. In the midſt of thick darkneſs, it is ſcarcely poſſible that the traveller ſhould not ſometimes ſtumble.*

* Vidend. Moſhem. Diſſ. de Cauſſ. ſuppoſit. lib. Brucker. Hiſt. de Ideis Sect. i. § 6. Thomas. Orig. Hiſt. Phil. et Eccl. § 25. Beauſobre Hiſt. des Manich. t. ii. l. v. c. 2. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs, l. iii. c. 28. § 13. Moſhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. Sect. i. p. [illegible] c. 1. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 4—8. Moſhem. in Hiſt. Chriſt. ante Car. M. § 31. Wa[illegible]lchius in Hiſt. Hæreſ. P. i. p. 235. Erneſt. Bibl. nov. Theol. p. 430. Vitringa Obſ[illegible] Sac. l. v. p. 146. Michaelis Intr. N. T. § 125.

BOOK IV.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE TIME OF THE RETURN FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE ſtate of learning and ſcience among the antient Hebrews, in the early period of their hiſtory, while they reſided in their own country, has been already deſcribed. From the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, the Iſraelites no longer exiſted as an entire nation. Upon the return of the two tribes of Judah and Ephraim to Paleſtine, the other ten tribes being almoſt entirely diſperſed, this remnant of the Hebrews loſt their antient name, and were called 'Jews'[a]. Paſſing over the ſubſequent hiſtory of the diſperſed tribes, as too uncertain to afford any intereſting particulars concerning the ſtate of philoſophy among them, we ſhall inquire into the philoſophical hiſtory of the Jews in Paleſtine from the time of their return from captivity.

[a] Vid. Baſnage Hiſt. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 523.

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In this part of our work we muſt extend the meaning of the term philoſophy; for, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, we find few traces of philoſophy in the hiſtory of the Jews. There were not wanting, indeed, among this people, men of ability and learning; but their general taſte and manners, and particularly their traditionary method of inſtruction, were ſo unfavourable to ſcientific reſearches, that few philoſophers, properly ſo called, aroſe in Paleſtine. Nevertheleſs, in order to prepare the way for an accurate account of the ſtate of philoſophy among the Saracens and Chriſtians, it is neceſſary that we briefly mark the progreſs of learning and knowled among the Jews.

After the revival of the ſacred commonwealth of the though the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed in the perſon of M wiſe men were raiſed up by divine Providence to reſtore tional worſhip, to explain to them the divine law, and to condu their affairs, both civil and religious. Among theſe, were Eſdras, Zorobabel, Nehemiah, and Salthiel. Eſdras, as a ſcribe well inſtructed in the law of Moſes, certainly takes the firſt place among the learned Jews of this period, but he cannot with propriety be ranked among philoſophers; nor is there any ſufficient ground for conſidering him as the author of the Cabbaliſtic doctrine [a].

The changes which took place in the Jewiſh nation, after the Babyloniſh captivity, produced material alterations in their philoſophical and religious tenets. Two events in the Jewiſh hiſtory muſt be particularly noticed, on account of the great influence which they had upon the ſtate of opinions: the one, the ſeparation of the Samaritans from the Jews, which began in the time of Eſdras; the other, the ſettling of a colony of Jews in Egypt under Alexander the Great, which was afterwards ſo increaſed by his ſucceſſors, that the Jews in Egypt were little inferior, either in number or conſequence, to thoſe in Judea.

[a] D. Knibbe Hiſt. Proph. l. ii. c. 6. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 942. Eſdras, vii. 6, &c. Baſnage. l. iii. c. 5. § 1, 2. l. vii. c. 2. § 7. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. c. 10. Budd. H. E. t. ii. p. 1019.

About two hundred years before the time of Esdras, when Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, had carried the ten tribes of Israel captive into Assyria, he repeopled Samaria with a colony from Babylon, Chuta, and several other places. The country being soon afterwards harrassed with wild beasts, the new settlers concluded that this calamity had befallen them, because they did not worship the god of the land, and sent a complaint to this purpose to the king of Assyria. Upon this, the king sent them one of the priests who had been taken from the country, "to teach them how they should fear the Lord[a]." Thus the worship of the true God of Israel was restored in Samaria. At the same time, however, the idolaters retained their respective superstitions, and, "whilst they feared the Lord, served other gods." Hence the Jews, when they returned to Judea from that captivity by which they had been punished for their former propensity towards idolatry, entertained a rooted aversion against the inhabitants of Samaria, and would not allow them any concern in executing the national design of re-building the temple at Jerusalem. The mutual jealousies which arose from this cause were carried to the most violent extremity. Esdras and Zerobabel solemnly denounced an anathema upon the Samaritans: and the Samaritans, in their turn, made use of all their interest with the king of Assyria to obstruct the re-building of the temple[b].

At the extinction of the Persian monarchy in consequence of Alexander's conquests, the Samaritans endeavoured to accomplish a union, both civil and ecclesiastical, with the Jews. For this purpose, Sanballat the governor of Samaria, who was of Babylonish extraction, brought about a marriage between his daughter and Menasses, the brother of Jaddus, the Jewish high priest; fully expecting that Menasses would succeed his brother in the priesthood, and that by this

[a] 2. Kings, xvii. 24. Joseph. Ant. l. ix. c. ult. Beniam. Tudelens. Itin. p. 37. Basnage. l. ii. c. 4. p. 84.

[b] Eisenmenger. Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 2. Walton. Appar. Bibl. Proleg. xi. § 4. Basnage, l. ii. c. 5. § 1.

means

means a coalition would be accompliſhed. The event, however, did not correſpond to his wiſhes. The Jews highly reſented this profane alliance, excluded Menaſſes from the ſucceſſion, and baniſhed him from the city. Sanballat, on the other hand, took his ſon-in-law under his protection; obtained permiſſion from Alexander to build a temple upon Mount Garizim ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem; and appointed Menaſſes its high prieſt. With Menaſſes a powerful body paſſed over from the Jews to the Samaritans; and much pains was taken to bring back their doctrine and worſhip to the pure ſtandard of the law of Moſes [a]. But all this was inſufficient to ſubdue the enmity of the Jews, who execrated the Samaritans as heretical and prophane, and maintained, that they themſelves alone poſſeſſed the true religion. Frequent hoſtilities aroſe between the two countries; and Hyrcanus at laſt beſieged Samaria, and after a long reſiſtance took the city, and razed it, together with its temple, to the ground. The metropolis of Samaria was afterwards rebuilt by the Roman governor Gibinius, and enlarged and adorned by Herod, who, in honour of Auguſtus, called the city Sebaſte [b].

It may be concluded from this narrative, that whatever difference at this time ſubſiſted between the Jews and Samaritans, it was only ſuch as might eaſily have been compromiſed; elſe Sanballat would not have thought of attempting to unite the religious inſtitutions of both nations by making his ſon-in-law their common high-prieſt. But this neceſſarily ſuppoſes, that the Samaritans had renounced their antient idolatry, and were now worſhippers of the true God, in forms not very different from thoſe appointed by the Moſaic law. Some remains of erroneous opinions concerning the divine nature, and of Pagan ſuperſtition, might, it is true, ſtill be retained, ſufficient to give occaſion to the cenſure of Jeſus, "Ye know not what ye worſhip." But there can be no doubt that the Jewiſh writers, from whom we receive moſt of our information

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4.—8. l. xii. c. 1. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 6. p. 113.
[b] Joſeph. Ant. l. xi. c. 8. l. xii. c. 1. l. xiii. c. 18. Reland. Palæſt. l. iii. p. 979. Baſnage. l. c. p. 99.

concerning the Samaritans, through their averſion to this nation, have been guilty of much exaggeration and miſrepreſentation in their account of the Samaritan doctrine and worſhip. Of this kind, probably, is the tale of their having the idols of four heathen nations concealed under Mount Garizim, and the notion that they denied the exiſtence of angels [a]. It is not unlikely, however, that they might ſo far depart from the idea of angels given in the books of Moſes (the only ſacred ſcriptures they acknowledged) as to conceive them to be Subſtantial Virtues, or Powers derived by emanation [b] from the divine nature, according to the Oriental philoſophy [c]. This may be inferred from the hiſtory of Simon Magus, Doſitheus, and Menander, whoſe doctrines appear to have obtained much credit and authority among the Samaritans.

SIMON MAGUS [d], who is commonly underſtood to have been the perſon mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, was by birth a Samaritan, and in his native country practiſed magical arts, which procured him many followers. According to the uſual practice of the Aſiatics at this time, he viſited Egypt, and there, probably, became acquainted with the ſublime myſteries taught in the Alexandrian ſchool, and learned thoſe theurgic or magical operations, by means of which it was believed that men might be delivered from the power of evil dæmons. Upon his return into his own

[a] Epiphan. Hæreſ. ix. t. 1. op. p. 25. Her. xiii. p. 30. Her. xiv. p. 31. Reland. Diſſ. Miſc. p. ii. p. 57.

[b] Selden is of opinion *, that the Cuthæi, by whom Samaria was in part colonized, were Perſians, who dwelt on the borders of the river Cuth, and conjectures, that Nergal, the idol which they worſhipped, was the ſacred fire of the Perſians. If this be admitted, we may reaſonably conjecture, that the religion of the Perſian Magi, the worſhip of fire, brought by this people into Samaria, was united with the worſhip of the God of Iſrael; that with this worſhip was introduced the Oriental doctrine of divine emanations, taught by the Perſian Zoroaſter; and that, in this manner, the Gnoſtic fictions concerning divine Virtues and Powers ſpread among the Samaritans.

[c] Reland. l. c. p. 29. Cellar. Gent. Sam. Diſſ. Ac. p. 109.

[d] Juſt. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 69. 91. Iren. Hær. l. i. c. 23. § 4.

* De Diis Syriis, Synt. ii. c. 8. p. 312.

country, the author of the "Clementine Recognitions[a]" relates, that he imposed upon his countrymen by high pretensions to supernatural powers. And St. Luke attests, that this artful fanatic, using sorcery, had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he was Some Great One; and that he obtained such general attention and reverence in Samaria, that the people all gave heed to him from the least to the greatest, saying, "This man is the Great Power of God[b]."*

From the nature of the philosophy which, at this period, was taught both in Asia and Egypt, and in which Simon had, doubtless, been instructed, it may be reasonably concluded that he pretended to be an Æon of the first order, or one of the most exalted of those substantial powers, or divine immortal natures, which were supposed to have emaned from the eternal fountain of the Supreme Deity. He boasted, that he was sent down from heaven among men, to chastise and subdue those evil dæmons, by whose malignant influence the disorders and miseries of human nature were produced, and to conduct them to the highest felicity. To his wife Helena he also ascribed a similar kind of divine nature, pretending that a female Æon inhabited the body of this woman, to whom he gave the name of Εννοια, Wisdom; whence some Christian fathers have said, that he called her the Holy Spirit[c].

[a] L. ii. c. 21.

[b] Acts viii. 9. Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. c. 23. § 4. p. 100. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. 1. Aug. de Hær. c. 1. Epiph. Hær. 21.—24. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 26.

* It has been said, that Simon Magus was worshipped by the Romans as a god; and a passage in Justin Martyr †, where he says that, between two bridges on the Tiber, he saw a statue with this inscription, SIMONI SANCTO DEO, has been quoted in support of this assertion. But, besides the great improbability that the Romans would rank a Samaritan among their divinities, it has since appeared that Justin Martyr read this inscription inaccurately ‡; for, in the year 1574, a statue was dug up in Rome, in the very situation mentioned by Justin, with this inscription, SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO.

[c] Recog. Clem. l. ii. c. 22, &c. Hom. xix. § 14. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 383. August. de Hæres. c. 1. Tertull. de Anim. c. 34.

† Apol. ii. p. 69. 91.

‡ Ant. Van Dale ad calc. lib. de Orac. Deyling. Obs. Sac. l. i. Ob. 36.

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The ſum of his fanatical doctrine, diveſted of allegory, was, that from the Divine Being, as a fountain of light, emane various orders of Æons, or Eternal Natures, ſubſiſting within the plenitude of the divine eſſence; that beyond theſe, in the order of emanation, are different claſſes of intelligences, among the loweſt of which are human ſouls; that matter is the moſt remote production of the emanative power, which, on account of its infinite diſtance from the Fountain of Light, poſſeſſes ſluggiſh and malignant qualities, which oppoſe the divine operations, and are the cauſe of evil; that it is the great deſign of philoſophy to deliver the ſoul from its impriſonment in matter, and reſtore it to that divine light from which it was derived; and that for this purpoſe God had ſent one of the firſt Æons among men. He alſo taught, that human ſouls migrate into other bodies, as a puniſhment for their ſins; and he denied the reſurrection of the body [a].

Simon Magus, having taught theſe and other ſimilar doctrines of the Oriental philoſophy, may perhaps be conſidered as the founder of a philoſophical ſect of Gnoſtics; but it is a miſtake to ſuppoſe, as many writers, implicitly following Irenæus [b], have done, that he was the head of the Chriſtian Gnoſtics; for, whereas theſe heretics thought Chriſt to be one of the Æons ſent down in a human form to deliver the world from the dominion of evil dæmons, Simon Magus claimed this very character to himſelf; and conſequently, notwithſtanding his temporary aſſumption of the Chriſtian name, muſt be ranked among the enemies of Chriſt.

DOSITHEUS was one of thoſe fanatics who aroſe from the rigorous diſcipline of that Jewiſh ſect, which, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, was devoted to ſolitude and abſtinence. Failing in his attempt to paſs among the Jews for their Meſſiah, he went over to the Samaritans, and endeavoured to perſuade them that he was the prophet predicted by Moſes, and practiſed among them various kinds of auſterities.

[a] Recogn. Clem. l. ii. c. 21. p. 522. l. iii. p. 528. Epiph. Hær. p. 58, 59. Iren. l. i. c. 23. 28. Clem. Hom. iii. p. 648. xviii. p. 744. xix. p. 954. Plotin. Enn. vi. l. ix. c. 9.

[b] L. c.

rities. The author of the "Clementine Recognitions" ſpeaks of Doſitheus as a diſciple of Simon; others make him his preceptor; but both without proof[a].

Menander, a Samaritan, trod in the footſteps of Simon Magus, boaſting himſelf to be a Great Power of God, ſent to deliver the world, by magical operations, from the tyranny of evil ſpirits. To thoſe who partook of his baptiſm he promiſed, that their bodies ſhould be purified from the dregs of materiality, and be raiſed to a ſpiritual and immortal exiſtence within the *Pleroma,* or Plenitude, of the divine nature[b].

From this time the affairs of the Samaritans declined, and their hiſtory affords nothing which requires our attention.

The Second great Event, in this period of the Jewiſh hiſtory, which affects the ſtate of philoſophy, is the ſettling of a Jewiſh colony in Egypt. Notwithſtanding the hereditary hatred which, from the moſt antient times, had ſubſiſted between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, neceſſity had obliged the two nations, as we learn from the Sacred Hiſtory, to unite more than once againſt the aſſaults of the kings of Aſſyria. In proceſs of time, the enmity between them was ſo far ſubdued, that the poſterity of Iſrael migrated to the country from which their anceſtors had been expelled.

The firſt certain record of the ſettling of a Jewiſh colony in Egypt is that of the prophet Jeremiah[c], from whom we learn, that during the Babyloniſh captivity (about five hundred and eighty years before Chriſt) after Iſhmael had treacherouſly cut off Gedaliah, the governor of Judea, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Aſſyria, the Jews who ſtill remained in Judea, fearing the reſentment of the king, firſt took up their abode near the borders of Egypt, and then, contrary to the remonſtrance of the prophet Jeremiah, removed into Egypt, and ſettled at Tahpanhes. According to the prediction of the prophet, in a ſucceſsful attack ſoon after-

[a] Epiphan. Hær. xiii. p. 30.

[b] Iren. Hær. l. ii. c. 31. Theodor. Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. 2. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. iii. c. 26. Epiph. Hær. xxii. Tertull. de Reſur. c. 5. 19. de An. c. 50.

[c] Ch. xlii. ver. 15. xliii. 10. xliv. 11.

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wards made upon Amaſis, king of Egypt, by Nebuchadonoſor, they were carried captive, with a body of Egyptians, into Babylon. A few of their number, however, who had eſcaped into ſolitary places, remained in Egypt, and their poſterity greatly increaſed.

When Alexander, in order to people his new city, Alexandria, invited ſtrangers from different countries; among the reſt a conſiderable body of Jews left their native country, and put themſelves under the protection of the conqueror, who granted them the ſame privileges which he had conferred upon his own countrymen[a]. This Jewiſh colony was afterwards enlarged by Ptolemy Lagus, who invaded Syria and Judea, beſieged and took Jeruſalem, and carried an hundred thouſand Jews and Samaritans in captivity to Egypt[b]. Under the protection of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, this numerous body of Jews long continued to flouriſh, and occaſionally to receive new acceſſions from Judea. Ptolemy Philadelphus treated them with great liberality, and put them on the footing of equality with the reſt of his ſubjects; allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the precepts of their law, and the traditions of their fathers[c].

It was at this time that the Alexandrian Jews, who now commonly ſpoke the Greek language, wrote their celebrated Greek Tranſlation of their Sacred Scriptures, known by the name of the Septuagint Verſion. This tranſlation has been ſaid to have been made by order of the king, through the ſolicitation of Demetrius Phalereus his librarian[d]; but[e] it is improbable that a Peripatetic philoſopher ſhould have paid ſo much reſpect to the books of the Jews, as to requeſt ſuch an exertion of the royal authority; and the ſtory is inconſiſtent, as we have already ſhewn, with well known facts, in the life of Demetrius Phalereus. The truth ſeems to be, that the tranſlation was reluctantly undertaken by the Jews themſelves, for the convenience of that numerous body, among whom Greek

a Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8.
b Id. l. xii. c. 1.
c Joſeph. ib. c. 2.
d Joſeph. l. c.
e Conf. Van Dale, Diſs. ſuper Ariſtea. Hody Diſs. contr. Ariſtea. Ox. 1684. 8vo. et de Bibl. Text. 1705. fol.

was

was now the common language; but that, when the Alexandrian Jews found that this public expofure of their facred oracles was difpleafing to their brethren in Paleftine, they invented this ftory, to give their verfion the fanction of royal authority. On fimilar grounds, the ftory of another verfion [a], more antient than the Septuagint, of the Pentateuch, from which Pythagoras and Plato borrowed fome of their doctrines, is to be rejected as fabulous; for the fact refts wholly upon the teftimony of Ariftobulus, whom there is reafon, as we fhall fee, to fufpect of having, through national vanity, invented the ftory, in order to transfer the credit of the Greek philofophy to the Hebrews.

From this period, there can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Jews was known to the Egyptians; and, on the other hand, that Pagan philofophy was known to the Jews. Grecian wifdom, corrupted by being mixed with the Egyptian and Oriental philofophy, affumed a new form in the Platonic fchool of Alexandria. This fchool, by pretending to teach a fublimer doctrine concerning God and divine things, enticed men of different countries and religions, and among the reft the Jews, to ftudy its myfteries, and to incorporate them with their own. The fymbolical method of inftruction, which had been in ufe from the moft antient times among the Egyptians, was adopted by the Jews; and it became a common practice among them to put an allegorical interpretation upon their facred writings. Hence, under the cloak of fymbols, Pagan philofophy gradually crept into the Jewifh fchools; and the Platonic doctrines, mixed firft with the Pythagoric, and afterwards with the Egyptian and Oriental, were blended with their antient faith in their explanations of the law and the traditions [b]. The fociety of the Therapeutæ (of which we fhall prefently fpeak more fully) was formed after the model of the Pythagorean difcipline: Ariftobulus, Philo, and others, ftudied the Grecian philofophy, and the Cabbalifts formed their myftical fyftem upon the foundation of the tenets

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 305. 342. Eufeb. Præp. Ev. l. xiii. c. 12. Jofeph. Ant. l. xii. p. 391. [b] Eufeb. Præp. Ev. l. viii. c. 9, 10.

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taught in the Alexandrian ſchools. The practice of clothing the precepts of the Moſaic law in a Platonic dreſs, and mixing Platonic notions with the doctrine of the Jewiſh religion, ſeems to have given birth to the antient Jewiſh book, improperly called, *The Wiſdom of Solomon*[a], a work which abounds with Platonic language, and was probably written after the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy was introduced among the Jews.

The preceding narrative of facts clearly ſhews in what manner the purity of divine doctrine became corrupted among the Jews in Egypt. Enticed by the promiſe of new and hidden treaſures of wiſdom concerning God and divine things, they admitted, under the diſguiſe of allegory, doctrines never dreamed of by their antient lawgivers and prophets, and adopted a myſtical interpretation of the law, which converted its plain meaning into a thouſand idle fancies. This corruption, which begun in Egypt about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſoon ſpread into Paleſtine, and every where diſſeminated among the Jews a taſte for metaphyſical ſubtleties and myſteries[b].

ARISTOBULUS, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, was an admirer of the Greek philoſophy, and united with the ſtudy of the Moſaic law, in the myſtical and allegorical method at this time introduced, ſome knowledge of the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem. Euſebius ſpeaks of him as a favourite of Ptolemy, and quotes, from a work of his inſcribed to that prince, ſundry verſes of Orpheus, in which mention is made of Moſes and Abraham. Theſe verſes are alſo found in the works of Juſtin Martyr; but with ſo much variation as to afford ground for ſuſpecting their authenticity. It is not improbable that Ariſtobulus himſelf, who, as Clemens Alexandrinus relates[c], aſcribes the Grecian philoſophy

[a] Among many other paſſages of this book, in which both the ſentiments and language are borrowed from the Greek philoſophy, the reader may conſult c. i. 7. c. vii. 17.—22. In ch. v. ver. 25. the Oriental doctrine of emanation is clearly expreſſed.

[b] Joſeph. Proem. Ant. Jud. p. 3.

[c] Strom. l. i. 305.

to a Hebrew origin, was the author of this fraud, as well as of the tales reſpecting the Greek verſions of the Hebrew ſcriptures. On theſe accounts, we cannot heſitate to rank Ariſtobulus among the firſt corruptors of Jewiſh wiſdom [a].

From Egypt we ſhall now paſs over into Judea, to inquire into the ſtate of philoſophy among its inhabitants. Soon after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, they forſook the antient ſimplicity of their ſacred doctrine, and liſtened to the fictions of human fancy. This change happened, not through any intercourſe which the Jews had, during their captivity, with the Chaldean Magi (for it does not appear that they borrowed any tenets from theſe) but in conſequence of the conqueſts of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, which obliged them, contrary to their antient habits, to mingle with foreigners. A circumſtance which, left to its natural operation, would have led them imperceptibly into the adoption of foreign opinions and cuſtoms. But their conquerors haſtened this change by compulſion; for we are informed that Antiochus Epiphanes commanded them to forſake their antient religious ceremonies; and, although the greater part of the nation bravely reſiſted this unjuſt and tyrannical command, there were ſome among them ſo unfaithful to their country and their God, as to ſhew an inclination to court the favour of the conqueror by mixing Pagan tenets and ſuperſtitions with their own ſacred doctrines and ceremonies [b]. The influence of example in their Alexandrian brethren, who had already caught the infection of gentiliſm, doubtleſs, concurred with the circumſtances of the times, to introduce corruption into the ſchools of Judea. Accordingly we find, in fact, that a taſte for Grecian philoſophy and Egyptian myſteries ſo far prevailed in the joint reign of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, that ſome of the zealous advocates for the purity of the Jewiſh faith and worſhip thought it neceſſary to denounce *anathema* upon any one who ſhould teach the

[a] Maccab. l. ii. c. i. v. 10. Euſeb. Præp. l. viii. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. Juſtin. Cohort. ad. Gent. et Apol. ii.

[b] Maccab. Hiſt. Joſeph. Ant. J. l. xii.

Grecian

Grecian wiſdom to his children[a]. No *Anathema*, however, could prevent the ſpread of Grecian learning among the Jews.

In the time of Alexander Jannæus, about one hundred years before Chriſt, Simon ben Shetach, a learned Jewiſh doctor, who had, for ſome political offence, been baniſhed Judea, was recalled, with his diſciples, from Alexandria, "and with him," as Jehudas Levi relates[b], "the Cabbala, or oral tradition, recovered its priſtine vigour." And there can be little doubt that this Cabbala included the theoretical as well as preceptive doctrines received by the Alexandrian Jews under the notion of traditions; eſpecially ſince we have ſo many proofs of the early prevalence of theſe doctrines among the Jews, in the writings of Philo and others.

The reſult of the facts already related is, that the myſtical, or cabbaliſtic, doctrine of the Jews aroſe in the time of the firſt Ptolemies. The Jewiſh myſtics, indeed, pretend to trace back their fanciful ſyſtem even to Adam in Paradiſe, and boaſt that their oldeſt cabbaliſtic books were written by the patriarch Abraham[c]. But it will be evident to any one, who compares theſe books with the ſyſtem compounded of Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic doctrines, which the Jews at this time began, as we have ſeen, to mix with the Moſaic law, that the leading tenets of the Cabbala and the Alexandrian philoſophy are the ſame. The antient book entitled *Coſri*, writtten by Jehuda Levi before the compilation of the Talmud, deſcribes in allegorical and myſtical language the philoſophy which paſſed over from the Alexandrian ſchools into Judea. The ſame philoſophy is found in the cabbaliſtic books of the *Jezirah*, mentioned in the Talmud; in the *Sohar*, aſcribed to Simeon ben Jochai, a diſciple of Akibha, who lived in the time of Veſpaſian; and in the *Bakir*, ſaid to be of ſtill greater antiquity. Although the age of theſe books is not certainly known, there is great reaſon to conclude from their contents, that the ſeeds of the cabbaliſtic doc-

[a] Gemar. Bab. in Menachoth. f. 64. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Math. viii. 30.

[b] Lib. Coſri, p. iii. p. 240. Conf. R. Mardochai de Karæis, c. 3.

[c] R. Gedalias Shalſhel. Hakkabal. p. 28.

trine were firſt ſown under the Ptolemies, when the Jews began to learn the Egyptian and Oriental theology, and to incorporate theſe foreign dogmas with their antient creed.

Having ſaid thus much concerning the introduction of Gentile philoſophy among the Jews both in Egypt and Paleſtine, the way is prepared for inquiring into the riſe and progreſs of their DOMESTIC SECTS. After all the learned labour which has been beſtowed upon this ſubject, the origin of theſe ſects ſtill remains involved in obſcurity. Some eminent writers, on the authority of ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, and in Joſephus, have ſaid[a], that many of the Jews, after their return from captivity, expreſſed their religious zeal, not only by a ſtrict obſervance of the law, according to its literal meaning, but by introducing certain religious ceremonies, and other ſervices, not preſcribed in the written law, as voluntary expreſſions of extraordinary ſanctity; that a large body of theſe zealots formed themſelves into a fraternity, or ſacred college, under the name of Haſidæi, who, under the perſecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, joined the Maccabees; that, in proceſs of time, the inſtitutions of this body were digeſted into a regular canon, which created innumerable diſputes, and produced parties among the Jews, of whom thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the letter of the Moſaic law were called Karæites, while the advocates for the new inſtitutions retained the name of Haſidæi; and that from the former ſprung the Sadducees, and from the latter the Phariſees and Eſſenes. This account of the riſe of the Jewiſh ſects is plauſible, but deſtitute of ſufficient evidence from antiquity. For, the Haſidæi, mentioned by the author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees[b], were not a religious ſect, but a civil party, which aroſe during the wars. Upon this matter nothing further is certain, than that, ſoon after the termination of the prophetic age, the Jews began to corrupt the law of Moſes, by introducing certain precepts and inſti-

[a] Scaliger. Elench. Trihæreſ. c. 22. Druſius et Serrarius de Haſidæis. edit. a Trigland. in Syntagm. de Trib. Sect. Jud. Delph. 1704. Goodwin's Moſes and Aaron. l. i. c. 9.   [b] L. i. c. vii. 13. l. ii. c. xiv. 6.

tutions, which they professed to have received by oral tradition from the most antient times. This traditionary law, which chiefly respected religious ceremonies, fastings, and other practices distinct from the moral duties of life, at length obtained, with the greater part of the Jewish nation, a degree of authority equal to that of the Mosaic law; whilst the rest, rejecting these innovations, adhered strictly to the institutions of their sacred oracles. These two general classes, which do not appear to have been distinguished, on this single ground, by any peculiar appellation, gradually adopted other tenets and customs, and formed several distinct sects, of which the principal were the Sadducees, the Karæites, the Pharisees, and the Essenes.

Without paying any attention to the extravagant fiction of the Jewish writers, who pretend to refer the origin of the Sadducean doctrine to Pagan atheists, among whom they reckon Aristotle; who, by the way, was, they affirm, afterwards converted, and made a proselyte of righteousness, by Simeon the Just [a]; we shall confine ourselves to those events, in the history of the Jewish church, which seem to have gradually given existence to the sect of the SADDUCEES.

It is exceedingly probable, that, as soon as the oral, or traditionary, law above mentioned was introduced, multitudes reprobated the innovation, and determined to adhere to the written law, in its obvious and literal meaning. This dispute might naturally occasion a controversy concerning the doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures upon the subject of a future state; and the speculations of the Alexandrian Jews, which about this time began to be known in Judea, might furnish fresh matter of debate. These conjectures are confirmed by facts.

ANTIGONUS SOCHÆUS [b], a native of Socho on the borders of Judea, who flourished in the time of Eleazar the high priest (or about three hundred years before Christ) and was a disciple of Si-

[a] Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, p. 83.
[b] Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. ad Matt. iii. 7. t. ii. p. 273. Reland Palæst. l. iii. p. 1018. Basnage, l. ii. c. 14.

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meon the Juſt, offended at the innovations which were introduced by the patrons of the traditionary inſtitutions, and particularly at the pretenſions which were made to meritorious works of ſupererogation, by means of which men hoped to entitle themſelves to extraordinary temporal rewards, ſtrenuouſly maintained and taught, that men ought to ſerve God, not like ſlaves for hire, but from a pure and diſintereſted principle of piety. This refined doctrine, which Antigonus only oppoſed to the expectation of a temporal recompence for works of religion and charity, his followers miſinterpreted, and extended to the rewards of a future life. Sadoc and Baithoſus, two of his diſciples, taught, that no future recompence was to be expected, and conſequently that there would be no reſurrection of the dead. This doctrine they taught to their followers; and hence aroſe, about two hundred years before Chriſt, the ſect of the Baithoſæi, or Sadducees. These appellations, derived from the names of the founders of the ſect, ſeem to have been at firſt uſed promiſcuouſly; but by degrees the former fell into diſuſe; which accounts for the ſilence of the ſacred hiſtory, and of Joſephus, concerning the Baithoſæi [a].

The ſect of the Sadducees long continued to flouriſh in Judea, and to poſſeſs great authority. Although they differed in fundamental points of faith from the reſt of the nation, they were admitted to ſacred privileges and offices, and even to the higheſt dignity of the prieſthood [b]. And notwithſtanding the enmity which ſubſiſted between this ſect and that of the Phariſees, on account of the contempt with which the Sadducees treated the traditionary law, theſe ſects frequently united in public councils, and in defence of the common cauſe of religion. Under the reign of Hyrcanus, who, about one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, poſſeſſed the ſupreme civil and ſacerdotal power in Judea, the Sadducees were the leading ſect; for that prince, being oppoſed by the Phariſees in the execution of the office of high prieſt, treated them with great

[a] Pirke Abhoth. c. 5. R. Nathan. ad l. c. apud Lightfoot. t. ii. p. 737.
[b] Acts, v. 17. Joſeph. Ant. l. xx. c. 15.

ſeverity,

ſeverity, and eſpouſed the Sadducean party, requiring the whole nation, on pain of death, to profeſs the doctrine of this ſect. After the death of Hyrcanus, the perſecution of the Phariſees was, for ſome time, continued by his ſon, Alexander Jannæus; but Alexandra, the wife of Jannæus, who ſucceeded him in the government, finding that the Phariſaic ſect was more popular than the Sadducean, eſpouſed the intereſt of the Phariſees, and reſtored their power and influence. The Sadducees, however, afterwards regained a conſiderable ſhare of political and eccleſiaſtical conſequence; for we find, that Caiaphas and Ananus, who were both of this ſect, poſſeſſed in ſucceſſion the office of high prieſt [a]. After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the ſect of the Sadducees fell into contempt among their countrymen, and even incurred the hatred of the Chriſtians: the emperor Juſtinian iſſued a ſevere edict againſt them [b], inflicting baniſhment, and, in caſe of obſtinate perſeverance, even death, upon thoſe who ſhould teach their doctrines.

The chief heads of the Sadducean tenets were theſe [c]:

All laws and traditions, not comprehended in the written law, are to be rejected as merely human inventions. Neither angels nor ſpirits have a diſtinct exiſtence, ſeparate from their corporeal veſtment. The ſoul of man, therefore, does not remain after this life, but expires with the body. There will be no reſurrection of the dead, nor any rewards or puniſhments after this life. Man is not ſubjected to irreſiſtible fate, but has the framing of his condition chiefly in his own power. Polygamy ought not to be practiſed.

It has been aſſerted [d], that the Sadducees only received, as of ſacred authority, the five books of Moſes. But the contrary clearly appears from their controverſy with the Phariſees, in which the latter appeal to the prophets, and other ſacred writings, as well as the law,

[a] Joſeph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18, 24. Megellath. Taanith, c. 4. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 15.

[b] Novell. 146.

[c] Joſeph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18. l. xviii. c. 2. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12. Acts, xxiii. 6, 8. Matt. xxii. 23. Mark, xii. 18. Luke, xx. 27.

[d] Tertull. de Præſcript. l. i. c. 14. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. i. p. 39.

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which they could not have done with any propriety or effect, had not the Sadducees admitted their authority. To this we may add, that had this been the case, it is very improbable that such heresy would have passed without censure.

The Sadducees are sometimes ranked with the Epicureans; but improperly: for, though they agreed with them in denying the doctrine of a future state, they differed from them essentially in their ideas of God and providence.' Whilst the Epicureans admitted no supreme intelligent ruler of the world, and supposed the gods wholly unconcerned in human affairs, the Sadducees acknowledged the existence of the one true God, the Jehovah of the Jews, and admitted his universal providence, only rejecting the notion of an absolute and uncontroulable influence over the volitions and actions of men: they admitted, too, the reasonableness and obligation of religious worship. Their denial of a future state of rewards and punishments may perhaps be in part ascribed to their belief in the homogeneous nature of man; for Josephus expressly says[a], that they took away the distinct and permanent nature of the soul: ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν ἀναιρᾶσι. This was, probably, the chief ground of their opposition to christianity, whose distinguishing doctrine is that of the resurrection from the dead.

The sect of the KARÆITES[b], though its history be exceedingly obscure, is not to be confounded with that of the Sadducees. The name Karæite denotes a textuary, or scripturist, and seems intended to distinguish those who followed the written law alone, from those who admitted the authority of traditionary precepts. The origin of this sect is, therefore, to be referred to the time when the traditionary, or oral, law was introduced, and with it the allegorical interpretation of the written law. It may be collected from the Jewish records, that this sect existed in the time of Hyrcanus, and that the followers of Shammai were addicted to it[c]. The fact

[a] De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Conf. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xx. c. 8.
[b] R. Mardochai de Karæis, Trigland. Shupart. et Wolf. de Kar.
[c] R. Mose. Bethshitshi ap. Trigland. de Kar. c. 6.

ſeems to have been, that the traditionary law was oppoſed, as a corruption of the true religion, by a numerous body, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the ſufficiency and perfection of the antient written law, explained in its literal ſenſe. Among theſe, as we have already ſeen, were the Sadducees. But it is exceedingly probable, that the Sadducean tenets were highly offenſive to many pious men, who, nevertheleſs, were not diſpoſed to join thoſe who received the traditionary inſtitutions. Theſe adhering ſimply to the letter of the Moſaic law, but at the ſame time refuſing to adopt the doctrine of the Sadducees, would of courſe become a ſeparate ſect, which would be diſtinguiſhed by ſome name expreſſive of their leading principle. It is not improbable that the oppoſite party gave them, in deriſion, the name of Scripturiſts, or Karæites. In this manner we conceive that this ſect aroſe at the ſame time with thoſe of the Sadducees and Phariſees.

The continuance of the ſect of the Karæites through ſeveral ſubſequent ages may be learned from the *Coſri* of Jehuda Levi, above quoted, which intimates, that, in the time of the Rabbies Jehuda ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetach, when the traditionary precepts obtained increaſing authority, the followers of the letter of the law were a ſeparate body. Perhaps the claſs of νομικοι, lawyers, mentioned by the Evangeliſts as diſtinct from the Scribes and Phariſees[a], were the Karæites. This conjecture is favoured by a tradition preſerved in the Jeruſalem Talmud[b], that there were in Jeruſalem four hundred and eighty ſynagogues, each of which had a ſeparate apartment for the law, and another for the Talmud, or traditionary records; whence it ſeems probable, that the Scripturiſts were a party diſtinct from the Traditionaries. The ſcribes, whoſe office it was to expound the law, from the manner in which they are uſually mentioned in the New Teſtament, in conjunction with the Phariſees, may be concluded to have adopted, in their interpretations, the allegorical method of the Traditionaries and Cabbaliſts, and therefore to have commonly belonged to their party.

[a] Luc. xi. 45, 46. [b] Megillat. f. 73.

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After the destruction of Jerusalem, the interest of the traditionary party greatly increased, and that of the Scripturists proportionally declined: so that the Karæites are from this time little heard of, except when they are mentioned by the pharisaical rabbies in terms of reproach, till the eighth century, when we find the sect revived by the Rabbi Anan ben David, whose heresy brought upon him a heavy load of obloquy. The history of this Rabbi clearly shews, that he was not, as some have supposed, the author, but the restorer of the Karæite sect[a]. From his time, this sect continued to produce men well skilled in the Jewish law; among whom, in the twelfth century, was Abu-Alphareus, who lived in Palestine, and wrote a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which added so much strength to the interest of the Karæites, that the traditionary party thought it necessary to implore the assistance of the civil magistrate[b]. Notwithstanding this, however, the Karæites continued to hold their assemblies; and they are, at this day, found as a distinct body in Turkey, Russia, and Lithuania, but are oppressed by the jealousy of their countrymen, to whom a Karæite is more hateful than a Christian, or a Turk[c].

The distinguishing tenets of the sect of the Karæites are: that there is no other rule of faith and worship than the writings of Moses and the prophets; that all oral traditions, and all allegorical and mystical interpretations of the law are to be rejected; that all material beings were created by an uncreated Deity, of whom no resemblance can be found in any thing which he has made; that he knows all things, and exercises a constant providence over all his works; that the human mind is subject to divine influence, but at the same time remains free in its volitions; that true penitence takes away guilt; that, after death, the soul, if it be worthy, ascends to the intellectual world to live there for ever, but if it be guilty, it is consigned to a state of pain and ignominy; that God alone is to be

[a] Abr. Ben Dior. Kabb. Hist. f. 66. [b] Buddæi Hist. Ph. Heb. § 30.
[c] Tenzel. Colloq. Menstr. 1691. Basnage, l. ii. c. 6.

worshipped;

worshipped; and that fasts are to be strictly observed[a]. The present adherents of this sect are said to observe the moral precepts of their law more strictly than their brethren, the pharisaic Rabbinites, with whom, nevertheless, they are thought unworthy of ecclesiastical communion.

The most celebrated of the Jewish sects was that of the PHARISEES. Its origin, as well as that of the other sects, is involved in some obscurity. The prophet Isaiah, indeed, found among the Jews, in his time, several appearances of the spirit and character which afterwards distinguished the sect of the Pharisees[b]. But we have no proof that they existed as a distinct body in the prophetic age; nor do we find any traces of this sect prior to the time when oral traditions, together with the allegorical interpretations of the written law, were introduced in the manner already explained. Although we meet with no satisfactory evidence of the existence of the sect of the Hasidæi, which Scaliger[c] supposes to have been the foundation of the Pharisaic sect, we think there can be little reason to doubt that this sect arose soon after the return from the Babylonish captivity, in consequence of the introduction of traditionary institutions and allegorical interpretations. That it was established, and had acquired great authority in the time of Hyrcanus, and of his sons, Aristobulus and Alexander, has been already hinted, and may be seen more at large in Josephus's account of their affairs[d]. Josephus, who was himself of this sect, speaks of it as flourishing in the time of Jonathan the high priest, together with those of the Sadducees and Essenes; which invalidates the conjecture of Basnage[e], that the Pharisaic sect owed its rise to the separation which took place

[a] R. Japhet. Lev. Conf. Wolf. Bib. Heb. p. i. p. 671. Trigland. l. i. c. 10, 11. Schudt. Memor. Jud. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27.

[b] Is. lviii. 2, 3. lxv. 5.

[c] Elench. Trihæres. c. 22. p. 170. Reland. Antiq. Sac. p. 2. c. ix. § 13.

[d] Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9, 24.

[e] Hist. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 17. § 2. Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 816.—824. Natal. Alex. Hist. Eccl. c. i. art. 5. § 3.

between the ſchools of Hillel and Shammai; for the Jewiſh writers agree, that theſe celebrated doctors did not flouriſh earlier than an hundred years before the Chriſtian æra.

Although the exact time of the firſt appearance of the Pharisaic ſect cannot be aſcertained, its origin may be eaſily traced back to the ſame period in which the Sadducean hereſy aroſe. From the time that the notion of ſupernumerary acts of ſelf-denial, devotion, and charity, was introduced under the ſanction of the traditional law, a wide door was opened for ſuperſtition, religious pride, and hypocriſy. Whilſt, on the one hand, ſome would deſpiſe the weakneſs, or the affectation, of profeſſing to be pious and holy beyond the preſcription of the written law, others, through a fanatical ſpirit, or that they might provide themſelves with a convenient cloak for their vices, would become ſcrupulous obſervers of the traditionary inſtitutions. And when theſe pretenders to extraordinary ſanctity ſaw that many of thoſe who obſerved only the written law, not only diſclaimed all works of ſupererogation, but even renounced the hope of future rewards, they would think it neceſſary to ſeparate themſelves into a diſtinct body, that they might the more ſucceſsfully diſplay their ſanctity and piety. Theſe conjectures are confirmed by the name of the ſect, which is derived from the word פרש, *to ſeparate*[a]. Their ſeparation conſiſted chiefly in certain diſtinctions reſpecting food, clothing, and religious ceremonies: it does not ſeem to have interrupted the uniformity of religious worſhip, in which the Jews of every ſect appear to have always united.

The peculiar character and ſpirit of Phariſaiſm conſiſted in the ſtrict obſervance of the oral law, which they believed to have been delivered to Moſes by an archangel, during his forty days reſidence on Mount Sinai, and to have been by him committed to Seventy Elders, who tranſmitted it to poſterity[b]. Their ſuperſti-

[a] Suidas in Pharif.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18, 23, 24. l. xvii. c. 3. De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Eiſenmenger Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. Hornbeck de Jud. Conv. l. i. c. 3.

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tious reverence for this law, and the apparent ſanctity of manners which it produced, rendered them exceedingly popular. The multitude, for the moſt part, eſpouſed their intereſt; and the great, who feared their artifice, were frequently obliged to court their favour. Hence they obtained the higheſt offices both in the ſtate and the prieſthood, and had great weight both in public and private affairs: in ſome inſtances they proved ſo troubleſome to the reigning powers as to ſubject themſelves to ſevere penalties. Hyrcanus and Alexander reſtrained their increaſing influence, and treated them with great rigour. Under Alexandra, however, they regained their conſequence; the diſſenſions between the ſchools of Hillel and Shammai[a], a little before the Chriſtian æra, increaſed their number and power; and they continued, till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, to enjoy the chief ſway in the ſanhedrim and in the ſynagogue. After that period, when the other ſects were diſperſed, the Phariſees retained their authority; and, though the name has been dropped, their tenets and cuſtoms have ever ſince prevailed among the Jewiſh Rabbinites; ſo that at this day, except the Karæites, ſcarcely any Jews are to be found who are not, in reality, of the Phariſaic ſect[b].

The principal dogmas of the Phariſees were theſe:

The oral law, delivered from God to Moſes on Mount Sinai, by the angel Metraton, and tranſmitted to poſterity by tradition, is of equal authority with the written law. By obſerving both theſe laws, a man may not only obtain juſtification with God, but perform meritorious works of ſupererogation. Faſting, alms-giving, ablutions, confeſſions, are ſufficient atonements for ſin. Thoughts and deſires are not ſinful, unleſs they are carried into action. God is the creator of heaven and earth, and governs all things, even the actions of men, by his providence. Man can do nothing without divine influence; which does not, however, deſtroy the freedom of

[a] Gieger. de Hill. et Shamm.

[b] Menaſs. ben Iſrael de Termino Vit. l. i. § 3. Schudt. Mem. Jud. p. 2. l. vi. c. 27. § 11. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 816.

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the human will. The ſoul of man is ſpiritual and immortal. In the inviſible world beneath the earth, rewards and puniſhments will be diſpenſed to the virtuous and vicious. The wicked ſhall be confined in an eternal priſon; but the good ſhall obtain an eaſy return to life. Beſides the ſoul of man, there are other ſpirits, or angels, both good and bad. The reſurrection of the body is to be expected[a].

It appears from many paſſages in the writings of the Jewiſh rabbis, that they held the doctrine of the migration of ſouls from one body to another: and it is probable that they derived it from the antient Phariſees, and theſe from the Oriental philoſophers. This *Metempſychoſis* is, however, to be underſtood in the Pythagoric and not in the Stoic ſenſe. The Jews, probably, borrowed this error from the Egyptians. There is no reaſon, as ſome writers have done, to conſider the ſect of the Phariſees as a branch from the Stoic ſchool[b]. For, though the Phariſees reſembled the Stoics in their affectation of peculiar ſanctity, their notion of Divine Providence was eſſentially different from the Stoical doctrine of Fate: and their caſt of manners aroſe from a different ſource; that of the Stoics being derived from their idea of the nature of the ſoul, as a particle of the divine nature; that of the Phariſees, from a falſe perſuaſion that the law might be fulfilled, and juſtification with God obtained, by ceremonial obſervances.

The peculiar manners of this ſect are ſtrongly marked in the writings of the Evangeliſts[c]; particularly, their exactneſs in obſerving the rites and ceremonies of the law, both written and traditionary; the rigour of their diſcipline, in watchings, faſtings, and ablutions; their ſcrupulous care to avoid every kind of ritual impurity; their long and frequent prayers, made not only in the ſynagogues and temple, but in the public ſtreets; their broad phylacteries on the borders of their garments, in which were written ſen-

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. l. xviii. c. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12.

[b] Joſeph. in Vita ſua, p. 999. Budd. Hiſt. Ph. Heb. § 19. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. n. 508. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. Vet. T. t. ii. p. 1217.

[c] Matt. vi. ix. xv. xxiii. Luk. vii. &c.

tences of the law; their aſſiduity in making proſelytes; their oſtentatious charities; and, under all this ſhow of zeal and piety, their vanity, avarice, licentiouſneſs, and inhumanity. This account is confirmed by the teſtimony of the Jewiſh writers themſelves[a]. The Talmudic books[b] mention ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of Phariſees, under characters which ſhew them to have been deeply immerſed in the idleſt and moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions. Among theſe were, the Truncated Phariſee, who, that he might appear in profound meditation, as if deſtitute of feet, ſcarcely lifted them from the ground; the Mortar Phariſee, who, that his contemplations might not be diſturbed, wore a deep cap, in the ſhape of a mortar, which would only permit him to look upon the ground at his feet; and the Striking Phariſee, who, ſhutting his eyes as he walked, to avoid the ſight of women, often ſtruck his head againſt the wall. Such wretched expedients did ſome of theſe hypocrites make uſe of to captivate the admiration of the vulgar. The political influence which their popularity gave them appears in almoſt every part of the Jewiſh hiſtory; particularly in the reigns of Hyrcanus, Ariſtobulus, Jannæus Alexander, Alexandra, and Herod[c]. Among the followers of Phariſaiſm were women, who, after the example of the men, under the cloak of ſingular piety and ſanctity, diſguiſed the moſt licentious manners[d].

Another Jewiſh ſect was that of the ESSENES, concerning the origin of which the learned are much divided in opinion. It is certain, from the teſtimony of Joſephus[e], that it flouriſhed in the time of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, that is, one hundred and ſixty years before Chriſt. It alſo appears from the

[a] Lightfoot ad. loc. cit. Goodwin Moſ. & Aaron, p. 180, 202. Pirke Abhoth. c. ii. n. 5. Bava Bathra, f. viii. 2. Baſnage, H. J. l. ii. p. 499.

[b] Lightfoot in Math. ii. 7. Goodwin, p. 205. Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. p. 1852. Hottinger. Theſaur. Phil. l. i. c. 1.

[c] Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18, 24, 25. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. p. 191. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 132. Selden de Syned. p. 736.

[d] Lightfoot in Matt. iii. 5.

[e] Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9, 24.

account

account which Josephus gives of the institutions of this sect, that they were borrowed from the Pythagoreans. It may therefore be conjectured, with a high degree of probability, that at the time when the great body of the Jews were carried captive into Babylon, the small remainder of this oppressed people, after their temple was demolished, their city laid waste, and their religious worship interrupted, were driven by the cruel oppression of Gedaliah, the prefect set over them by the king of Assyria, to take refuge in Egypt; that here, for want of the public rites of religion, these fugitives, who had a settled aversion to the idolatries of the Egyptians, withdrew into solitary places, where they endeavoured to supply the place of sacrifices by devoting themselves, in private, to a religious life; and that, when they became acquainted with the Pythagoreans, who in the same country adopted a plan of life somewhat similar to their own, they borrowed from them such of their opinions and practices, as, by the help of the Egyptian method of allegorizing, they could incorporate with the doctrines and institutions of Moses. Afterwards, when new colonies of Jews were brought into Egypt by Alexander and Ptolemy Lagus, and were allowed the free exercise of their religion, it is probable that these Jewish hermits, having been long accustomed to solitude, persisted in their ascetic life and peculiar institutions, and formed a distinct society; that some of these, with others of their countrymen, embracing the indulgence granted them by Ptolemy Lagus, returned to Judea; and that here, through the power of habit, they continued their former manner of life, and, retiring to the desert parts of the country, established and propagated that peculiar sect, which, from their extraordinary sanctity were called Essenes, a name probably derived from the word חסי, which signifies *holy*. These conjectures, though not supported by any direct authority, perfectly agree with the subsequent history of this sect, and account for its existence more satisfactorily than any other which have been suggested[a].

[a] Conf. Jos. Ant. l. xviii. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 11. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 17. Pliny was too little acquainted with Jewish affairs to deserve credit on this subject.

The [illegible]rmed themſelves into a friendly fraternity, for the purpoſe [illegible]ing their paſſions, and leading a holy life. They com[illegible] in a ſtate of celibacy, and adopted the children of other men, [illegible] educate them in their own principles and cuſtoms. They deſpiſed riches and had a perfect community of goods; every one, who was admitted into their ſociety, lodging his whole property in a common treaſury, whence the wants of all were equally ſupplied. They clothed themſelves in plain garments, chiefly white, and held oil, and unguents of every kind, in abomination. Their daily religious exerciſes they performed with great exactneſs. Before the riſing of the ſun, they ſuffered no common language to paſs their lips, but recited certain prayers, that it might riſe upon them fortunately; at the ſame time looking towards the ſun, which they regarded as a ſymbol of the deity. From this time to the fifth hour every one was employed in his proper occupation; then, waſhing themſelves, and putting on their white garments, they went into their public hall, or refectory, to dinner, and received their portion of food from the hand of the ſervitor in ſilence. After their evening labours, they ſupped together in the ſame manner; and every meal was begun and cloſed with prayer. No noiſe or confuſion was ever heard or ſeen in their aſſemblies; but converſation was carried on with ſuch quietneſs, that a ſpectator would have imagined the ſilence and tranquillity of the ſcene intended to expreſs ſome ſacred myſtery. They were temperate, peaceable, and honeſt; true to their word, without the obligation of an oath, to which they were averſe, except on the moſt ſolemn occaſions; and prompt to deeds of kindneſs, which they performed at pleaſure, without the authority of the maſter of the fraternity, whoſe inſtructions they were in all other things obliged to follow. The virtues of plants and minerals were much ſtudied among them, and applied to the cure of diſeaſes. They honoured the name of Moſes next to that of God; and he who blaſphemed it was puniſhed with death. So rigorous were they in the obſervance of the ſabbath, that they would neither kindle a fire, nor remove a veſſel, nor eaſe themſelves on that day. To be touched by any one not belonging to their

ſect,

ſect, or for an old man of their order to be to[illegible] a young perſon, they held to be an impurity which[illegible] ablution. Some among them undertook to predict fut[illegible] their ſacred books. They offered no ſacrifices, but [illegible] ſeventh day repaired to the ſynagogue, where the elder brethren explained the law to the younger. Through the ſimplicity of their manner of living, it commonly happened, that they lived to an extreme old age. They were capable of enduring pain with great fortitude; as appeared in the firmneſs with which they bore the tortures inflicted upon them by the Romans, rather than blaſpheme their lawgiver, or violate any of his precepts. They held, that the body is periſhable, but the ſoul immortal; that the ſoul, formed of a ſubtle ether, is impriſoned in the body, and is never happy till it is releaſed from its priſon; that the good will, after death, be removed to a tranquil and delightful region beyond the ocean, but the bad to a dark habitation, which reſounds with never-ceaſing lamentations; and that all things are under the direction of divine providence [a].

The body of the Eſſenes was not a ſingle community, but conſiſted of many diſtinct ſocieties, formed in the country, where they practiſed agriculture, or at a ſmall diſtance from a town, where they might exerciſe their manual occupations: they had, however, one common intereſt; and when any one of their number happened to travel, wherever he found an Eſſene fraternity, he was ſure of being ſupplied with neceſſary proviſion and clothing. All domination they held to be unjuſt, and inconſiſtent with the law of nature, who has produced all her ſons in a ſtate of equality. So averſe were they to war, that they would not ſuffer any of their body to be employed in manufacturing military weapons, or inſtruments of any kind. No one was admitted as a member of this fraternity, without paſſing through a courſe of preparatory diſcipline out of the ſociety, for one year, and afterwards approving his con-

[a] Joſeph. de Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xiii. c. 9. Philo de Eſſen. Op. p. 876, &c.

ſtancy,

ſtancy, by two years regular attendance within the college. After this, if he was judged worthy, he was received as a brother, with a ſolemn oath to conform to the diſcipline, and obſerve the rules of the ſociety, to guard its ſacred books, and the names of its angels, and not to divulge its myſteries. Joſephus computes the number of Eſſenes, in his time, to have been about four thouſand.

What was meant, in the oath adminiſtered to the noviciates, by "guarding the names of the angels," may be conjectured from the notion, which commonly prevailed in the Eaſt, and in Egypt, concerning the power of dæmons, or angels, over the affairs of this world. It is probable that the Eſſenes, having adopted the viſionary fancies of their Pagan neighbours concerning theſe ſuperior natures, imagined themſelves able, by the magical uſe of the names of angels, to perform ſupernatural wonders; and that the due obſervance of theſe myſtical rites was the charge, which they bound themſelves by oath to take, of the ſacred names of the angels [a].

From the ſilence of the Evangeliſts concerning this ſect, and from ſeveral tenets and cuſtoms in which they differed from the reſt of the Jews, ſome have ſuppoſed that they were a ſect of Pagan philoſophers, who adopted in part the Jewiſh manners. But this opinion is contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of Philo and Joſephus, who both ſpeak of three ſects of Jews; Sadducees, Phariſees, and Eſſenes. There can be no doubt, however, that this ſect borrowed many things from the heathen philoſophers, and particularly from the Pythagoreans, whom they nearly reſembled in their manner of living. The truth ſeems to be, as we have already intimated, that they became acquainted with the doctrines and inſtitutions of the Pythagoreans in Egypt; and that, adopting theſe as far as their reverence for the law of Moſes would permit, they formed a diſtinct ſect which ſubſiſted after their return into Judea.

Philo mentions two claſſes of Eſſenes, of whom one followed a practical inſtitution, the other profeſſed a theoretical ſyſtem. The

[a] Vitring. de Vet. Synag. l. c. Goodwin Moſ. & Aar. l. i. c. 12. § 23. Hottinger, l. c. Coloſſ. ii. 18.

latter he diſtinguiſhes by the name of the Therapeutæ. According to this writer [a], who is here our only authority, the Therapeutæ, ſo called, as it ſeems, from the extraordinary purity of their religious worſhip, were a contemplative ſect, who, with a kind of religious phrenzy, placed their whole felicity in the contemplation of the divine nature. Detaching themſelves wholly from ſecular affairs, they transferred their property to their relations or friends, and withdrew into ſolitary places, where they devoted themſelves to a holy life. The principal ſociety of this kind was formed near Alexandria, where they lived, not far from each other, in ſeparate cottages, each of which had its own ſacred apartment, to which the inhabitant retired for the purpoſes of devotion. After their morning prayers, they ſpent the day in ſtudying the law and the prophets, endeavouring, by the help of the commentaries of their anceſtors, to diſcover ſome allegorical meaning in every part. Beſides this, they entertained themſelves with compoſing ſacred hymns in various kinds of metre. Six days of the week were, in this manner, paſſed in ſolitude. On the ſeventh day they met, clothed in a decent habit, in a public aſſembly; where, taking their places according to their age, they ſat, with the right hand between the breaſt and the chin, and the left at the ſide. Then, ſome one of the elders, ſtepping forth into the middle of the aſſembly, diſcourſed, with a grave countenance and a calm tone of voice, on the doctrines of the ſect; the audience, in the mean time, remaining in perfect ſilence, and occaſionally expreſſing their attention and approbation by a nod. The chapel where they met was divided into two apartments, one for the men, the other for the women. So ſtrict a regard was paid to ſilence in theſe aſſemblies, that no one was permitted to whiſper, or even to breathe aloud; but when the diſcourſe was finiſhed, if the queſtion which had been propoſed for ſolution had been treated to the ſatisfaction of the audience, they expreſſed their approbation by a murmur of applauſe. Then the ſpeaker, riſing, ſung a hymn of praiſe to God, in the laſt verſe of which the whole aſſembly

[a] De Vit. Contempl. Op. p. 891.

joined. On great festivals, the meeting was closed with a vigil, in which sacred music was performed, accompanied with solemn dancing: and these vigils were continued till morning, when the assembly, after a morning prayer, in which their faces were directed towards the rising sun, was broken up. So abstemious were these ascetics, that they commonly eat nothing before the setting sun, and often fasted two or three days. They abstained from wine, and their ordinary food was bread and herbs.

Much dispute has arisen among the learned concerning this sect. Some have imagined them to have been Judaizing Gentiles [a]; but Philo supposes them to be Jews, by speaking of them as a branch of the sect of Essenes, and expressly classes them among the followers of Moses. Others have maintained, that the Therapeutæ were an Alexandrian sect of Jewish converts to the Christian faith, who devoted themselves to a monastic life [b]. But this is impossible, for Philo, who wrote before christianity appeared in Egypt, speaks of this as an established sect. From comparing Philo's account of this sect with the state of philosophy in the country where it flourished, we conclude, that the Therapeutæ were a body of Jewish fanatics, who suffered themselves to be drawn aside from the simplicity of their antient religion by the example of the Egyptians and Pythagoreans. How long this sect continued is uncertain; but it is not improbable, that, after the appearance of Christianity in Egypt, it soon became extinct.

Besides the four principal sects of the Jews, the Karæites, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes, several others are mentioned by antient writers; but they are either wholly fictitious, or of little consequence.

Among these sects there were, doubtless, many ingenious and able men, who, had their attention been turned towards philosophy, might have been eminent philosophers. But they were too deeply

[a] Langii Diss. Hal. 1721.

[b] Montefalcon Trad. Phil. de la Vie cont. Par. 1709. 8vo. Lettres, &c. sur les Therapeutes, Paris, 1712.

engaged in the ſtudy of their written and traditionary law, to pay much attention to ſcience; and their hiſtory affords few particulars which can be brought within the deſign of this work. We muſt not, however, overlook the elegant moraliſt, Jeſhuah ben Sirach; the celebrated doctors of the law, Hillel and Shammai; the learned Philo; and the uſeful hiſtorian, Joſephus.

JESHUA, the SON OF SIRACH [a], appears from his own teſtimony to have been a native of Jeruſalem, and to have lived in the time of the high prieſt Eleazer, about three hundred years before Chriſt. The laſt high prieſt whom he mentions is Simeon, the ſon of Onias, who was immediately ſucceeded by Eleazer, whom he would doubtleſs have added to the reſt, had he not been ſtill living when Jeſhua wrote. We are indebted to this Jeſhua for a Moral Manual, which contains a ſummary of the ethics received among the Jews after the period of the prophets. It was originally written in Hebrew, and tranſlated into Greek by his grandſon, at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes [b]. This piece, called the book of Eccleſiaſticus, was formerly read by the Jews; but, after ſuffering much interpolation, it was at length prohibited. Paſſages extracted from this book are, however, ſtill in the hands of the Jews, under the title of, The Sentences of Ben Sira [c].

HILLEL, ſurnamed Haſſaken, was born, at Babylon, of poor parents, but of the royal ſtock of David, in the year one hundred and twelve before Chriſt. After reſiding forty years in Babylon, where he married, and had a ſon, he removed with his family to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of ſtudying the law. Shemaiah and Abdalion were at that time eminent doctors in Jeruſalem. Hillel, unable on account of his poverty to gain a regular admiſſion to their lectures, ſpent a conſiderable part of the profits of his daily labour in bribing the attendants to allow him a place at the door of the public hall, where he might gather up the doctrine of theſe emi-

[a] Ch. l. v. 29. Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 2. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 256.

[b] Conf. Hieron. Præf. in Prov. Huet. Dem. Ev. Pr. ii. p. 253. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 728, 9.

[c] Bartolocc. Bib. Rab. t. i. p. 680.

nent

nent maſters by ſtealth; and when this expedient failed him, he found means to place himſelf at the top of the building near one of the windows. By unwearied perſeverance, Hillel acquired a profound knowledge of the moſt difficult points of the law; in conſequence of which his reputation gradually roſe to ſuch an height, that he became the maſter of the chief ſchool in Jeruſalem. In this ſtation he was univerſally regarded as an oracle of wiſdom ſcarcely inferior to Solomon, and had many thouſand followers. He had ſuch command of his temper, that no one ever ſaw him angry. The name of Hillel is in the higheſt eſteem among the Jews, for the pains which he took to perpetuate the knowledge of the traditionary law. He arranged its precepts under ſix general claſſes; and thus laid the foundation of that digeſt of the Jewiſh law, which is called the Talmud. Hillel is ſaid to have lived to the great age of one hundred and twenty years [a].

SHAMMAI [b], one of the diſciples of Hillel, deſerted his ſchool, and formed a college of his own, in which he taught dogmas contrary to thoſe of his maſter. He rejected the oral law, and followed the written law only, in its literal ſenſe. Hence he has been ranked among the Karæites. The ſchools of Hillel and Shammai long diſturbed the peace of the Jewiſh church by violent conteſts, in which however the party of Hillel was at laſt victorious.

Among the Jews who inhabited Egypt was born, at Alexandria, of a noble and ſacred family, PHILO, a writer deſervedly celebrated for his erudition. The exact time of his birth is not known; but, as he ſpeaks of himſelf as old and grey-headed in the time of Caligula, when he was ſent upon an embaſſy from his countrymen in Egypt to the emperor, which happened in the year forty, it is probable that he was born at leaſt twenty years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra [c].

[a] Bartolocc. Bib. Rab. t. i. p. 784. Geiger. Comment. de Hill. et Sham. Altdorf. 1707. Matt. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. 4to. p. 373. [b] Geiger. l. c.
[c] Hieron. Cat. Scr. Eccl. c. ii. Suidas. Phot. Cod. 105.

Whilſt

Whilſt he was young, Philo diligently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Grecian eloquence and wiſdom in the ſchools of the Sophiſts and philoſophers. He was intimately converſant with the writings of Plato, whoſe philoſophy was at this time highly eſteemed in Alexandria, and made himſelf ſo perfectly maſter both of his doctrine and language, that it became a proverbial obſervation, "Either Plato philonized, or Philo platonized." After what manner Philo ſtudied philoſophy, will appear from a compariſon of the nature of Jewiſh learning with the ſpirit of the Alexandrian ſchools. We have ſeen, that, from the time of the Ptolemies, the uſe of allegories had been borrowed by the Jews from their Egyptian neighbours; and that by the help of theſe, Platonic and Pythagorean dogmas were introduced among them, as the concealed and ſymbolical ſenſe of their own law. In this manner they were able, without ſeeming to be indebted to heathen philoſophers, to make any uſe they pleaſed of their ſyſtems. We have alſo ſeen, that in Egypt theſe ſyſtems were adulterated with many dogmas from the Oriental philoſophy, particularly on the ſubject of the Divine Nature. This philoſophy, which had been ſo well received in Alexandria, Philo eagerly embraced; and, either for want of a perfect acquaintance with Jewiſh learning, or through a diſtaſte for the ſimple doctrine of the Moſaic law literally underſtood, he, by the help of allegory, boldly interwove the Platonic dogmas with the doctrines of the ſacred oracles, and aſcribed them to Moſes. It is, moreover, exceedingly probable, that he was herein, in ſome meaſure, influenced by the example of the Eſſenes and Therapeutæ; and that, though he did not adopt their manner of living, he imitated their method of philoſophiſing; for he always ſpeaks of them in the higheſt terms of commendation; and he deſcribes his youthful ſtudies and contemplations in language which perfectly agrees with the ſpirit of theſe ſects[a].

[a] Joſ. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 18. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. ii. c. 4. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 12. Phil. de Special. Leg. Op. p. 769.

Whatever

Whatever inclination Philo had towards the fanatical philoſophy of the Eſſenes, his love of eloquence drew him off from contemplative purſuits, and immerſed him in civil affairs. He viſited Rome, at the requeſt of his countrymen, to vindicate them from the calumnies, with which they had been loaded by the Alexandrians. Though his embaſſy proved fruitleſs, he committed the ſubſtance of his Apology for the Jews to writing, and herein gave a favourable ſpecimen of his learning, ability, and integrity. Euſebius relates, that after the death of Caligula this Apology was read in the Roman ſenate[a].

That Philo was acquainted with Grecian literature and philoſophy ſufficiently appears from his writings; but his fondneſs for allegorical interpretations is no proof of the ſolidity of his judgment. At the ſame time that he greatly admired, and cloſely followed, the Platonic ſyſtem, in the adulterated ſtate in which it was taught in the Alexandrian ſchools, he profeſſed to derive the tenets of Platoniſm from the ſacred writings, and even repreſented Plato as a diſciple of Moſes. Of this ſtrange combination of Platonic refinements with the ſimple doctrine of the Hebrew ſcriptures, innumerable examples occur in his works.

In his book upon the creation of the world, Philo every where ſuppoſes the prior exiſtence of Plato's world of ideas; and repreſents the Deity as conſtructing viſible nature after a model which he had firſt formed. He attributes to Moſes all the metaphyſical ſubtleties of Plato upon this ſubject, and maintains, that the philoſopher received them from the holy prophet; "God," ſays he[b], "when he foreſaw, in his divine wiſdom, that no fair imitation could poſſibly exiſt without a fair pattern, nor any ſenſible object be faultleſs, which did not correſpond to the archetype of ſome intelligible idea, after he had decreed to make this ſenſible world, firſt formed an intelligible and incorporeal model, after which he might frame the material world; the latter containing as many kinds of ſenſible, as the former of intelligible natures. The ideal world

[a] Joſ. et Euſeb. l. c.

[b] De Opif. Mundi, p. 3.

must

muſt neither be repreſented, nor conceived, as circumſcribed by ſpace." Again[a], "This intelligible world is, according to the Moſaic doctrine, no other than the Word, or Reaſon (λογος) of God now forming the world; and this Reaſon in the beginning produced Heaven, which conſiſts in pure eſſence, and is the deſtined habitation of gods both viſible and inviſible." "The creator," adds he[b], "framed, in the intelligible world, firſt of all, an incorporeal heaven, an inviſible earth, and the image of air and ſpace, and afterwards the incorporeal eſſence of water and light, and the intelligible pattern of the ſun and all the ſtars."

After the example of the Alexandrian ſchool, which combined the Pythagorean doctrine with the Platonic, Philo ſuppoſes the order of the viſible world to have been adapted to the Pythagorean proportions and numbers. He maintains the immutability of the material world upon the principle univerſally adopted by the antients, that as from nothing nothing can be produced, ſo nothing which exiſts can be annihilated; whence it may be inferred, that he conceived matter to be coeval with Deity[c]. He held the human ſoul to conſiſt of three natures, the rational, the iraſcible, and the concupiſcible[d].

Concerning the deity, Philo every where makes uſe of the language of Plato rather than of Moſes. He ſpeaks of God as containing all things, but contained by none; as embracing all things within his boſom, and pervading every part of the univerſe. His language concerning the Divine Nature is ſo obſcure and inconſiſtent, that it is difficult to diſcover, with accuracy, his real meaning. But, if thoſe parts of his writings, in which he drops the popular language, and expreſſes his philoſophical notions on this ſubject, be diligently compared, it will perhaps be found, that Philo ſuppoſed a quaternion of principles in the Divine Nature; the firſt fountain of divinity, and three emanations from this

[a] P. 5. [b] P. 6. 9.
[c] De Mundo incorrupt. p. 939, &c.
[d] De Confuſ. Ling. p. 322. De Legis Alleg. p. 53.

fountain,

fountain, each poſſeſſing a diſtinct, ſubſtantial exiſtence, but all united in eſſence with the Firſt Principle. The firſt of theſe emanations, which he called The *Logos*, he conceived to have been the divine intellect, the ſeat of thoſe ideas which form the intelligible world; and the ſecond and third, to have been the ſubſtantial principles or powers by which the ſenſible world was created and governed. This doctrine of ſubſtantial emanations within the divine nature was at this time received among the Platoniſts from the Oriental ſchools; and we ſhall afterwards find that it was the doctrine of the Jewiſh Cabbala. It is therefore probable, that this was the doctrine concerning the divine nature embraced by this pupil of the Egyptian ſchools.

Philo, and other Egyptian Jews, who adopted the Oriental and Platonic philoſophy, ſeem neither to have conceived of the *Logos*, and other primary emanations from the firſt fountain of Deity, as beings ſeparate in nature and eſſence from God, nor merely as ſimple attributes, but as ſubſtantial virtues or powers radically united in the Divine Eſſence, and diſtinct from the Firſt Principle only in their peculiar mode of exiſting and acting; that is, they conceived, or imagined they conceived, a kind of middle nature, between beings who enjoy a ſeparate exiſtence and mere attributes or properties. This hypotheſis may ſerve to caſt a feeble ray of light upon thoſe obſcure paſſages, in which Philo ſpeaks of God as the Being *who is*, and who has two moſt antient powers neareſt him, one on each ſide, of whom one is called the Maker, the other the Governor [a]. Again, " The Middle Divinity, attended on each ſide by his powers, preſents to the enlightened mind, ſometimes one image, ſometimes three: *One*, when the ſoul, perfectly purified, paſſes beyond not only other numbers, but even that which is next to unity, the binary, and haſtens to that which is ſtrictly ſimple; *Three*, when, not yet initiated into the great myſteries, it is employed upon the leſs, and is unable to comprehend Him

[a] De Abrahamo, p. 367. [b] l. c.

Who Is, by himſelf alone without another, but ſees him in his operations as the former or governor of all."

After what has been advanced, the Platoniſm of Philo cannot, on any ſolid ground of argument, be called in queſtion. It muſt, however, be remembered, that his Platoniſm was of that adulterated kind, which at this time prevailed in Alexandria.

The works of Philo abound with proofs of genius and erudition, and may ſerve to caſt great light upon the ſtate of the Platonic philoſophy at that period; but they diſcover, in every page, a want of ſound and accurate judgment: and the allegorical ſtyle which he borrowed from the Egyptians has caſt ſuch a veil of obſcurity over his writings, that it is, perhaps, in vain to attempt to explain them throughout: ſome have even preſumed to queſtion, whether Philo himſelf always clearly underſtood what he wrote.

Josephus [a], the hiſtorian, was a native of Jeruſalem, and a deſcendant of the illuſtrious Aſmonean family: he was born in the year thirty-ſeven. At the age of fourteen, he had made great proficience in the knowledge of the Jewiſh law. For the purpoſe of ſtudying the hiſtory and tenets of the ſeveral Jewiſh ſects, he became, for three years, a pupil of Banun, a hermit, who had acquired great fame for wiſdom, and with him lived a recluſe and abſtemious life. After this, he addicted himſelf to the ſect of the Phariſees, and engaged in civil affairs. Viſiting Rome, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, he obtained acceſs to Nero, and procured liberty for ſome of his countrymen. On his return home, he in vain attempted to perſuade his fellow-citizens to ſubmit quietly to the Roman yoke. At length, in the war of Veſpaſian, after an unſucceſsful defence of the citadel of Jotapata, he was taken priſoner. After a ſhort time, however, when Veſpaſian and Titus, according to a prediction which he is ſaid to have delivered, came to the empire, he was reſtored to liberty. He now viſited Egypt, and took up his

[a] Vit. Op. p. 998, &c. Ant. J. l. xx. c. 9.

residence at Alexandria, where he, doubtless, studied the Grecian and Egyptian philosophy.

Josephus accompanied Titus in the siege of Jerusalem, the memorable particulars of which he accurately minuted as they passed, and afterwards related at large in his Annals. He spent the latter part of his life at Rome, under the protection of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and there wrote his Jewish Antiquities. He lived till after the thirteenth year of Domitian, when he wrote against Apion; but in what year he died is uncertain. His writings, at the same time that they discover an accurate knowledge of the affairs of his own country, shew an extensive acquaintance with Grecian learning and philosophy; but national vanity and partiality led him to imagine that all knowledge and wisdom had originated in Judea, and had flowed thence through all the nations of the earth; a notion which gave rise to many errors and misrepresentations in his writings, and which has since been too implicitly adopted by many Christian writers *.

* Vidend. passim Reimann. Intr. in Hist. Theol. Jud. Carpzov. Int. in Theol. Jud. Eisenmenger. Jud. Detect. Maii Theol. Jud. Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. Buddæi Introd. ad Hist. Ph. Heb. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. Reland. Diss. de Samaritan. Cellarius de Samar. Gent. Hist. Horbius de Orig. Simon Mag. Huntington. Epist. Lond. 1704. Antiq. Eccl. Or. Lond. 1682. Vossius de Septuag. Interp. Hag. Com. 1661. Van Dale Diss. de Aristea. Hody contra Hist. Arist. Ox. 1684. et de Bibl. Text. Orig. et Vers. 1705. Nourry Apparat. Bibl. Diss. xii. Engelbach Diss. de Vers. Græc. Sept. antiquiore. Viteb. 1706. Diss. de Vestig. Phil. Alex. in Libro Sapientiæ, Misc. Berolin. t. vi. p. 150. Bartoloccii Bibl. Rabbin. Buddæi Hist. Ecc. Vet. T. Zeltner de erud. Feminis Heb. Schudt. Memorab. Judaic. R. Mardochai de Karæis. Trigland. Syntagma trium. Script. de Trib. Jud. Sectis. Delph. 1704. Drusii Tract. de Hasidæis. Serarii in Trihæresin contra Drus. Scaligeri Elench. Trihæresii Serarii. Shupart. de Sect. Karæor. Jenæ, 1701. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron. Willimer Diss. de Sadducæis. Reland. Ant. Sac. Geiger. de Hillele et Shammai. Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. &c. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. Deyling. Diss. de Ascet. Obs. S. p. iii. Langii Diss. de Essæis, Ital. 1721. Wachter de Essenis. Clerici Epist. Crit. viii. Fabric. Diss. de Platon. Phil. Lips. 1693. in Sylloge Diss. Vander Wayen de λόγῳ. Got. Olear. Diss. de Vaticinio Josephi, Lips. 1699. Pfeiffer Theolog. Jud. Schoetgen. Jesus verus Mess. ex Theolog. Jud. dem. Lips. 1748. Wachter de Primordiis Chr. Rel.

CHAP. II.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO MODERN TIMES.

AFTER the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the diſſolution of the Jewiſh ſtate, the hiſtory of the diſperſed Jews has little connection with the hiſtory of philoſophy. From this time to the Middle Age, we meet with nothing among them which claims our attention, except an exceſſive and abſurd fondneſs for their traditionary inſtitutions, and a kind of enthuſiaſtic philoſophy, called the Cabbaliſtic, which ſprung from the Alexandrian ſchools, and mixed Oriental, Egyptian, Pythagoric and Platonic notions with the ſimple doctrine of the Hebrew ſcriptures. In proceſs of time, when the Jews paſſed from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern world, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which became predominant among the Arabians, found its way into the Jewiſh ſchools.

In order to trace with preciſion the progreſs of the Jewiſh philoſophy, it will be neceſſary to take a general ſurvey of the ſtate of Jewiſh learning at this period. Without this it would be impoſſible to diſcern, how far their Talmudic and Cabbaliſtic doctrines were grounded upon authority, and derived from their domeſtic ſources; and how far they were borrowed from Gentile philoſophy.

The devaſtation and ruin which fell upon the Jewiſh nation after the conqueſt of Veſpaſian and Titus, reduced them to ſo low and wretched a condition, that only a ſmall number of learned men were left among them, to tranſmit their antient doctrines and inſtitutions to poſterity. Of theſe, part eſcaped into Egypt, where a Jewiſh colony had reſided from the time of Alexander; and part withdrew to Babylon, where alſo many Jews had remained from

the time of the captivity. In both theſe countries, theſe Jewiſh refugees were humanely received[a]. An inconſiderable body of this unfortunate people ſtill remained behind, in the deſolated country of Paleſtine. Theſe collected the ſcattered fragments of Jewiſh learning from the general wreck, into a ſchool at Jafna[b] (frequently called by the Greek writers Jamnia) where they alſo revived their forms of worſhip. The Rabbi Jochanan was the founder of this ſchool; and the good deſign which he begun was completed, as far as the ſtate of the times would permit, by the Rabbi Gamaliel, who is from this circumſtance called GAMALIEL JAFNIENSIS. The ſucceſs which attended this ſchool induced many of the diſperſed Jews to return to Paleſtine: and another ſchool was formed at Tiberias, which ſoon became the chief ſeat of Jewiſh learning in its native country. This ſchool obtained immunities and privileges from the emperor Antoninus Pius; and it produced that curious record of Jewiſh wiſdom, the Jeruſalem Talmud. Other ſchools, after the example of Jafna and Tiberias, were erected at Bitterah, near Jeruſalem, at Lydda or Dioſpolis, at Cæſarea, and (which became more celebrated than the reſt) at Zippora, or Sephora, in Gallilee[c].

From this time, there was not wanting a ſucceſſion of Jewiſh doctors to tranſmit their religion and philoſophy to poſterity. They are arranged in a ſeries of ſeven claſſes[d], the laſt of which brings down the ſucceſſion to the time when the Jews, enticed by the example of the Saracens and Chriſtians, engaged in the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. In each of theſe claſſes there were, doubtleſs, men of ability; but the talents which nature beſtowed upon

[a] Joſeph. Bell. J. l. vi. Conf. Baſnage, l. iii c. ...

[b] Joſeph. Ant. J. l. xiv. c. 8. Bell. J. l. i. c. 5. Reland. Palæſt. l. iii. p. 823. Lightfoot. Cent. Chorogr. Matt. Proem. c. xv. t. ii. p. 181. R. D. Ganz in Zemach David. p. 39. Buxtorf. Tib. c. 5. Lightf. Op. p. 87. Baſnage, l. vi. c. 5. § 8.

[c] Lightf. Cent. Ch. c. 81. 52. 16. 82. 76. 96. Reland. l. c. p. 409, 679, 877.

[d] Pirke Abhoth. Maimonid. in Præf. Jad. Haſſakah. R. Abr. B. Dior. in Cabbala. R. Zackhuth, in Juchaſin. R. Gedalia in Shalſheleth Hakkabala. Conf. Hen. Othon. Hiſt. Miſhnic. cum Relandi Notis. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. ii. p. 924.

them

them were waſted upon the trifling and abſurd ſtudy of tradition, which, as tares choke the wheat, ſuppreſſed every manly exertion of reaſon. Or, if any among them attempted a ſuperior kind of wiſdom, they ſoon loſt themſelves in the myſteries of Cabbaliſtic metaphyſics. It is therefore wholly unneceſſary, in this work, to enter into a minute detail of their hiſtory. Only it muſt be remembered, that theſe Jewiſh doctors flouriſhed not only in Paleſtine, but in the Babyloniſh ſchools which were eſtabliſhed at Sora, Pumbedithena, and other places near the Euphrates: and we muſt not omit particularly to mention the Rabbi JEHUDA HAKKADOSH[a], who adorned the ſchool of Tiberias, and whoſe memory is ſo highly revered by the Jews, that they compare him with the Meſſiah. He was born about the year one hundred and twenty. The Jews relate many extravagant ſtories of this Rabbi: among the reſt, they aſſert, that he made the emperor Marcus Antoninus a proſelyte to Judaiſm, and that it was by his order that Jehuda compiled the Miſhna.

The hiſtory of the Miſhna is briefly this: The ſect of the Phariſees, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, prevailing over the reſt, the ſtudy of traditions became the chief object of attention in all the Jewiſh ſchools. The number of theſe traditions had, in a long courſe of time, ſo greatly increaſed, that the doctors, whoſe principal employment it was to illuſtrate them by new explanations, and to confirm their authority, found it neceſſary to aſſiſt their recollection by committing them, under diſtinct heads, to writing. At the ſame time, their diſciples took minutes of the explanations of their preceptors, many of which were preſerved, and grew up into voluminous commentaries. The confuſion which aroſe from theſe cauſes was now become ſo troubleſome, that, notwithſtanding what Hillel had before done in arranging the traditions, Jehuda found it neceſſary to attempt a new digeſt of the oral law, and of the commentaries of their moſt famous doctors. This arduous undertaking is ſaid to have employed him forty years. It was completed, accord-

[a] Bartolocc. Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 79. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 3. § 2—6.

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ing to the unanimous teſtimony of the Jews, which in this caſe there is no ſufficient reaſon to diſpute, about the cloſe of the ſecond century. This Miſhna, or firſt Talmud, comprehends all the laws, inſtitutions, and rules of life, which, beſide the antient Hebrew ſcriptures, the Jews ſuppoſed themſelves bound to obſerve. Notwithſtanding the obſcurities, inconſiſtencies, and abſurdities with which this collection abounds, it ſoon obtained credit among the Jews as a ſacred book[a].

After all, however, the Miſhna did not completely provide for many caſes which aroſe in the practice of eccleſiaſtical law, and many of its preſcriptions and deciſions were found to require further comments and illuſtrations. The taſk of ſupplying theſe defects was undertaken by the Rabbis Chiiam and Oſchaiam, and others, diſciples of Jehudah; who not only wrote explanations of the Miſhna, but made material additions to that voluminous compilation. Theſe commentaries and additions were collected by the Rabbi Jochanan ben Eliezer, probably in the fifth century, under the name of the Gemara, becauſe it completed the Miſhna. This collection was afterwards called the Jeruſalem Gemara, to diſtinguiſh it from another of the ſame kind made in Babylon, at the beginning of the ſixth century. To theſe collections we muſt add the Miſhnic treatiſe called, *Capitalia Patrum*, "A Compendium of the Moral Maxims and Sentiments of the Jewiſh Fathers:" it is an antient compilation, probably made by Nathan a Babylonian Rabbi, who flouriſhed about the year one hundred and twenty[b].

With the ritual and eccleſiaſtical precepts of the law, there was alſo taught in the Jewiſh ſchools a myſtical kind of traditionary doctrine, which was called the Cabbala. In this metaphyſical ſyſtem we find the Jews, while they profeſs to follow the footſteps

[a] Maimon. Præf. ad. Seder Saraim, et ad Jad Chaſſaka. Morini Exerc. Bibl. l. i. c. 6. l. ii. ex. 6. c. 2. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 6. § 6. Ottho Hiſt. D. Miſhnic.

[b] Vid. Hiſt. Lit. Scriptores Jud. R. Zachuth, R. David Ganz, R. Gedalia. Conf. Baſnage, p. 139. Lightfoot Op. t. ii. p. 221. Morini Exerc. Bib. l. ii. ex. 10. c. i. Wolf. Bib. Heb. t. ii. p. 139.

of Moſes, turning aſide into the paths of Gentile philoſophy. The Jews pretend to derive their Cabbala from Eſdras, Moſes, Abraham, and Adam: but it is very evident from the Cabbaliſtic doctrine concerning divine emanations, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel, that it originated in Egypt, where the Jews learned, by the help of allegory, to mix Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wiſdom. Theſe doctrines ſoon found their way into Paleſtine; and, though at firſt the number of Myſtics does not appear to have been great, after the diſſolution of the republic, multitudes were wonderfully captivated with this ſublime method of philoſophiſing upon divine ſubjects. Under the ſanction of antient names, many fictitious writings were produced, which greatly contributed to the ſpread of this myſtical ſyſtem. Among theſe were *Sepher Happeliah*, The Book of Wonders; *Sepher Hakkaneh*, The Book of the Pen; and *Sepher Habbahir*, The Book of Light. The firſt unfolds many doctrines ſaid to have been delivered by Elias to the Rabbi Elkanah; the ſecond contains myſtical commentaries on the divine commands; the third illuſtrates the moſt ſublime myſteries[a].

Among the profound doctors, who, beſides the ſtudy of tradition, cultivated with great induſtry the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, the moſt celebrated names are the Rabbis Akibha and Simeon ben Jochai. To the former is aſcribed the book entitled *Jezirah*, Concerning the Creation; to the latter, the book *Sohar*, or Brightneſs; which are the principal ſources whence we derive our knowledge of the Cabbala.

Akibha, who lived ſoon after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and had a ſchool at Lydda, or Dioſcopolis, was ſo famous a teacher that, if we may credit the Jewiſh accounts, he had twenty-four thouſand diſciples. In ſuch high eſtimation was he held among the Jews of Paleſtine, that they did not ſcruple to ſay, that God revealed to Akibha what he had concealed from Moſes. His book *Jezirah* was quoted as of divine authority; an undoubted proof of the ig-

[a] Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 196. 905. P. iii. p. 126, 7.

norance and ſuperſtition of the Jews at this period; for it is impoſſible to take the moſt curſory ſurvey of its contents without perceiving that it abounds with trifles and abſurdities[a].*

At the time when Akibha was far advanced in life, and had eſtabliſhed extenſive authority, appeared the famous impoſtor, Bar Cochbas, under the character of the Meſſiah, promiſing to deliver his countrymen from the power of the emperor Adrian. Akibha eſpouſed his cauſe, and afforded him the protection and ſupport of his name; and an army of two hundred thouſand men repaired to his ſtandard. The Romans at firſt ſlighted the inſurrection; but, when they found that the inſurgents ſpread ſlaughter and rapine wherever they came, they ſent out a military force againſt them. At firſt, the iſſue of the conteſt was doubtful. After a ſhort time, however, this pretended Meſſiah was blocked up, with his army, in the city of Bitterah; and after a ſiege of three years and a half, he was made priſoner, and with his followers put to the ſword. In this carnage, Akibha, with his ſon Pappus, was flayed alive. This happened, according to the Jewiſh chronologiſts, in the year one hundred and twenty: Baſnage places the event in the year one hundred and thirty-eight[b]. Akibha, after his death, was honoured by the Jews as an eminent doctor of their law; and his tomb, which they ſuppoſed to be at Tiberias, was viſited with great ſolemnity. The Jewiſh writers aſſert, that Akibha received the *Jezirah* from

[a] Zemach. David. ad. An. Mund. 3760. Bayle. Lightfoot. Hor. Heb. t. ii. p. 449.

* E. g. Dixit R. Akibha †: "Ingreſſus ſum aliquando poſt R. Joſuam in ſedis ſecretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici: Didici primo, quod non verſus orientem et occidentem, ſed verſus ſeptentrionem et auſtrum nos convertere debeamus. Didici ſecundo, quod non in pedes erectum, ſed jam conſidentem ſe retegere liceat. Didici tertio, quod podex non dextra ſed ſiniſtra manu abſtergendus ſit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Haſſai: Uſve adeo vero perfricuiſti frontem ergo magiſtrum tuum ut cacantem obſervares? Reſpondit ille: Legis hæc arcana ſunt, ad quæ diſcenda id neceſſario mihi agendum fuit."—EN VERO EGREGIAM DOCTRINAM MORALEM!

[b] Baſnage, l. vii. c. 12. Lightfoot, t. ii. p. 280.

† In tr. Talm. Maſſech Berach f. 62. col. 1.

Abraham[a]; but there can be little doubt that its doctrines flowed from the Cabbaliſtic fountain of the Jewiſh ſchools in Egypt. The work, whether written by Akibha or one of his followers, has probably undergone interpolation.

Simeon ben Jochai[b], who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was a diſciple of Akibha, is called by the Jews the prince of the Cabbaliſts. After the ſuppreſſion of the ſedition, in which his maſter had been ſo unſucceſsful, he concealed himſelf in a cave, where according to the Jewiſh hiſtorians, he received revelations, which he afterwards delivered to his diſciples, and which they carefully preſerved in the book called *Sohar*. This book contains a ſummary of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, expreſſed in obſcure hieroglyphics and allegories. As this book has not been mentioned by any Jewiſh writer prior to the thirteenth century, its authenticity has been doubted; but its doctrine and method bear evident marks of antiquity, and render it exceedingly probable, that it is, in the main, a true repreſentation of the doctrine which the Cabbaliſtic Jews derived from the Egyptian ſchools[c].

From the third century to the tenth few traces of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy are to be met with in the writings of the Jews. The probable reaſon is, that theſe myſteries, which differ materially from the antient doctrine of the Jewiſh church, were entruſted only to the initiated, and this under a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy; whence few perſons would venture to commit them to writing. If any ſuch books were written, they would, doubtleſs, be with great induſtry concealed from public inſpection; or if they happened to fall into the hands of an uninitiated Jew, their enigmatic language would be a ſeal upon their meaning, not to be broken by a vulgar hand. Add to this, that the Jews were for many centuries deeply involved in controverſy concerning their traditionary law, and if they were poſſeſſed of Talmudical erudition, thought themſelves

[a] R. Gedaliah, Hakkab. p. 28.

[b] Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 702. Knorr. Præf. Cabb. Denud. p. ii.

[c] Knorr. ed. Soliſbach. 1684. Amſt. 1714.

ſufficiently learned; and that the whole nation was oppreſſed and harraſſed by perſecution.

Jewiſh learning, which, from the time of the diſperſion of this unfortunate people, had declined, began to revive at the period when the Saracens became the patrons of philoſophy. In the tenth century, the ſchools of Sora and Pumbeditha again flouriſhed under new preceptors[a]. The Rabbi SAADIAS GAON[b], a native of Egypt, in the year nine hundred and twenty-ſeven, took the charge of the ſchool of Sora, where he reſtored the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy. He wrote a work entitled, "The Philoſopher's Stone," which is not, as might be expected, Alchemic, but Cabbaliſtic: he alſo wrote "A Compendium of Jewiſh Theology," in which he not unſkilfully illuſtrates its principal heads by philoſophical reaſoning. In the eleventh century, a ſchool was inſtituted at Pherez Skibber, in which the Rabbis SHERIRA GAON, and his ſon HAI, preſided. The former wrote notes upon the Miſhna and Gemara; the latter illuſtrated the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy by a treatiſe concerning divine names, and a comment upon the book Jezirah. With them expired the Jewiſh learning in the Eaſt.

The Jews, being now violently perſecuted by the Saracens, fled from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern world, and found an aſylum in Spain, where they boaſt that the family of David is preſerved. Here they opened new ſchools, and cultivated Talmudic learning and Cabbaliſtic philoſophy. About the beginning of the twelfth century, the Talmud was tranſlated into Arabic, and a Talmudic lexicon was publiſhed; after which, many commentators upon the Talmud, and many Cabbaliſtic writers, appeared[c].

The attention which was now paid to the writings of Ariſtotle, both by Arabians and Chriſtians, among whom the Stagyrite was every where extolled as the oracle of truth, excited the emulation

[a] Baſnage, l. ix. c. 4. § 2.

[b] Ganzii Zemach David. p. 51. Zachuthi Juchaſin. p. 119, &c. Gedalia Shalſheleth Hakkabala, p. 38. Baſnage, ib.

[c] Baſnage, l. ix. c. 10. l. vii. c. 9. Schudt. Mem. Jud. l. iv. c. 9.

of the Jews; and they, from this time, addicted themſelves to the ſtudy of the Peripatetic philoſophy. This innovation, ſo inconſiſtent with the reverence which they profeſſed to entertain for the law, and the traditions of their fathers, was exceedingly diſpleaſing to the zealous advocates for Talmudic learning; who eaſily perceived, that as the one gained credit the other muſt decline. The antient curſe denounced upon the Jew who ſhould inſtruct his ſon in Grecian learning was revived; and in the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty, the Rabbi who preſided in the ſynagogue of Barſina, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM BEN ADRATH (called by way of contraction Raſhba) prohibited the ſtudy of Gentile philoſophy [a]. Notwithſtanding all this, however, the Jews perſevered in their philoſophical purſuits, and, from the twelfth century, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their knowledge of mathematics and phyſics. ISAAC BEN SAID conſtructed aſtronomical tables [b]; and ISAAC ISRAEL TOLETANUS was an eminent aſtronomer and chronologer [c].

To facilitate the ſtudy of Ariſtotle among the Jews, his writings were tranſlated (it may be preſumed, not very accurately) from the Arabic (for the Greek was at this time little read) into the Hebrew tongue. Several other antient works, particularly the Elements of Euclid, and the medical writings of the Greeks, towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, appeared in a Hebrew dreſs. So highly was the name of Ariſtotle now reſpected among the Jews, that they not only called him the prince of philoſophers, but maintained that his philoſophy was the perfection of human ſcience, and could only be excelled by the doctrine of Divine Revelation. In order to ſcreen themſelves from cenſure for ſubmitting to receive wiſdom from a heathen philoſopher, they pretended that Ariſtotle was himſelf a proſelyte to Judaiſm, and was indebted to Solomon for a great part of his philoſophy [d]. The Rabbi CHANANIA BEN

[a] Shalſheleth. p. 58. Wolf. p. 1033. [b] Juchaſin. p. 132.
[c] Wolf. p. 663.
[d] Wolf. p. 383. 655. 217. Maimon. Ep. ad. R. A. Tibbon.

ISAAC wrote "Inſtitutes of the Philoſophers;" a collection of moral precepts and apothegms from the antients. In the work already mentioned, written about this time under the title of COSRI, or, more accurately, *Hachoſari*[a], Ariſtotelian principles were employed in demonſtrating the truth of the Jewiſh religion: it may be conſidered as a ſpecimen of Jewiſh philoſophy in the Middle Age.

The moſt celebrated names among the learned Jews of this period are ABRAHAM BEN MUIR ABEN ESRA, and MOSES BEN MAIMON, or MAIMONIDES.

ABEN ESRA was born at Toledo, in Spain, and flouriſhed about the middle of the twelfth century. On account of his profound erudition, he was not only called the Wiſe, but the Great, and the Wonderful. He travelled for the purpoſe of acquiring knowledge, and far ſurpaſſed his brethren both in ſacred and profane learning. He wrote theological, grammatical, mathematical, and aſtrological works, many of which remain in antient libraries, not yet edited[b].

MAIMONIDES, who holds a diſtinguiſhed place among the learned of this age, was born at Cordova, in Spain, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-one. Among his preceptors was Averroës the Arabian. Through his ſuperior genius and induſtry, he acquired a degree of learning which excited the jealouſy and envy of his countrymen: perhaps, too, his connection with Averroës might lead him to adopt obnoxious opinions. It has been aſſerted, that he became a convert to Mahometaniſm; but this wants proof. Whatever was the cauſe, which it is not now eaſy to diſcover, it is certain that Maimonides found his reſidence in Spain troubleſome and hazardous, and removed into Egypt, where he ſettled at Cairo. Here his learning and talents engaged the notice of the Sultan of Egypt, Malich El Hadul, who employed him as his phyſician. Maimonides inſtituted a ſchool at Alexandria, where he had many

[a] Shalſheleth. p. 40. Wolf. p. 440.

[b] Shalſheleth. p. 41. Juchaſin, p. 131. Zemach D. ad. A. 4934. Wolf. p. 146. 764.

followers,

followers, who were, however, ſoon afterwards diſperſed by perſecution. Some ſay, that he died in Egypt, in the year one thouſand two hundred and one; others, that he died in Paleſtine, in the year one thouſand two hundred and five [a].

This learned Jew was not only maſter of many Eaſtern languages, but, which was a rare accompliſhment at that time, was well acquainted with the Greek tongue; in which he ſeems to have read the works of Plato, Ariſtotle, Themiſtius, Galen, and others. He confeſſes, that he had been much converſant with the writings of philoſophers. As a phyſician he poſſeſſed high reputation: he was a good logician, and had a competent knowledge of mathematics. In Talmudic learning, he excelled all his contemporaries. Beſides many other works [b], he wrote a treatiſe "On Idolatry;" another, "On the Theology of the Gentiles;" and a third, "On Allegorical Language;" which diſcovered great learning, but leaned towards Gentile philoſophy more than his countrymen approved. A ſingular proof of his fondneſs for the Ariſtotelian doctrines, and, at the ſame time, a curious ſpecimen of the abſurd method of allegorizing, adopted even by the more intelligent among the Jews, we meet with in his explanation of the ſapphire ſtone, which Moſes ſaw under the feet of the God of Iſrael, the whiteneſs of which he underſtood to denote the Ὑλή πρῶτη, firſt matter, of Ariſtotle [c].*

[a] Juchaſin. p. 131. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 296. Shalſheleth. p. 43. Baſnage, l. ix. c. 10. Wolf. p. 865. [b] Ed. Baſil. 1629. Epiſt. Venet. 1545.
[c] Conf. Budd. Intr. Hiſt. Heb. p. 167. Baſnage, l. ix. p. 277.

* Vidend. paſſim Zeltner. Diſſ. de Beruria. Altdorf. 1714. R. Moſes Mikkozi lib. Præcept. Maimonid. Præf. ad Seder Saraim. Buxtorf. Recenſio Op. Talm. Z. Grapius in Idea Talmud. Hier. Lipſ. 1695. Jo. A. Lent. Mod. Theol. Jud. Wagenſeil ad Sota. Morini Exerc. Bibl. Leo African. Maimon. in Præf. Jad. Haſſakah. Dior. in Cabbala. Zachuth in Juchaſin. Gedalia in Shalſheleth Hakkabala Gantz. Zemach David Otthon. Hiſt. Miſhnic. Wolf. Baſnage, Reland, Lightfoot, Hottinger, Buddæus, Prideaux, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY, EXOTERIC AND CABBALISTIC.

THE philosophy of the Jews, which is inseparably connected with their theology, differed essentially from that of the Greeks, in the sources from which it was derived. Whilst the several Grecian sects of philosophers applied the powers of the human understanding to every subject of speculation, and attempted to establish all their tenets upon the ground of rational argument, the Jews professed to derive all their knowledge from Divine Revelation, either in the Mosaic law, or in the traditions and decisions of their Fathers. Although the Jewish doctors distinguished between such doctrines as may be known from the principles of reason, and such as rest upon tradition, oral or written, they in fact made little use of this distinction, and were satisfied with nothing which could not be supported by authority. Even in maintaining those doctrines which might have been established by rational arguments, they relied more upon tradition than reason, and, by the help of allegorical interpretations, found in their sacred books whatever tenets they had either borrowed from others, or framed in their own imaginations. In the writings of men, who thus forsook the pure doctrine of revelation in search of fictions, and who, nevertheless, had no confidence in the natural powers of the human mind, it is in vain to expect much that can deserve the name of philosophy.

Two methods of instruction were in use among the Jews; the one, public or exoteric; the other, secret or esoteric. The exoteric doctrine was that which was openly taught the people from the law of Moses, and the traditions of the fathers. The esoteric was that

which

which treated of the myſteries of the divine nature, and other ſublime ſubjects, and was known by the name of the Cabbala. The latter was, after the manner of the Pythagorean and Egyptian myſteries, taught only to certain perſons, who were bound, under the moſt ſolemn *anathema*, not to divulge it.

The exoteric doctrine comprehended the popular articles of faith and rules of manners. Theſe were not reduced into a ſyſtematic form till the middle of the tenth century; when the Rabbi Saadias Gaon, the maſter of the ſchool at Sora, wrote a book in the Arabic language concerning the Faith[a], which Jehudah Tibbon tranſlated into Hebrew. The articles of the Jewiſh faith were afterwards reduced by Maimonides to thirteen, which were generally received, though not without ſome oppoſition, in the Jewiſh church[b]. Ethics were ſo little ſtudied among the Jews, that, in their whole compilation called the Talmud, there is only one treatiſe on moral ſubjects. After the Peripatetic doctrine was received among them, ſome attention was paid to Ariſtotle's doctrine of morals; and, among the Jews in the Weſtern world, we find, from the eleventh century, many writers, who treat upon the practical rules of life and manners, not however without a mixture of allegory and myſticiſm. Their books of morals chiefly conſiſted in a minute enumeration of duties. From the law of Moſes were deduced ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, which were divided into two claſſes, affirmative and negative, two hundred and forty-eight in the former, and three hundred and ſixty-five in the latter. Theſe may be ſeen in the Jewiſh catechiſm, and in a Talmudic treatiſe, entitled *Maccoth*[c]. It may ſerve to give the reader ſome idea of the low ſtate of moral philoſophy among the Jews in the Middle Age, to add, that of the two hundred and forty-eight affirmative precepts, only *three* were conſidered as obligatory upon women; and that, in order to obtain ſalvation, it was judged ſufficient to fulfil any one ſingle law in the hour of death; the ob-

[a] Budd. Intr. Hiſt. Ph. Heb. § 32.

[b] Wolf. p. 867. Baſnage, l. iv. c. 1. § 1. Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27. § 18. Maimon. Ed. Vorſtii. Amſt. 1638.

[c] Edit. Cantab. 1597.

ſervance

ſervance of the reſt being deemed neceſſary, only to increaſe the felicity of the future life[a]. What a wretched depravity of ſentiment and manners muſt have prevailed before ſuch corrupt maxims could have obtained credit! It is impoſſible to collect from theſe writings any thing like a conſiſtent ſeries of moral doctrine. Of their POPULAR THEORETICAL TENETS the following is a brief ſummary.

The Creator is One; there is none like him, and he alone has been, is, and will be. The exiſtence of God is nothing but his eſſence and truth. The foundation of wiſdom is to know, that God is the Firſt Being, and that he gives exiſtence to all others. The eſſence of God cannot be comprehended by the human underſtanding; he can only be known by his attributes and name. In the name of יהוה Jehovah there is great power; and it is unlawful for any man to utter it, except the prieſt when he pronounces the holy benediction. The nature of God is incorporeal and ſpiritual; ſimple eſſence, without compoſition or accident; intellect, in perpetual act. His duration, both paſt and future, is infinite. God is not ſo properly ſaid to be in place, as to be himſelf place, for all ſpace is full of his glory. God is the omniſcient and ſovereign Lord of the univerſe; he foreſees and ordains all things; but all evil is to be aſcribed to the free will of man.

The world was created from nothing, had a beginning, and will have an end. All human ſouls were created at the beginning of the world, and exiſted in a happy ſtate before they were ſent down into the body. Beſides theſe, there are other created ſpirits, good and bad, of various names and claſſes. The bad angels are corporeal, their bodies conſiſting of the two elements of air and fire. The heavens are animated; and the ſtars are rational beings, endued with the powers of intelligence and volition; they have an influence upon human affairs, and even upon inferior animals, plants, and minerals, and communicate to men the knowledge of future events. Dif-

[a] Wolf. ib. p. 744. 221. 571. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. c. xiv. § 3. Lev. Mutinens de Carim. Jud. p. v. c. 4.

ferent regions of the earth, and even individual men, have their miniſtring angels. Two archangels were the leaders of a rebellion againſt God; and the rebels were caſt out of heaven. The fallen angels, procreating with the daughters of men, produced giants and devils. The cauſe of natural death, and of all the calamities of mankind, is the fall of our firſt parents. No human being can attain to perfection; but good works are entitled to reward; and the pardon of ſin may be obtained by faſtings, prayers, confeſſions, and bodily ſufferings. All the laws of Moſes are eternal and immutable. The ſoul of man is a thinking ſubſtance, having three faculties; the vegetative, the ſenſitive, and the rational: it is poſſeſſed of liberty, and is immortal. After death, it is not immediately admitted to celeſtial joys, but wanders in this world, chiefly about its body, during which time it is tormented by evil dæmons: in this purgatory it is cleanſed from its ſtains; after which it paſſes into other bodies of men, or inferior animals. There will be a reſurrection of the bodies of dead men, and an univerſal judgment, which will be ſucceeded by a ſtate of retribution. The good will enjoy eternal life in Paradiſe, and the wicked will be conſigned to the infernal regions; the Jew for a time, but the infidel for ever. The world will be deſtroyed; but the materials of which it is compoſed will remain [a].

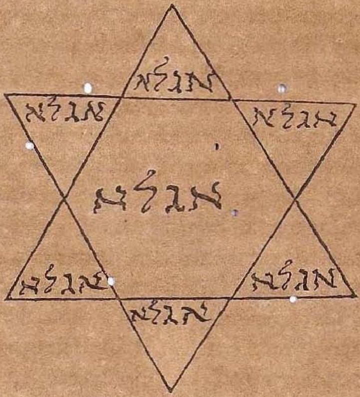
Many of the moſt valuable parts of theſe tenets, the Jews unqueſtionably derived from their ſacred ſcriptures; the reſt they borrowed from their Gentile neighbours. They firſt ſuffered their doctrine to be corrupted by the Egyptian philoſophy; and afterwards, learned from the Saracens to reaſon after the Peripatetic manner upon metaphyſical ſubjects: examples of which may be ſeen in the writings of Maimonides, and in the book Coſri.

The ſuperſtitious notions and practices of the Jews, in the Middle Age, concerning the names of God, were ſingular. Of theſe they

[a] Maimond. Moreh Nebhochim, et Ieſode Thora. R. Joſ. Albo Fund. Fid. Baſnage, l. iv. c. 6. Lightfoot. Hor. Heb.

reckoned

reckoned ſeventy-two; from which, by different arrangements in ſevens, they produced ſeven hundred and twenty. The principal of theſe was אגלא *Agla*[a]; which they diſpoſed in the following figure.



This they called *The Shield of David*, and pretended that it was a ſecurity againſt wounds, would extinguiſh fires, and was able to perform other wonders[b].

The Eſoteric or concealed doctrine of the Jews was called the CABBALA, from the word כבל, which ſignifies, *to receive*, becauſe it had been received by tradition. Concerning the miraculous origin and preſervation of the Cabbala, the Jews relate many marvellous tales. They derive theſe myſteries from Adam; and aſſert, that whilſt the firſt man was in Paradiſe, the angel Raſiel brought him a book from heaven, which contained the doctrines of heavenly

[a] Contracted from אתה גבור לעולם אדני; thou art ſtrong in the eternal God.
[b] Fabric. Cod. Apoc. V. T. t. ii. p. 1006. t. iii. p. 143.

 wiſdom;

wiſdom; and that when Adam received this book, angels came down to him to learn its contents, but that he refuſed to admit them to the knowledge of ſacred things, intruſted to him alone; that after the Fall, this book was taken back into heaven; that, after many prayers and tears, God reſtored it to Adam; and that it paſſed from Adam to Seth [a]. The Jewiſh fables go on to relate, that the book being loſt, and the myſteries it contained almoſt forgotten, in the degenerate age before the flood, they were reſtored, by ſpecial revelation, to Abraham, who committed them to writing in the book Jezirah; that the revelation was renewed to Moſes, who received a traditionary and myſtical, as well as a written and preceptive, law from God; that being again loſt amidſt the calamities of the Babyloniſh captivity, it was once more revealed to Eſdras; that it was preſerved in Egypt, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity through the hands of Simeon ben Setach, Elkanah, Akibha, Simeon ben Jochai, and others [b].

All that can be inferred from theſe accounts, which bear the evident marks of fiction, is, that the Cabbaliſtic doctrine obtained early credit among the Jews as a part of their ſacred tradition, and was tranſmitted, under this notion, by the Jews in Egypt to their brethren in Paleſtine. That this ſyſtem was not of Hebrew origin may be concluded, with a great degree of probability, from the total diſſimilarity of its abſtruſe and myſterious doctrines to the ſimple principles of religion taught in the Moſaic law; and that it was borrowed from the Egyptian ſchools will preſently appear, from a compariſon of its tenets with thoſe of the Oriental and Alexandrian philoſophy. Many writers have indeed imagined, that they have found, in the Cabbaliſtic dogmas, a near reſemblance

[a] Eiſenmenger. Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. p. ii. c. 13. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 10. Wachter. Elucid. Cabbal. c. 1. § 1. Lib. Sohar. par Bereſheith. col. 171.

[b] Buxtorf. Bib. Rabb. p. 184. Reuchlin. de arte Cabb. l. i. p. 622. Wolf. Bib. H. p. i. p. 112. Reimann. Hiſt. Th. Jud. l. i. c. 15. Budd. Intr. p. 424. Coſri. p. iii. § 65.

of

of the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and have been of opinion that the fundamental principles of this myſtical ſyſtem were derived from Divine Revelation. But this opinion is to be traced up to a prejudice, which began with the Jews, and paſſed from them to the Chriſtian Fathers, by which they were led to aſcribe all Pagan wiſdom to an Hebrew origin; a notion which, there can be little room to doubt, took its riſe in Egypt, where Pagan tenets firſt crept in among the Jews. When they firſt embraced the doctrines of Heathen philoſophy, neither their national vanity, nor their reverence for the law of Moſes, would ſuffer them to acknowledge themſelves indebted to Pagans for their wiſdom: they had, therefore, nothing left, but to profeſs to derive theſe new opinions from their ſacred writings, and, by the help of the allegorical method of interpretation taught them by the Egyptians, to reconcile them, as well as they were able, with the antient doctrines of their religion. In ſupport of this pretence, they ſuppoſed that the ſtream of wiſdom, which they profeſſed to derive from their own ſacred fountain, had formerly flowed out of their incloſure into the neighbouring countries; and that the Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian ſchools had been at firſt indebted to the land of Iſrael for their knowledge. Philo, Joſephus, and other learned Jews, to flatter their own vanity, and that of their countrymen, induſtriouſly propagated this opinion; and the more learned fathers of the Chriſtian church, who thought highly of the Grecian, particularly of the Platonic philoſophy, haſtily adopted it, imagining that if they could trace back the moſt valuable doctrines of Paganiſm to an Hebrew origin, this could not fail to recommend the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions to the attention of Gentile philoſophers. Many learned moderns, relying implicitly upon theſe authorities, have maintained the ſame opinion, and have hence been inclined to credit the report of the divine original of the Jewiſh Cabbala. But both theſe opinions are equally without foundation. In tracing the antient Barbaric and Grecian philoſophy to their ſources, it has ſufficiently appeared, that they were not of Hebrew extraction:

traction[a]: and we ſhall ſoon ſee that the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem is fundamentally inconſiſtent with the pure doctrine of Divine Revelation.

The truth, as far as we have been able to develope it, after a careful compariſon of the various opinions which have been advanced with the antient records which remain upon this ſubject, may be thus briefly ſtated. The Jews, as their own writers atteſt, like other Oriental nations, from the moſt remote period, had ſecret doctrines or myſteries. During the prophetic ages, theſe, probably, conſiſted in a ſimple explanation of thoſe divine truths which the prophets delivered under the veil of emblems. After this period, when the ſects of the Eſſenes and Therapeutæ were formed, as we have ſeen, in Egypt, foreign tenets and inſtitutions were borrowed from the Egyptians and Greeks, and, in the form of allegorical interpretations of the law, were admitted into the Jewiſh myſteries. Theſe inno-

[a] In further confirmation of what has been already advanced upon this point, it may be remarked, that thoſe who have ſuppoſed the Chaldean and Egyptian philoſophy to have originated with the Hebrews, have not conſidered that Thoth, Hermes Triſmegiſtus, the Chaldean Zoroaſter, and other founders of the antient Barbaric philoſophy, were prior in time to Moſes, and even to Abraham. Beſides, if it were granted that there were, among the Hebrews, patriarchs coeval with the firſt Chaldean or Egyptian ſages, it ſtill remains, to ſhew by what means the former could have prevailed upon the latter to become their diſciples, and to adduce ſome plauſible evidence that this was in fact the caſe. It is wonderful, that any learned men ſhould have maintained, that the Egyptians were indebted to the Iſraelites for their wiſdom, when it appears from the ſacred hiſtory, that the Egyptians treated the Iſraelites with contempt, as a race of foreign ſlaves; and that the deſcendants of Jacob inhabited a ſeparate region, where they had little intercourſe with the natives of Egypt. Is there a ſhadow of probability, that the Egyptians would borrow from ſuch a people any part of their ſacred myſteries? But, if even this were allowed to be probable, ſtill, the difference between the antient Hebrew religion, and that of the Egyptians and other nations, is too great, to leave any room for admitting the fact. If then it be wholly inconceivable that the antient Egyptians ſhould have received their dogmas from the Hebrews, it muſt be admitted as highly probable, that when, in later times, a wonderful agreement appears between the Jewiſh and Egyptian tenets, the Jews borrowed their Cabbaliſtic dogmas from the Alexandrians, among whom they reſided *.

* Conf. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. l. ii. p. 642. Wachter. Spinoz. Jud. p. ii. p. 221. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 7.

vations chiefly consisted in certain dogmas concerning God and divine things, at this time received in the Egyptian schools, particularly at Alexandria, where the Platonic and Pythagorean doctrines on these subjects had undergone a material alteration, by being mixed with the Oriental philosophy. For the Alexandrian Platonists, having rejected the Dualistic System, had now, from the Orientalists, adopted the Emanative, and admitted the doctrine of various orders of divine emanation. This doctrine, which by the help of allegory was easily accommodated to the sacred writings, was embraced, under the notion of traditionary mystery, by Aristobulus, and other founders of the sect of the Therapeutæ, and admitted into their writings, as may be seen in the works of Philo. The Jewish mysteries, thus enlarged by the accession of Pagan dogmas, were conveyed from Egypt to Palestine, at the time when the Pharisees, who had been driven into Egypt under Hyrcanus, returned, and with them many other Jews, into their own country. From this time the Cabbalistic mysteries continued to be taught in the Jewish schools; till, at length, they were adulterated by the mixture of Peripatetic doctrines, and other tenets, which sprang up in the Middle Age. These mysteries were not, probably, reduced to any systematic form in writing, till after the dispersion of the Jews, when, in consequence of their national calamities, they became apprehensive that these sacred treasures would be corrupted, or lost. In succeeding periods, the Cabbalistic doctrines underwent various corruptions, particularly from the prevalence of the Aristotelian philosophy[a].

This account of the rise and progress of the Jewish Cabbala agrees with the facts before recited, and is confirmed by the resemblance observable between the features of the Oriental and Cabbalistic systems, as far as the veil of metaphor and allegory, with which they

[a] Wachter. Elucid. Cabb. c. ii. p. 19. Knorr. Cabb. Denud. t. ii. p. 389. 181. Philo. Op. p. 877. 893. Maimon. Mor. Nebh. l. iii. c. 4. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. l. vii. c. 1.

are

are covered will permit us to compare them. The obſcurity of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy is indeed ſuch, that there is ſome reaſon to queſtion, whether the authors themſelves clearly underſtood what they wrote: a ſuſpicion which may always ariſe, where metaphyſical ideas, which are only to be underſtood by mental abſtraction, are repreſented under ſenſible images. It is probable, however, that the writers ſuppoſed themſelves to have ſome meaning, in works upon which they beſtowed much time and ingenuity: and it becomes a matter of curioſity, to inquire what meaning lies concealed under the apparent jargon. Perhaps more pains has been taken to make this diſcovery than the ſubject deſerves: but as others have laboured with indefatigable induſtry, and not without ſome degree of ſucceſs, in exploring the mazes of this labyrinth [a], we muſt not fly from the undertaking as deſperate; and we may, poſſibly, find in the reſult, that it is not wholly unprofitable. It will be neceſſary, however, before we proceed, to premiſe, that our inquiry only reſpects the theoretical part of the Cabbala; and that we pay no attention, either to the Enigmatical Cabbala, which conſiſts in certain ſymbolical tranſpoſitions of the words or letters of the ſcriptures, fit only for the amuſement of children, and thoſe who delight in Anagrams and Acroſtics, or to the Practical Cabbala, which profeſſed to teach the art of curing diſeaſes, and performing other wonders, by means of certain arrangements of ſacred letters and words [b].

The chief heads of the CABBALISTIC DOCTRINE are theſe:

From nothing, nothing can be produced; ſince the diſtance between exiſtence and non-entity is infinite. Matter is too imperfect in its nature, and approaches too near to non-entity, to be ſelf-

[a] Budd. Intr. § 35. 46. Hiſt. Ph. H. l. i. c. 10. Wachter. Spinoz. p. i. p. 22. p. ii. c. 17. Eluc. Cabb. Præf. p. vi. c. 3. § 1—13. Knorr. Cab. Den. t. i. p. ii. p. 79. t. ii. p. 390. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 14, 16, 19. H. Mori Quæſt. t. i. p. 62.

[b] Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 31. Hackſpan. Miſcell. S. p. 290. Glaſſii Philol. S. l. ii. p. i. tr. 2. ſ. 3. art. 2.

existent. The Being from whom all things proceed is a Spirit, uncreated, eternal, intelligent, percipient, having within itself the principles of life and motion existing by the necessity of its nature, and filling the immensity of space. This spirit is EN-SOPH, the Infinite Deity. This Eternal Fountain of existence sends forth from himself natures of various orders, which, nevertheless, are still united to their source. The world is a permanent emanation from the Deity, in which his attributes and properties are unfolded, and variously modified. The nearer any emanation is to the First Fountain, the more perfect and divine is its nature; and the reverse.

Before the creation of the world, all space was filled with the OR HAEN-SOPH, or Infinite Intellectual Light. But when the volition for the production of nature was formed in the Divine Mind, the Eternal Light, hitherto equally diffused through the infinite expanse, withdrew itself to an equal distance, in every direction, from a certain point, and thus left, about this center, a spherical portion of empty space, as a field for the operations of emanation, by which all things were to be produced. In the space from which the Divine Light was thus withdrawn, there were still, however, some portions, or traces, left of the divine essence, which were to become the receptacle of rays sent forth from the Eternal Fountain, or the basis of future worlds. From a certain part of the concavity of Infinite Light which surrounded the opaque sphere, the energy of emanation was first exerted, and rays were sent forth, in right lines, into the dark abyss. The beam of light, thus produced, formed a channel, through which streams were to flow for the production of worlds. This beam was united to the Concave of Light, and was directed towards the center of the opaque sphere. From this luminous channel streams of light flowed, at different distances from the center, in a circular path, and formed distinct circles of light, separated from the Concave of Light, or from each other, by portions of dark or empty space. Of these cir-

cles of light, ten were produced, which may be called SEPHIRÆ, or SPLENDORS [a].

The rectilineal beam of light, which is the First Emanation from the Eternal Fountain, and is itself the source of all other emanations, may be distinguished by the name ADAM KADMAN, the First Man, the first production of Divine Energy, or, the Son of God. The Sephiræ are fountains of emanation subordinate to Adam Kadman, which send forth rays of divine light, or communicate essence and life to inferior beings. The ten Sephiræ are known, according

[a] The reader's imagination may perhaps be assisted by the following diagram:

to

to the order of emanation, by the names, Intelligence or the Crown, Knowledge, Wiſdom, Strength, Beauty, Greatneſs, Glory, Stability, Victory, Dominion. Theſe are not the inſtruments of the divine operations, but *media*, through which the Deity diffuſes himſelf through the ſphere of the univerſe, and produces whatever exiſts. They are not beings detached from the deity, but ſubſtantial virtues or powers, diſtinctly, but dependently, ſent forth from the eternal ſource of exiſtence through the mediation of Adam Kadman, the firſt emaning power, and becoming the immediate ſource of exiſtence to ſubordinate emanations. They are dependent upon the firſt fountain, as rays upon a luminary, which is conceived to have ſent them forth with a power of drawing them back, at pleaſure, into itſelf.

The firſt Infinite Source of Being is the Enſophic World, or world of infinity, within which, after the manner above deſcribed, four worlds are produced by the law of emanation, according to which the ſuperior is the immediate ſource of the inferior: theſe are, AZILUTH, or the world of emanation, including the Sephiræ; BRISH, or the world of creation, containing certain ſpiritual natures, which derive their eſſence from the Sephiræ; JEZIRAH, or the world of forms, compoſed of ſubſtantial natures, derived from the ſuperior ſpiritual ſubſtances, and placed within ethereal vehicles, which they inform and animate; and ASIAH, or the material and viſible world, comprehending all thoſe ſubſtances which are capable of motion, compoſition, diviſion, and diſſolution.

Theſe derived worlds are different evolutions, or expanſions, of the Divine Eſſence, or diſtinct claſſes of beings, in which the infinite light of the divine nature is exhibited with continually decreaſing ſplendor, as they recede from the Firſt Fountain. The laſt and moſt diſtant production of the divine energy of emanation is Matter; which is produced when the divine light, by its receſſion from the fountain, becomes ſo attenuated as to be loſt in darkneſs, leaving nothing but an opaque ſubſtance[a], which is only one degree

[a] Carbo ignis divinæ.

above non-entity. Matter has no ſeparate and independent exiſtence, but is merely a modification, and permanent effect, of the emanative energy of the divine nature.

The Sephiræ, or firſt order of emanative being, exiſting in Aziluth, are ſuperior to ſpirits, and are called *Parzuphim*, PERSONS, to denote that they have a ſubſtantial exiſtence. The inhabitants of the ſecond world are called THRONES, on account of the dominion which they poſſeſs over the various orders of ANGELS, which inhabit the third world. The fourth, or material world, is the region of evil ſpirits, called *Klippoth*, the dregs of emanation. Theſe are the authors of the evil which is found in the material world; but they are continually aſpiring towards the Sephiræ, and will, in the great revolution of nature, return into the inexhauſtible fountain of Deity. Spirits of all orders have a material vehicle, leſs pure and ſubtile, in proportion to their diſtance from En-ſoph; and this vehicle is of the nature of the world next below that to which they belong. Metraton is the prince of Jezirah, or the angelic world, in which there are ten diſtinct orders; Sandalphon, of Aſiah, or the material world: theſe, together with the hoſts over which they preſide, animate aerial vehicles, capable of impreſſion from corporeal objects, and in different ways requiring renovation.

The human ſoul, proceeding by emanation from the Deity, is an incorporeal ſubſtance, of the ſame nature with the divine intellect. Being united to the body, one complex nature is produced, endued with reaſon, and capable of action. The human ſoul conſiſts of four parts, *Nepheſh*, or the principle of vitality; *Ruach*, or the principle of motion; *Neſchamah*, or the power of intelligence; and *Jechidah*, a divine principle, by means of which it contemplates ſuperior natures, and even aſcends to the Enſophic world. All ſouls were produced at once, and pre-exiſted in Adam. Every human ſoul has two guardian angels, produced by emanation, at the time of the production of ſouls. The mind of man is united to the Divine Mind, as the radius of a circle to its center. The ſouls of good men aſcend above the manſion of the angels, and are delighted

lighted with the viſion of the firſt light, which illuminates all the worlds.

The univerſe continues to exiſt by the divine energy of emanation. Whilſt this energy is exerted, different forms and orders of beings remain: when it is withheld, all the ſtreams of exiſtence return into their fountain. The En-ſoph, or Deity, contains all things within himſelf; and there is always the ſame quantity of exiſtence, either in a created or an uncreated ſtate. When it is in an uncreated ſtate, God is all; when worlds are created, the Deity is unfolded, or evolved, by various degrees of emanation, which conſtitute the ſeveral forms and orders of created nature[a].

Such is the general outline of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, as far as we are able to diſcover it through the thick cloud of words by which it is concealed; and we ſhall be readily excuſed from ing into any further detail of ſo fanciful and myſtical a ſyſtem.

It is impoſſible to review the maſs of conjectures and fictions, called the Jewiſh Cabbala, without perceiving that it could not be derived from the pure ſource of divine revelation; or to compare the Cabbaliſtic doctrine with the Oriental and Egyptian philoſophy, without diſcovering that they are the ſame ſyſtem. The Cabbaliſtic notion of Deity as a pure intellectual fire, and of the production of nature as an emanation from this fountain, was taught, as we have already ſeen, in all the Eaſtern nations, particularly the Chaldean and Perſian. Change the names, and for Mithras ſubſtitute Enſoph; for Oromaſdes, Adam Kadmon; and for Arimanius, Klippoth; and then compare the dogmas advanced concerning each, and it will be ſufficiently evident from what ſource the Jews derived their Cabbala. The Gnoſtic doctrine of Æons ſubſiſting in the Plenitude of the divine nature, which ſprang from the ſame ſtock, is perfectly ſimilar to that of the Cabbaliſtic Sephiræ: both appear to have been known to Philo. The Alexandrian philoſophers of the

[a] Lorriiæ lib. Druſchim. et Iriræ Porta Cœlor. ed. a Knorrio in Cabb. Denud. Menaſſeh B. Iſrael de Creat. p. 27. Moſes Corduer. Pard. Rimmonim. tr. iv. p. 23.

Eclectic

Eclectic ſect adopted the ſame notions, and purſued them into a variety of extravagant and abſurd fancies, in many particulars nearly reſembling thoſe of the Jewiſh ſchool. The common tenets, in which the Oriental, the Alexandrian, and the Cabbaliſtic philoſophers were agreed, may be thus briefly ſtated.

All things are derived, by emanation, from one principle. This principle is God. From him a ſubſtantial power immediately proceeds, which is the image of God, and the ſource of all ſubſequent emanations. This ſecond principle ſends forth, by the energy of emanation, other natures, which are more or leſs perfect, according to their different degrees of diſtance, in the ſcale of emanation, from the firſt ſource of exiſtence, and which conſtitute different worlds, or orders of being, all united to the eternal power from which they proceed. Matter is nothing more than the moſt remote effect of the emanative energy of the Deity. The material world receives its form from the immediate agency of powers far beneath the Firſt Source of Being. Evil is the neceſſary effect of the imperfection of matter. Human ſouls are diſtant emanations from Deity, and, after they are liberated from their material vehicles, will return, through various ſtages of purification, to the fountain whence they firſt proceeded.

On the whole, the ſimilarity, or rather the coincidence of the Cabbaliſtic, Alexandrian, and Oriental philoſophy, leaves us little room to heſitate in pronouncing the latter the parent of the two former. With reſpect to the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem in particular, it cannot be difficult, after the ſurvey we have taken of its leading tenets, to form a judgment of its merit. It is unqueſtionably a fanatical kind of philoſophy, which originates in defect of judgment, and eccentricity of imagination, and which tends to produce a wild and pernicious enthuſiaſm. The Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem can by no means be reconciled with juſt ideas of the Divine Nature; ſince, in ſuppoſing all things to flow from God, it makes all beings not only dependent upon him, but a part of his eſſence. In this ſyſtem all ſpiritual and even material ſubſtances are ſo intimately united with their origin, that they do not differ from it in their nature, but merely in their

mode of exiſtence; the univerſe is an evolution of the divine eſſence, and is, in fact, God. To this we muſt add, that the idea, which this ſyſtem affords, of the mode of divine operation, by an expanſion or retraction of his eſſence, is too groſs to be applied to the firſt intelligent cauſe of all things. Nothing can be more viſionary, than the fundamen[illegible]ſis, that God is an infinite light, which has withdrawn [illegible]rtion of infinite ſpace, in order to unfold itſelf in ſundry emanations, which conſtitute the univerſe; nor can any thing be more fanciful, than the numerous fictions which fill up the ſyſtem. Its tendency to encourage fanaticiſm cannot be doubted. The firſt principle of this philoſophy is the ground upon which the whole ſtructure of enthuſiaſm is erected. From the notion that all things emane from God, and will flow back to him, it naturally follows, that it is the great end of philoſophy to prepare the human mind for its return to its ſource, when it will be abſorbed in the Divine Plenitude from which it flowed; a doctrine which is the very ſoul of enthuſiaſm, both theological and philoſophical.

But it is high time that we retreat out of this fairy land, where we ſhould not have remained ſo long, had it not been neceſſary to aſcertain diſtinctly the place of the Jewiſh Cabbala in the hiſtory of philoſophy, in order to diſcover its connection with preceding, and its influence upon contemporary or ſubſequent, ſyſtems: for it muſt be confeſſed, that the hiſtory of this ſyſtem is chiefly valuable, as it furniſhes an example of the folly of permitting reaſon, in its ſearch after truth, to follow the wild reveries of an unbridled imagination.*

* Vidend. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. Reimann. Hiſt. Theol. Jud. Budd. Intr. Ph. Heb. Menaſſe ben Iſrael ap. Cromayer. Scrutin. Relig. Diſſ. Leo Mutin. de Cærem. et Conſuetud. Jud. R. Joſ. Albo. Fundam. Fid. R. Moſes ad Jezirah. Lib. Cofri. Menaſſe ben Iſrael de Term. Vitæ, de Creat. &c. Abarbanel de Cap. Fid. Saubert. Paleſtra Theol. Diſſ. 1. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb. Hartman. loc. paral. Talm. Greſſæ. 1708. Otton. Hiſt. Doct. Miſhn. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. Schrammii Intr. in Dialect. Cabb. Hackſpan. de Cabbala.

Carpzov. Intr. in Theol. Jud. Pici Apol. Op. Præf. Basil. 1601. Compend. ap Budd. Intr. § 34. Pestorii Ars Cabb. Bas. 1581. Rittengel de Lib. Jezirah. Amstel. 1675. Knorrii a Rosenroth Cabbala denudata. Solisbaci, 1677. Contin. lib. Sohar, Jezirah, &c. Hen. More ad lib. Druschim. Wachter. Spinozizm. in Jud. Ejusd. Elucidarium Cabb. Rom. 1706. Mayer. de Trinit. Harder. 1712. Burgonovo select. Cabb. Dogm. Basnage. Eisenmenger. Wolf. Burnet. Arch. c. 7.

BOOK

BOOK V.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SARACENS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE SARACENS, OR ARABIANS.

AT the period when ignorance and barbarifm prevailed through every part of the Roman empire, Philofophy found an afylum among the Saracens, or Arabians; a people, who, for feveral centuries after the appearance of Mahomet, were fcarcely lefs celebrated in their literary and philofophical, than in their civil and military character. Before we proceed to defcribe the ftate of philofophy in the Chriftian world, from the birth of Chrift to the revival of letters, we muft, therefore, briefly relate the hiftory, and delineate the features, of the Arabian or Saracenic philofophy.

Concerning the antient ftate of philofophy in Arabia, we have already feen, that little is known. The Arabian writers, as far as we are acquainted with them, leave the philofophical and literary hiftory of their country, prior to the time of Mahomet, in almoft total obfcurity. Abulfarius, one of the principal Arabian annalifts, confeffes,

confeſſes [a], that there are no certain records of the antient Arabian nations, nor any means of inveſtigating their hiſtory. Of this deficiency it is wholly unneceſſary to ſearch for any other cauſe, than the barbariſm which at that time prevailed almoſt univerſally through this country. The Arabian writers themſelves oppoſe the ſtate of Iſlamiſm to the ſtate of ignorance wh[illegible]ded [b]. Ebn Chalican [c], an Arabian hiſtorian, menti[illegible] it [illegible] an [illegible]knowledged fact, that the firſt inventor of Arabic writing was Moramer, an Anbarian, who lived not long before the time of Mahomet; and relates [d], that at the time when the Koran was publiſhed, there was not a ſingle perſon to be found in the whole diſtrict of Yamen, who could write or read Arabic. The Jews and Chriſtians who reſided in Medina were, for their learning, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of The People of the Book, whilſt the Arabians were almoſt univerſally illiterate. Mahomet himſelf was wholly deſtitute of learning. The Arabians themſelves call him, The Illiterate Prophet; and boaſt, that God choſe out of the unlearned the meſſenger whom he ſent to the unlearned [e]. It is no wonder, therefore, that this prophet, in framing his new religion, found it neceſſary to call in aſſiſtance from the Jews and Chriſtians. He could not have accompliſhed his great deſign without the help of Warakan, the kinſman of his wife Chadijia, who had been converſant with the Jews and Chriſtians, and could write Hebrew as well as Arabic [f].

The appearance of Mahomet, and the promulgation of his religion, in themſelves contributed nothing towards the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy. This impoſtor thought it neceſſary to keep his followers as ignorant as himſelf. That he might, at one ſtroke, cut off impertinent contradiction, he iſſued an edict, which made the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences and arts a capital offence. At the ſame time, to captivate the imaginations of his ignorant followers, and hereby eſtabliſh his authority, he ſent forth, in ſeparate

[a] Dynaſt. ix. p. 100. [b] Ib. p. 101.
[c] Ap. Pococke Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 153. [d] Ib. l. c.
[e] Pococke ib. p. 156. [f] Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. l. i. c. 1. p. 10.

portions, a ſacred book, to which he gave the name of the Koran, containing the doctrines and precepts of his religion. This book, which was chiefly a compilation, ſufficiently injudicious and incoherent, from the books of the Neſtorian Chriſtians and of the Jews then reſident in Arabia, and from the antient ſuperſtitions of the Arabians, long continued the only object of ſtudy among the Mahometans. Their reverence for this holy book, the leaves of which, they were taught to believe were communicated to the prophet by an angel from heaven, long ſuperſeded every philoſophical and literary purſuit. Imagining that the Koran contained every thing neceſſary, or uſeful, to be known, whatever was contrary to its dogmas was immediately condemned as erroneous; and whatever was not to be found in this ſacred volume was diſmiſſed as ſuperfluous [a].

Deterred

[a] This was the principle upon which the caliph Omar conſigned the Alexandrian libraries to the flames. Abulpharagius relates *, that when Alexandria was taken by Amrus, the Mahometan commander, Philoponus requeſted that he might be allowed to reſcue the philoſophical books in the royal libraries from deſtruction. Amrus wrote to Omar, informing him of the requeſt of Philoponus; to which Omar replied: "As to the books you mention, if they accord with the book of God, there is without them in that book all that is ſufficient; but if there be any thing in them repugnant to that book, we have no need of them: order them therefore to be all deſtroyed." Amrus upon this gave orders that they ſhould be diſperſed through the baths of Alexandria, and burned in heating them †. After this manner, in the ſpace of ſix months, they were all conſumed. The hiſtorian adds, "Hear what was done, and wonder!"

The authenticity of this ſtory has lately been called in queſtion by Mr. Gibbon, who thinks the report of a ſolitary ſtranger, who wrote at the end of ſix hundred years, on the confines of Media, over-balanced by the ſilence of two annaliſts of a more early date, both Chriſtians, both natives of Egypt, and the moſt antient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply deſcribed the conqueſt of Alexandria. But the poſitive evidence of an hiſtorian, of ſuch unqueſtionable credit, as Abulpharagius cannot be ſet aſide by an argument merely negative. Mr. G. alſo pleads the repugnancy of the rigid ſentence of Omar to the precept of the Mahometan caſuiſts, which declared it unlawful to burn the religious books of Jews and Chriſtians, and allowed the uſe of prophane writers: but he ſeems himſelf aware of the weakneſs of this argument; for he imputes the protection granted to the religious books of Jews and Chriſtians to reverence for the *name* of God, and acknowledges, that "a more deſtructive zeal may perhaps be attributed

* Dyn. p. 114. Oxon. 1663.

† That is, probably, in kindling the fires.

to

Deterred by the fear of puniſhment from examining the foundation of their law, or opening their minds to the light of philoſophy, the followers of Mahomet quietly ſubmitted their reaſon to the yoke of authority. Add to this, that the violent ſpirit and military character of Iſlamiſm was in itſelf inimical to philoſophy and ſcience. A prophet, who propagated and eſtabliſhed his religion, not by reaſoning, but the ſword, would keep his followers too buſily employed in war and conqueſt, to leave them leiſure for literary purſuits [a].

From theſe cauſes, philoſophy, during the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm, found no protection in Arabia. But, in this period of thick darkneſs, when, among Chriſtians, true ſcience was loſt in the thorny controverſies of theology; and when, among the Saracens, it was trampled under foot by ignorance and bigotry; after the extinction of the dynaſty of the Ommiadæ, who trod in the footſteps of Mahomet [b], the acceſſion of the family of the Abbaſidæ, or Haſhemidæ, to the Caliphate (which happened in the one hundred and twenty-ſeventh year of the Hegira, or the ſeven hundred and forty-ninth of the Chriſtian æra) proved the dawning of philoſophy in Arabia [c].

The firſt princes of the Abaſidean dynaſty were, indeed, chiefly occupied in eſtabliſhing and extending the new empire. But they were in one reſpect wiſer than their predeceſſors; they paid little regard to the abſurd edict, by which arts and ſciences had been baniſhed out of the realms of Mahomet. The ſecond prince of this family, Abug Iaafar Al-Manſor, poſſeſſed diſpoſitions and talents,

to the *firſt* ſucceſſors of Mahomet." His references to A. Gellius (Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 17.) Amm. Marcellinus (l. xxii. c. 16.) & Oroſius (l. vi. c. 15.) as ſpeaking of the Alexandrian libraries in the *paſt* tenſe, are foreign from the purpoſe; for theſe writers only refer to the deſtruction of books at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæſar; after which, large libraries muſt have been continually accumulating, during the long period in which the ſchools of philoſophy flouriſhed in that city.

[a] Abulfar. Dyn. p. 99. 104. 110. Pococke, l. c. p. 121. 136. 162. 165. 166. Tophail ep. de Hai Ebn Yockdan. p. 14. R. Jehudæ lib. Coſri, p. 1. § 5. Elmacin. Hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 1.

[b] Elmacin. Hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 7. [c] Ib. l. ii. c. 1. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 123.

which

which inclined and enabled him to favour the progreſs of knowledge among his ſubjects. His gentle temper contributed towards ſubduing the ferocity of the times; his natural good ſenſe taught him the value of learning, and qualified him to detect the erroneous maxims upon which the Mahometan ſyſtem of policy was founded; and his liberal and candid ſpirit rendered him eaſy of acceſs to learned men of all countries and profeſſions [a].

The firſt circumſtance, which ſeems to have led to the introduction of ſcience and philoſophy into the courts of the Caliphs, was the neceſſity, which the ignorant Arabians were under, of calling in the more enlightened Chriſtians, who reſided at this time in great numbers at Bagdat, the ſeat of the empire, and in other parts of the Mahometan dominions, to ſuperintend and regulate the practice of the medical art. Al-Manſor had two Chriſtian phyſicians in his court, who, on account of their ſkill in medicine, ſtood high in his eſteem, and who, being men of letters, inſpired the prince with the love of literature and philoſophy. The Caliph himſelf, under their direction, ſtudied aſtronomy. He paid great reſpect to learned men, and offered liberal rewards to thoſe who would undertake the tranſlation of the Greek writers in philoſophy, aſtronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of learning. Theſe exertions on the part of the prince were not without their effect on his ſubjects. But, the Arabians not underſtanding Greek, the tranſlation of antient authors was entirely executed by the Chriſtians then reſident in Bagdat; and, becauſe the vernacular tongue of that city was the Syriac, theſe verſions were made in that language; from which many of them were afterwards tranſlated into Arabic. Hence moſt of the Arabic tranſlations of the antients, ſtill extant, are exceedingly defective [b].

After Al-Manſor, the fifth Caliph of the Abbaſidean dynaſty, Haron Raſhid [c], who aſſumed the government in the year ſeven

[a] Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen. l. ii. c. 3. Abulfar. ib. p. 129.

[b] Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 148. 94. 99. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 5.

[c] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

hundred and eighty-ſix, cheriſhed the riſing plants of ſcience and literature. He was a liberal patron of genius and learning of every kind, but was particularly fond of thoſe who poſſeſſed poetical talents. He never travelled without a retinue of learned men. Raſhid was at firſt, through bigotry, diſinclined to encourage the learned Chriſtians; but their ſuperior ſkill in medicine ſoon introduced them to his favour. It happened, that a young Egyptian female, of great beauty, who was a favourite with the Caliph, was attacked with a ſevere illneſs, which baffled the ſkill of the Arabian phyſicians: upon which Raſhid ſent a meſſenger into Egypt, to invite Balatian, the patriarch of Alexandria, eminent for his ſkill in medicine, to viſit Bagdat. Balatian obeyed the ſummons, and ſoon accompliſhed the cure of his fair patient. For this acceptable ſervice he received from the Caliph ample rewards; and he obtained a mandate in favour of his Chriſtian brethren in Egypt, for the reſtoration of certain lands, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived. Afterwards, when Raſhid himſelf was ſeized with an apoplexy, a Chriſtian phyſician, in oppoſition to the judgment of the Arabian practitioners, bled him, and hereby effected his recovery. Theſe and other fortunate circumſtances eſtabliſhed the credit of the Chriſtian phyſicians in the court of Bagdat, and enabled them, with the knowledge of medicine, to introduce an acquaintance with other branches of ſcience among the Arabians [a].

The light of philoſophy, which, at firſt, under Al-Manſor, and afterwards under Raſhid, dawned upon Arabia, in the caliphate of the younger ſon of Raſhid, Abul-Abbas Al-Mamon [b], ſhone forth in meridian ſplendor. Endued with a good underſtanding and a liberal ſpirit, this prince ſoon outſtripped his predeceſſors in the zealous and ſucceſsful patronage of ſcience and learning. Whilſt Raſhid was living, he nominated his eldeſt ſon, Al-Mamin, to the inhe-

[a] Eutychii Alex. Origin. Eccl. Al. (ed. Selden. Lond. 1642.) t. ii. p. 407. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 114. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 17. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

[b] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 8. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 160. Leo Afric. de Vir. Arab. c. 1. Zonaras, l. iii. Pococke, p. 166.

ritance of the caliphate, and gave Al-Mamon the government of Chorazan. Here this excellent youth applied himſelf to ſtudy under learned men, whom he collected from various countries. Theſe he formed into a ſociety, or college, appointing for their preſident John Meſſue, of Damaſcus, a Chriſtian phyſician, who had reſided at Bagdat, and with whoſe abilities and merit he had long been acquainted. Raſhid, when he was informed of this appointment, expreſſed great diſpleaſure that his ſon ſhould confer ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour upon a Chriſtian. Al-Mamon, in his own juſtification, replied, "I have made choice of Meſſue, not as a teacher of religion, but as an able preceptor in uſeful ſciences and arts; and my father well knows, that the moſt learned men, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, in his dominions, are Jews and Chriſtians." After the death of Raſhid, and the ſhort and diſgraceful reign of his elder ſon Al-Mamin, the caliphate paſſed into the hands of the enlightened and liberal Al-Mamon, who ſoon made Bagdat the firſt ſeat of the muſes[a].

Having collected many valuable books, written in the Greek, Perſian, Chaldean, and Egyptian or Coptic languages, Al-Mamon employed learned men to tranſlate them into Arabic[b]. Among the Greek writings, which now appeared in an Arabic dreſs, were the works of Galen and Ariſtotle; and from this epocha we are to date the commencement of the long reign of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy among the Arabians. The Caliph appointed Meſſue to ſuperintend theſe tranſlations. Under his auſpices this learned preceptor alſo inſtituted and conducted a ſchool, in which he inſtructed a numerous train of pupils in philoſophy, and other branches of learning. Among other diſciples of Meſſue was Honain, an eminent Chriſtian phyſician, who tranſlated the Elements of Euclid, the Almageſtus of Ptolemy, and the writings of Hippocrates and other

[a] Leo Afr. l. c.

[b] Renaudot. de Verſ. Arab. et Syr. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814.

Greek authors. He may justly be ranked among the fathers of the Arabian philosophy [a].*

Al-Mamon was not only an illustrious patron of the learned, but was himself no mean adept in several branches of science. He was well acquainted with astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, and was frequently present at the conferences of learned men, entering with great spirit into the subjects of their debates. In the midst of the praise which is due to this Caliph, it must, however, be mentioned with regret, that, through an ill-judged partiality for his vernacular tongue, he gave orders that, after the Arabic versions were finished, the original Greek manuscripts should be burned [b]. A similar folly seized the Caliphs of Africa: and to this cause we are, doubtless, to ascribe the entire loss of many antient writings. The diligence, however, with which this Caliph cultivated and encouraged learning, cancels in some measure this disgrace, and leaves him entitled to an honourable station among philosophers [c]. It was no inconsiderable proof of the great service which Al-Mamon rendered to philosophy, that superstition and barbarism bitterly com-

[a] Leo Afr. l. c.

* Of Honain, Abulfaragius relates † the following anecdote:—One day, after some medical conversation, the Caliph said to him, "Teach me a prescription by which I may take off any enemy I please, without being discovered." Honain declining to give an answer, and pleading ignorance, was imprisoned. Being brought again, after a year's interval, into the Caliph's presence, and still persisting in ignorance, though threatened with death, the Caliph smiled upon him, and said, "Be of good cheer, we were only trying thee, that we might have the greater confidence in thee.' As Honain upon this bowed down and kissed the earth, "What hindered thee," says the Caliph, "from granting our request, when thou sawest us appear so ready to perform what we had threatened?" "Two things," replied Honain, "my Religion, and my Profession. My religion, which commands me to do good to my enemies; and my profession, which was purely instituted for the benefit of mankind." "Two noble laws," said the Caliph; and immediately presented him, according to the Eastern usage, with rich garments, and a sum of money.

[b] Leo Afr. l. c. [c] Abulf. ap. Pococke, p. 160.

† Abulph. p. 172. ap. Harris Philol. Inq. p. 378.

plained of the incroachments, which, during his reign, were made upon their territories; and that Takiddin[a], a bigotted Mahometan, ſaid, that God would aſſuredly puniſh Al-Mamon for daring to interrupt the devotions of the Mahometans by introducing philoſophy among them. No wonder that the zealous advocates for the religion of Mahomet began to be alarmed, when they ſaw that the wretched poverty of their Koran was diſcovered, and the groſs abſurdity of their ſuperſtitions expoſed, by the light of philoſophy. During the reign of Al-Mamon, the love of ſcience became ſo prevalent among the Saracens, that ſcarcely a moſque was erected without annexing to it a ſchool, in which philoſophy and literature were to be taught.

After the death of Al-Mamon, which happened in the year eight hundred and thirty-three, philoſophy continued its progreſs among the Saracens. Some of his ſucceſſors were, indeed, too buſily occupied in war, or of too indolent a diſpoſition, to pay much attention to ſcience; but there were others, who foſtered the riſing plant, and took much pains to bring it to maturity. Among theſe, the prince, whoſe name is moſt memorable, is Aaron Wacic, or Wathek, who was advanced to the Caliphate in the year eight hundred and forty-one[b]. He liberally encouraged learned men of every claſs, particularly mathematicians and aſtronomers. His reign produced the celebrated aſtronomer Al-Haſan, who wrote a treatiſe on the Lunar Irregularities[c]. The ſchools, which in the times of Raſhid and Al-Mamon had been inſtituted under the direction of John of Damaſcus, Honain, and others, long flouriſhed, and ſent forth, in great abundance, philoſophers and learned men, ſeveral of whom will be diſtinctly noticed in the ſequel.

Science continued to enjoy the protection of the Saracen princes, after the empire was divided into ſeveral Caliphates, in Aſia, Africa, and Europe, and was, by means of their conqueſts, diſſeminated through a great part of the world. In the tenth century, under the

[a] Ib. p. 166. Bayle.
[b] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 10. 11.
[c] Abulf. p. 258.

Caliph Abulfadli Murtadir, and others, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as patrons of learning, poetry, and philoſophy were equally encouraged; and they continued to flouriſh among the Saracens till th thirteenth century, when, the power of the Saracens yielding to tha of the Turks, learning fled for refuge to the Perſians, Tartars, an Scythians [a].

From the beginning of the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, eminent ſchools of learning flouriſhed in the Saracen empire, among which the principal were thoſe at Bagdat, Baſſora, and Bochara, in the Eaſt; at Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt; at Morocco and Fez, in Barbary; and in ſeveral cities of Spain. The college at Bagdat was ſo flouriſhing at the beginning of the twelfth century, that it contained ſix thouſand men, including maſters and ſcholars. In that of Baſſora, the members of the ſociety formed a ſect for correcting the corruptions which had crept into Iſlamiſm, which they acknowledged could not be purged away without the aid of philoſophy. At Cairo, where, about the year one thouſand, twenty ſchools were inſtituted, the philoſophy of Ariſtotle was taught to great crowds of pupils from all parts of the world. The ſchools of Africa and Spain were diſtinguiſhed by the names of Averroës, Avicenna, and other eminent philoſophers, at a period when barbariſm univerſally prevailed among the Weſtern Chriſtians. Many of theſe colleges were large and magnificent buildings, liberally endowed, furniſhed with valuable libraries, and adorned with learned profeſſors of languages, mathematics, aſtronomy, and philoſophy [b].

It was a neceſſary conſequence of the increaſe of knowledge among the Saracens, that the abſurdities of the ſuperſtition, which their illiterate prophet had eſtabliſhed, were perceived; and it became neceſſary, in order to defend it againſt the reaſonings, and the ridicule, of Chriſtians, Jews, and philoſophers, to give ſuch an ex-

[a] Abulf. p. 179, 200, 208, 217. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 9. 16. l. iii. c. 1, 4, 8.
[b] Abulf. p. 217. 230. Benj. Tudelenſis Itin. p. 121. Leo Afr. Hiſt. Afr. l. viii. 267, 272. Elmacin. l. i. c. 13. Toletan. Hiſt. Ar. c. 9, 12.

planation of the Koran, as might make it appear not wholly inconſiſtent with reaſon and common ſenſe. Hence aroſe a variety of forced interpretations of the law, each of which had its advocates, and became the foundation of a diſtinct ſect. Soon after the time when philoſophy began to be ſtudied among the Saracens, the followers of Mahomet were divided into ſix ſects, and theſe were afterwards ſub-divided into ſeventy-three. The riſe of theſe ſects was unqueſtionably owing to the advancement of knowledge. When philoſophy had ſo far prevailed over ſuperſtition, that the more enlightened profeſſors of the Mahometan religion began to be themſelves ſenſible of its abſurdities, they endeavoured to conceal them under the veil of figurative interpretation[a]. In order to accommodate the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, which was guarded by the ſanction of penal laws, to their philoſophical conceptions, they blended the abſtract ſpeculations of the ſchools with the groſs and vulgar conceptions of the Koran. They made uſe of the ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, in the defective ſtate in which it had come into their hands, to aſſiſt them in improving upon the literal meaning of their ſacred books, and thus gave a new, and for the moſt part a metaphyſical, turn to the religion and law of Mahomet. One of their own writers confeſſes this to have been the origin of their religious ſects. "At the beginning of Mahometaniſm," ſays Al-Gazel[b], "the art of reaſoning upon religious ſubjects was unknown; but afterwards, when ſects began to ariſe, and antient articles of belief to be called in queſtion, it was found neceſſary to make uſe of the aid of logic in defending the truth againſt the bold attacks of innovators."

To this new kind of philoſophical theology, the Arabians gave the diſtinct name of Al-Calam, the Wiſdom of Words[c], or the Science of Reaſon, and thoſe who profeſſed it were called Rationaliſts. Maimonides, who himſelf long reſided among the Arabians, and accurately examined into the hiſtory of their ſects, aſſerts[d], that

[a] Elmacin. l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 16. l. iii. c. 6, 8. Pococke, p. 209. Sale Proleg. ad Koran. § 8. Maimonid. Mor. Nebhoch. l. iii. c. 16.
[b] Apud Pococke, p. 196.
[c] Shareſtan apud. Pococke, p. 194.
[d] Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 71.

these Rational Theologians, among the Mahometans, were chiefly indebted, for the weapons with which they defended Islamism against philosophy, to the Greek philosophers themselves; and that they borrowed this method of defence from the Christians, to establish the articles of their faith by reconciling them with the dogmas of philosophy. This rational Islamism was first reduced into a systematic form by Almawakif[a], an Arabian, who called his system, the science by means of which any one might be qualified to resolve doubts concerning religion, and to maintain the truth of its doctrines against innovators. Philosophy was, in this sect, forced into the service of superstition; whence it happened, as might naturally be expected, that these Rationalists employed the distinctions and subtleties of the Aristotelian school, not for the discovery of truth, but for the purpose of concealing the real dogmas of the Koran, which could not have been fairly explained without manifest detriment to the cause of Islamism.

Of the manner in which the dialectic sects of Mahometans trifled, Maimonides furnishes the following example[b]. They chose rather to call God the first agent, or efficient, than the first cause; for they argued, that if they called God a cause, this would necessarily suppose an effect; and it would follow, that God being from eternity a necessary cause, the effect produced, or the universe, must also have been eternal; but, if they represented the Deity as an agent or efficient, the necessary existence of the effect would not follow; since the efficient not only must be prior to the production, but might exist long before the actual exertion of power, by which it is produced[c].

This specimen of the method of reasoning, which prevailed among the Mahometan Rationalists, may serve to illustrate and confirm the following character given of this sect by another learned Jew: "The sect of the Rationalists," says R. Aben Tibbon[d], "is

[a] Hottinger Biblioth. Orient. c. ii. p. 187.
[b] L. c. p. i. c. 69.
[c] Conf. Hottinger, l. c. c. ii. p. 188, 194.
[d] In Lib. Moreh.

composed

composed of certain philosophical sciolists, who judge of things, not according to truth and nature, but according to their own imaginations, and who confound men by a multiplicity of specious words without meaning; whence their science is called, The Wisdom of Words." The design, which was formed by this sect, of illustrating and defending the Koran by logical and metaphysical disquisitions, was highly displeasing to many zealous Musselmen, who wished to retain the simplicity and ignorance of their Founder, rather than to corrupt his sacred book, by explaining it according to the rules of a philosophical system wholly unknown to the prophet. So vehement was the popular aversion to this sect, that it was said by Al-Shafi [a], "Whoever devotes himself to The Wisdom of Words ought to be impaled, and carried through all the tribes of Musselmen, the public crier every where proclaiming, 'This is the reward of the man, who has forsaken the Koran, and the sacred traditions, to follow Al-Calam'." This philosophical theology of the Arabians was the nurse at least, if not the parent, of the scholastic philosophy, which, from the tenth century, confounded and distracted the world with its obscure subtleties, and barren disputations.

Among the Saracens, in Asia, Mauritania, and Spain, we find a long catalogue of writers on metaphysics, physics, logic, ethics, politics, mathematics, and astronomy. From these we shall select such names as are most deserving of attention in the history of philosophy.

A distinguished place among the Arabian philosophers is due to JACOBUS AL-KENDI [b], of Bassora. His father was prefect of Cufa under Muhamed Mohdi and Rashid; whence it appears, that Al-Kendi flourished in the Caliphate of Al-Mamon, that is, at the beginning of the ninth century. He devoted himself to learning

[a] Pococke, c. 166. Bayle. Takkiddin.

[b] Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 213. Bayle. Pococke, p. 365. Lackemacher. Diss. de Alkend.

and philosophy in the school of Basora, and attained such distinction among his contemporaries, that he was called, by way of eminence, The Philosopher. After the manner of the age, he yielded implicit submission to the authority of Aristotle, and was chiefly occupied in interpreting and illustrating his writings. He did not however, confine himself to these studies; for we find his name mentioned among the mathematicians and astronomers of the times; and his medical writings, which are still extant, prove that he made no inconsiderable figure among the Arabian physicians. Abulfarius, speaking of Al-Kendi[a], relates a memorable instance of his moderation towards a malicious adversary. Whilst this philosopher was visiting the schools of Bagdat, which was at this time the chief resort of the learned, his attempts to promote the study of philosophy, and to reconcile the doctrines of Islamism with the principles of reason, gave great offence to one of the interpreters of the Koran, who, doubtless, began to be afraid lest the increase of knowledge should expose the absurdity of the vulgar superstitions. This bigot publicly expressed the most vehement indignation against Al-Kendi, and accused him of impiety and heresy. Al-Kendi, however, instead of restraining the fury of his persecutor by violence, as through his interest with the Caliph he might easily have done, generously adopted the more gentle method of attempting to subdue his malignity by enlightening his understanding. Having detected the design which this Abu Maashar (that was the zealot's name) had formed upon his life, he employed against him no other weapons than the monitions and precepts of philosophy. Well knowing the power of wisdom to meliorate the temper, he found means to engage a preceptor to instruct him, first in mathematics, and afterwards in philosophy. The consequence was, that the man who had, not long before, inveighed with savage ferocity against Al-Kendi, soon became sensible of his folly, and offered himself as a pupil to the philosopher whom he had persecuted. Al-Kendi received him with the most meritorious condescension, and his convert became an

[a] L. c. p. 272. 178. Zachut. in Juchasin. p. 111.

ornament

ornament to his school. In fine, on account of his virtues no less than his learning, Al-Kendi is entitled to an honourable rank among philosophers.

Another Arabian, who must be mentioned among the teachers of philosophy and mathematics, is THABET EBN KORRA, who was of the antient sect of the Zabii, and wrote a summary of their doctrine. He acquired reputation as a mathematician, both in geometry and algebra, and left behind him several mathematical works: he flourished in the tenth century[a].

One of the most celebrated philosophers of the school of Bagdat was AL-FARABI, or more properly Abu Nasr, a native of Balch Farab[b], who flourished in the tenth century. He was born of wealthy parents, but, preferring the pursuits of philosophy to those of riches, he devoted himself to study at Bagdat, where he made such proficiency in learning, that he became one of the most eminent philosophers of his age. He studied mathematics and medicine, but chiefly excelled in logic. His learning and abilities were universally admired, and great men and princes were emulous to load him with honours and rewards. But Al-Farabi refused every offer of this kind; and, either through his love of philosophy, or perhaps through a natural gloominess of temper, gave himself up to solitude and an abstemious life. He constantly slept, even during winter, upon straw; his countenance was always sorrowful, and he found no consolation in any thing but philosophy. The cast of his mind led him to dread all intercourse with the world as destructive of innocence, and to lament the imperfection and vanity of human life. He employed his time in study, and read the writings of Aristotle with unwearied attention. He wrote sixty distinct treatises on different parts of the Aristotelian philosophy, which were read and admired, not only among the Arabians but also among the Jews, who began about this time to adopt the Aristotelian mode of philosophising. Many of his books were translated from Arabic into

[a] Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 184. Pococke, p. 377. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 564.

[b] A town in Asia Minor, afterwards called by the Turks Otrar.

Hebrew.

Hebrew. Logic, metaphyſics, and phyſics, were the ſubjects on which he chiefly treated. Among his phyſical writings are mentioned treatiſes on optics and aſtronomy [a].

As a philoſophical theologian, AL-ASHARI, or ESCIARI, obtained high renown. He applied an extenſive knowledge of the Peripatetic philoſophy to the explanation of the Iſlamitic law, and founded a new ſect among the Mahometan divines, who were from him called the Aſharites. His ſubtle reaſonings on theology, particularly on the eſſence and attributes of God, and on the concurrence of divine agency with human actions, rendered him univerſally famous. His ſect became exceedingly popular, and acquired ſuch authority, that all others were deemed heretical: his writings were read and explained in the ſchools; and a ſummary of his doctrine was committed to memory by children. Al-Aſhari died at Baſara in Arabia Felix, in the year nine hundred and forty-two [b].

Among the profeſſors of mathematical and phyſical ſcience, who at this time adorned the ſchool of Bagdat, one of the moſt celebrated was ABUL HUSEIN ESOPHI. He was ſo eminent an aſtronomer, that it was ſaid of him, that he underſtood the heavens better than the great geographer, Ptolemy, underſtood the earth. It is aſſerted that he was the firſt who deſcribed a celeſtial planiſphere. This philoſopher died about the middle of the tenth century [c].

In medicine and philoſophy, a high degree of reputation was obtained by AL-RASI, called alſo Abubeker and Al-Manſor, a native of Rai, in Perſia. After having been in his youth employed in merchandiſe, upon the death of his father he engaged, at thirty years of age, in the ſtudy of the medical art; at the ſame time availing himſelf of the opportunities which the ſchool of Bagdat, in which he ſtudied, afforded for the purſuit of other branches of knowledge. By a long courſe of ſtudy, and by the experience

[a] Leo Afric. de Vir. Illuſtr. Arab. c. 5. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 208. Pococke, p. 372. Gab. Sionit. de Mor. Orient p. 16. Fabr. v. xiii. p. 265. Weidler. Hiſt. Aſtr. c. 8.

[b] Leo Af. c. 2. Herbelot. Bibl. Or. p. 133, 261. Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. iii. c. 16.

[c] Leo Af. c. 3.

which

which he acquired from ſuperintending an hoſpital, he became ſo bold and ſucceſsful in the practice of medicine, that he was called the Experimenter, and the Arabian Galen. At the invitation of Al-Manſor, king of Corduba, he removed into Spain, where, under the patronage of that prince, he lived in wealth and ſplendour. He wrote a ſummary of medicine, which he dedicated to his patron, and which has, from this circumſtance, taken the title of Al-Manſor. Al-Raſi wrote many valuable treatiſes in medicine and chemiſtry. In philoſophy, among other works, he left a commentary on the ſublimer parts of metaphyſics. This piece, with moſt of his other writings, has been tranſlated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin. He died at Corduba, about the year nine hundred and eighty-ſix [a].

No ſmall degree of celebrity is annexed to the name of the phyſician AVICENNA, or Ibn-Sina, born at Bochara in the year nine hundred and ſeventy-eight. His firſt preceptor was Abu-Abdalla, a philoſopher whom his father engaged to inſtruct him in his own houſe: concerning whom Avicenna ſays, that he taught him the terms of logic, but was unacquainted with the nature of the art. Before he arrived at his eighteenth year, Avicenna, more, as it ſeems, through his own induſtry than by the aſſiſtance of preceptors, became well read in languages, in the Iſlamitic law, and in the ſciences. In order, however, to render himſelf a more perfect maſter of the ſublime doctrines of philoſophy, and the ſubtle queſtions of dialectics, he became a ſtudent in the ſchool of Bagdat. Here he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry, but at the ſame time with a fanatical ſpirit ſcarcely conſiſtent with manly ſenſe and ſound judgment. When he was perplexed with any logical queſtion, or could not diſcover a proper middle term for a ſyllogiſm, he uſed to repair to the moſque, and poured out prayers for divine illumination; after which he fancied, that the arguments and proofs he had ſought were communicated to him in his ſleep.

[a] Leo Af. c. 5. Abulfar. D. ix. p. 208. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 46. Herbelot. p. 18. Al-Raſi Op. ed. Baſil. 1544.

As was usual among the philosophers of Bagdat, Avicenna united with the study of philosophy the practice of medicine; and he soon acquired such a degree of reputation, that the Caliph consulted him, with respect to his son, in a case which perplexed the physicians of the court. His prescription succeeded; and the success obtained him admission to the court, and access to the library of the prince. From this time he continued to prosecute his studies with diligence, and to practise medicine with great applause. During this tide of prosperity, Avicenna had no small degree of influence in public affairs, and rapidly increased his possessions. An unfortunate circumstance, however, suddenly turned the current of his fortune, and removed him from the court to a prison. The sultan Jasoch-bagh proposing to send his nephew as his representative into the native country of Avicenna, the young prince obtained the sultan's permission to take Avicenna with him, as his companion and physician. The sultan was, not long afterwards, informed, that the young prince, with his brother, was meditating a rebellion. Upon this, he immediately sent secret orders to Avicenna, to take off the leader of the conspiracy by poison. The philosopher had too much fidelity to his master to fulfil the commission; but, at the same time, through caution or fear, chose to conceal the order from the young prince. But when Avicenna's master became, by some unknown means, acquainted with the sultan's design against his life, he was so highly offended with Avicenna for his dishonest reserve, in not communicating to him so important a circumstance, that he ordered him to be imprisoned. Avicenna endeavoured to justify himself, by pleading, that he had concealed the sultan's order, from the hope of preventing those mischiefs which he foresaw must have arisen from the discovery. The prince, however, suffered him to remain in prison from this time to his death, which he is said to have hastened by incontinence: he died in the fifty-eighth year of his age[a].

[a] Leo Afr. c. 7. Abulf. p. 230. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. Pococke. p. 362. Herbelot. p. 812. N. Anton. Bib. Vet. Hisp. t. ii. p. 6. Avic. Op. ed. Massæ, Venet. 1608.

Philoſophy was rather corrupted than improved by Avicenna. Though a ſuperſtitious admirer of Ariſtotle, he ſeems to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Peripatetic doctrine. His medicinal works are injudicious compilations from the Greek writers, full of obſcurity and error; nor was he more ſucceſsful in his writings upon logic, metaphyſics, or phyſics. Nevertheleſs Avicenna was, for a long time, greatly admired, and much followed, not only in the ſchools of the Saracens, but in thoſe of the Chriſtians. Hebrew and Latin verſions of his works are ſtill extant; but the tranſlators do not appear to have been ſufficiently maſters of the Arabic tongue to do juſtice to their author[a].

THOGRAI, a Perſian of Ispahan, who was Grand Vizier to the Sultan Malich Maſhud, is celebrated, for his poetical talents, a ſpecimen of which is given by Pococke; and for a Commentary which he wrote upon the Republic of Plato, a philoſopher to whom the Saracens paid little attention. After a ſtrange reverſe of fortune, he was put to death, by order of the ſultan, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-one[b].

We muſt not omit AL-GAZEL, of Tos, or Tus, in Aſia, celebrated, among the Mahometan theologians, for his numerous treatiſes in defence of the Mahometan religion againſt the Jews and Chriſtians; particularly for his "Demonſtration of Iſlamiſm," and his "Treatiſe on the Unity of God." Nevertheleſs, he did not eſcape the reproach of hereſy. One of his pieces, which freely cenſured ſome of the indulgences of the Iſlamitic law, found at Bagdat after his deceaſe, was condemned; and it was ordered, that if any copy of this work ſhould be found in any part of the Saracen empire, it ſhould be burned. The title of this book was "The Reſurrection of the Law of Science." He alſo wrote a treatiſe, "On the Opinions of Philoſophers;" and another, entitled, "The Deſtruction of Philoſophers." After living in great ſplendour as a

[a] Hottinger. Bib. Or. p. 218, 245. Bartolocc. Bib. Rabb. t. i. p. 6. Voſſ. de Phil. p. 272. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 272. Mercklin. de Script. Med. p. 99.

[b] Pococke ad. Carm. Thogr. p. 4. ed. Oxon. 1661. Leo Afr. c. 13.

public preceptor at Bagdat, he diſtributed his riches among the poor, aſſumed the habit of a hermit, and retired to Mecca. From Mecca he travelled into Syria and Egypt, and, ſtaying ſome time, firſt at Cairo, and afterwards at Alexandria, he returned to Bagdat, where he died[a].

If from Aſia we paſs over to the Moors in Africa and Europe, we ſhall, during the period of which we are now treating, meet with ſeveral celebrated Arabian philoſophers.

Esseriph Essachali, a native of Sicily, was famous for his knowledge of medicine, aſtrology, and coſmography. When Roger, duke of Apulia and Calabria, having been appointed king of Sicily by Pope Anacletus, was beſieging the town of Mazzara, the inhabitants ſent this philoſopher to Roger, to treat with him concerning terms of ſurrender. Eſſeriph, to intereſt Roger in his favour, preſented him with a work upon antient and modern geography. The king, pleaſed with the account which the author gave him of the deſign and plan of his work, ordered it to be tranſlated into Latin. Upon reading the tranſlation, he expreſſed great ſurprize, that the Mahometans ſhould be ſo much better acquainted with theſe ſubjects than the Chriſtians, and invited the author to remain in his court. The philoſopher refuſed his requeſt, and withdrew into Mauritania. Roger, however, ſtill continued to admire the book; and when he was aſked, why he did not prefer the geography of Ptolemy, a much more learned writer, he anſwered, "Ptolemy has deſcribed only a part of the world, Eſſeriph the whole." This philoſopher died at Cividat, in Africa, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-one[b].

Among the Spaniſh Saracens, Avenpace and Avenzoar are celebrated names. Avenpace, a Spaniard, wrote a commentary upon Euclid, and philoſophical and theological Epiſtles. He was intimately converſant with the Peripatetic philoſophy, and applied it to the illuſtration of the Iſlamic ſyſtem of theology, and to the explanation of the Koran. On this account, he was ſuſpected of

[a] Pococke, l. c. p. 371. Leo Afr. c. 12. Herbelot. p. 362.
[b] Pococke Spec. Hiſt. Ar. p. 373. Leo Afr. c. 14.

heresy,

heresy, and thrown into prison at Corduba. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century[a]. AVENZOAR, a native of Seville, the seat of the Caliphs, deserves notice, chiefly for the improvements which he made in the practice of medicine, and as the preceptor of Averroës. He died in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-eight[b].

About the same time flourished THOPHAIL, of Seville, famous for his medical skill, and for his knowledge of the Peripatetic philosophy. He was preceptor to Maimonides and Averroës. This philosopher employed the Aristotelian doctrine, as an instrument of enthusiasm, in the elegant tale, still extant, of *Hai Ebn Yockdan*[c], a youth, who, having been exposed when an infant upon the sea coast, was nourished by a hind, and grew up in the woods, without any intercourse with human beings; and who, by the unaided exertion of his powers, attained to the knowledge of things natural and super-natural, and arrived at the felicity of an intuitive intercourse with the Divine Mind. The piece is written with such elegance of language, and vigour of imagination, that, notwithstanding the improbability of the story, it has been universally admired. It exhibits a favourable specimen of Peripatetic philosophy, as it was taught among the Saracens; and, at the same time, affords a memorable example of the unnatural alliance, which was now so generally established, between philosophy and fanaticism[d]. Thophail died about the close of the twelfth century[e].

Of all the Arabian philosophers and physicians the most celebrated was AVERROES[f], a philosopher whom Christians as well as Arabians esteemed equal, if not superior, to Aristotle himself.

[a] Leo Af. c. 15. Abulf. ap. Pococke Specim. p. 385.

[b] Leo Afr. c. 16, 18. N. Anton. Bib. Hisp. t. ii. p. 232.

[c] Theophail. Philos. Autodid. cum Versione Lat. a Pococke, Oxon. 1700.

[d] This work was translated into English by S. Hockley, professor of Arabic in Cambridge. Ed. London, 1711. 8vo.

[e] Leo Afr. c. 17.

[f] Leo Afr. c. 20. N. Anton. l. c. t. ii. p. 243. Bayle. Pococke Spec. p. 385.

Averroës was born about the middle of the twelfth century, of a noble family at Corduba, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain. He was early inſtructed in the Iſlamitic law, and, after the uſual manner of the Arabian ſchools, united with the ſtudy of Mahometan theology that of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. Theſe ſtudies he purſued under Thophail, and became a follower of the ſect of the Aſharites. Under Avenzoar he ſtudied the ſcience of medicine, and under Ibnu-Saig he made himſelf maſter of the mathematical ſciences. Thus qualified, he was choſen, upon his father's demiſe, to the chief magiſtracy of Corduba. The fame of his extraordinary erudition and talents ſoon afterwards reached the Caliph Jacob Al-Manſor, king of Mauritania, the third of the Almohadean dynaſty, who had built a magnificent ſchool at Morocco[a]; and that prince appointed him ſupreme magiſtrate and prieſt of Morocco and all Mauritania, allowing him ſtill to retain his former honours. Having left a temporary ſubſtitute at Corduba, he went to Morocco, and remained there till he had appointed, through the kingdom, judges well ſkilled in the Mahometan law, and ſettled the whole plan of adminiſtration; after which he returned home, and reſumed his offices[b].

This rapid advancement of Averroës brought upon him the envy of his rivals at Corduba; and they conſpired to lodge an accuſation againſt him, for an heretical deſertion of the true Mahometan faith. For this purpoſe, they engaged ſeveral young perſons, among their dependants, to apply to him for inſtruction in philoſophy. Averroës, who was eaſy of acceſs, and always deſirous of communicating knowledge, complied with their requeſt, and thus fell into the ſnare which had been laid for him. His new pupils were very induſtrious in taking minutes of every tenet, or opinion, advanced by their preceptor, which appeared to contradict the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Mahometan theology. Theſe minutes they framed into a charge of hereſy, and atteſted upon oath, that they had been fairly taken from

[a] Leo Af. Hiſt. Afr. l. ii. p. 60.
[b] Leo Af. de Vir. Ar. p. 280.

his

his lips. The charge was ſigned by an hundred witneſſes. The Caliph liſtened to the accuſation, and puniſhed Averroës, by declaring him heterodox, confiſcating his goods, and commanding him for the future to reſide among the Jews, who inhabited the precincts of Corduba, where he remained an object of general perſecution and obloquy. Even the boys in the ſtreets pelted him with ſtones, when he went up to the moſque in the city to perform his devotions. His pupil, Maimonides, that he might not be under the neceſſity of violating the laws of friendſhip and gratitude, by joining the general cry againſt Averroës, left Corduba. From this unpleaſant ſituation Averroës at laſt found means to eſcape. He fled to Fez; but he had been there only a few days, when he was diſcovered by the magiſtrate, and committed to priſon. The report of his flight from Corduba was ſoon carried to the king, who immediately called a council of divines and lawyers, to determine in what manner this heretic ſhould be treated. The members of the council were not agreed in opinion. Some ſtrenuouſly maintained, that a man who held opinions ſo contrary to the law of the prophet deſerved death. Others thought, that much miſchief, ariſing from the diſſatisfaction of thoſe among the infidels who were inclined to favour him, might be avoided, by only requiring from the culprit a public penance, and recantation of his errors. The milder opinion prevailed; and Averroës was brought out of priſon to the gate of the moſque, and placed upon the upper ſtep, with his head bare, at the time of public prayers, and every one, as he paſſed into the moſque, was allowed to ſpit upon his face. At the cloſe of the ſervice, the judge, with his attendants, came to the philoſopher, and aſked him, whether he repented of his hereſies. He acknowledged his penitence, and was diſmiſſed without further puniſhment. With the permiſſion of the king, Averroës returned to Corduba, where he experienced all the miſeries of poverty and contempt. In proceſs of time the people became diſſatisfied with the regent who had ſucceeded Averroës, and petitioned the king that their former governor might be reſtored. J. Al-Manſor, not daring to ſhew ſuch indulgence to one who had been infamous for hereſy, without the

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conſent of the prieſthood, called a general aſſembly, in which it was debated, whether it would be conſiſtent with the ſafety of religion, and the honour of the law, that Averroës ſhould be reſtored to the government of Corduba. The deliberation terminated in favour of the penitent heretic, and he was reſtored, by the royal mandate, to all his former honours. Upon this fortunate change in his affairs, Averroës removed to Morocco, where he remained till his death, which happened, as ſome ſay, in the year one thouſand one hundred and ninety-five, or, according to others, in one thouſand two hundred and ſix[a].

Averroës is highly celebrated for his perſonal virtues. He practiſed the moſt rigid temperance, eating only, once in the day, the plaineſt food. So indefatigable was his induſtry in the purſuit of ſcience, that he often paſſed whole nights in ſtudy. In his judicial capacity, he diſcharged his duty with great wiſdom and integrity. His humanity would not permit him to paſs the ſentence of death upon any criminal; he left this painful office to his deputies. He poſſeſſed ſo great a degree of ſelf-command and patient lenity, that, when one of his enemies, in the midſt of a public diſcourſe, ſent a ſervant to him to whiſper ſome abuſive language in his ear, he took no other notice of what paſſed, than if it had been a ſecret meſſage of buſineſs. The next day, the ſervant returned, and publicly begged pardon of Averroës for the affront he had offered him; upon which Averroës only appeared diſpleaſed, that his patient endurance of injuries ſhould be brought into public notice, and diſmiſſed the ſervant with a gentle caution, never to offer that inſult to another, which had in the preſent inſtance paſſed unpuniſhed. Averroës ſpent a great part of his wealth in liberal donations to learned men, without making any diſtinction between his friends and his enemies; for which his apology was, that, in giving to his friends and relations, he only followed the dictates of Nature; but, in giving to his enemies, he obeyed the commands of Virtue. With uncommon abilities and learning, Averroës united great affability and urbanity

[a] Leo Afr. c. 20, &c. Bayle.

of

of manners. In fine, he may justly be reckoned one of the greatest men of his age[a].

In philosophy, however, Averroës partook of the enthusiasm of the times with respect to Aristotle, and paid a superstitious deference to his authority. Of this his preface to the Physics of Aristotle[b] affords a singular proof. "The writings of Aristotle," says he, "are so perfect, that none of his followers, through a space of fifteen hundred years, have been able to make the smallest improvement upon them, or to discover the least error in them; a degree of perfection, which is truly miraculous, and proves him to have been rather a divine than a human being." In another place, he says[c], "Let us bless God, who has raised this man above all others in perfection, and appropriated to him the highest degree of human excellence." And again; "The doctrine of Aristotle is the perfection of truth, and his understanding attained the utmost limit of human ability; so that it might be truly said of him, that he was created, and given to the world, by divine providence, that we might see in him, how much it is possible for man to know." Extravagant, however, as Averroës was in his admiration of Aristotle, it is unquestionably true, that he was unacquainted with the Greek language, and read the writings of his oracle in wretched Arabic translations, taken immediately from Latin, or Syriac, versions. The necessary consequence was, that his Commentaries on Aristotle were nothing better than a confused mass of error and misrepresentation. Yet such is the power of prejudice, that many learned men, since the revival of letters, have passed high encomiums upon Averroës as an excellent commentator. His writings of this kind were exceedingly numerous, and were so much admired by the Jews, that many of them were translated into Hebrew. Besides these, Averroës wrote a paraphrase of Plato's Republic; and a treatise in defence of philosophy against Al-Gazal, entitled *Happalath*

[a] Leo, l. c. [b] Ap. Malebranche Recherche, &c. l. ii. p. ii. c. 7.
[c] Ap. Lips. Manud. Stoic. l. i. Diss. 3, 4.

hahappalah, commonly cited under the name of *Destructorium destructorii*; and many other treatifes, in theology, jurifprudence, and medicine. He took great pains to improve the theory of medicine by the help of philofophy, and, particularly, to reconcile Ariftotle and Galen; but it does not appear that he practifed phyfic. Few of his writings are to be met with, except in Hebrew or Latin tranflations[a].

Much has been afferted concerning the impiety of Averroës, but without fufficient proof. It is probable, however, that he adhered with more devotion to his philofopher than to Mahomet, or any other legiflator; for it appears, that, after Ariftotle, he held the eternity of the world, and the exiftence of one Univerfal Intellect, inferior to Deity, the external fource of all human intelligence[b], and confequently denied the diftinct exiftence and immortality of the human foul.

Befides the Arabian philofophers which have been enumerated, there were others of inferior note, who acquired fome degree of celebrity by their commentaries upon Ariftotle, and other philofophical works, but which it is wholly unneceffary particularly to mention. There are alfo many great Arabian names, in aftronomy, mathematics, chemiftry, medicine, and other fciences; but, for a diftinct account of thefe, we muft refer to thofe writers, who have traced the rife and progrefs of the feveral branches of fcience through the Arabian fchools.*

[a] Leo l. c. Pococke ad Portam Mosis, p. 112. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 111, &c. Aver. Refp. Plat. ed. Venet. p. 1552. N. Anton. Bibl. Hifp. t. ii. p. 240. Huet. de claris Interp. p. 229. Mercklin. Lind. Renov. p. i. p. 94.

[b] Bayle. Conf. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. iii. c. 2.

* Vidend. Leo Africanus de Viris illuftr. ap. Arabos. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. 259. Goll. de Medic. et Phil. Arab. Dormius ad Jonf. de Script. Hift. Ph. l. iii. c. 28. § 5. Hottinger Bibl. Quadripart. l. iii. p. ii. c. 2. Abulfar. Hift. Oxon. 1663. 4to. Elmacini Hift. Saracen. Lugd. Bat. 1625. fol. Eutychii Annales. Ox. 1658. 4to. Hottinger. Hift. Orient. et Biblioth. Orient. Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Par. 1697. Ludewig. Hift. rationalis Phil. apud. Turcas. Lackemaker de Fatis Studio-

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rum inter Arabos. Horn. Hift. Phil. l. 5. Bayle. Conring. Antiq. Acad. Suppl. xix. xx. Friend's Hiftory of Medicine. Voff. [illegible] Scient. Toletan. Hift. Arab. Avicen. Vit. et Op. Ed. Maffæ. Venet. 1608. Meklin. Linden. Renov. Carm. Thograi Ed. Pococke. Ox. 1661. 8vo. Mod. Univ. Hift. v. xix. Affemanni Bibl. Or. Bibliander. de Orig. et Mor. Turcarum. Baf. 15[illegible]0.

CHAP. II.

OF THE NATURE AND SPIRIT OF THE SARACENIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE hiftorical view we have taken of the rife and progrefs of philofophy among the Arabians, and of the lives and characters of their more celebrated philofophers, will enable us to form an accurate idea of the nature and fpirit of their philofophy. This fubject will not, however, require a prolix difcuffion; for it is very evident, from the facts which have been related, that the Arabians did not frame a new fyftem, but merely revived the Peripatetic doctrine, the features of which have been already delineated. In what manner this doctrine, and the general ftate of philofophy, were affected by their connection with Iflamifm, and by the peculiar circumftances of the Saracen nations, it may be of fome importance to remark, and we fhall in this chapter endeavour to explain.

Before the introduction of the Mahometan religion among the Arabians (which happened in the year fix hundred and twenty-two) their manner of living was unfavourable to the progrefs of knowledge. Leading an unfettled and roving life, in which they were chiefly

chiefly employed in the care of their flocks and herds, they had little opportunity, or inducement, to apply to any kind of learning; and it does not appear, that they had among them any other proofs of advancement in knowledge, than that kind of poetry and eloquence, which are commonly found in the early ſtages of civilization, and that attention to aſtronomy, which was common in the Eaſtern nations, and is natural in paſtoral life. About the ſecond or third century (for there is no ſufficient authority for an earlier date) we find, indeed, that a ſect aroſe in Arabia under the name of the Zabii, who derived their notions from the antient religion of the Perſians, and from the dreams of the Oriental philoſophy concerning the divine nature. This ſect ſuppoſed human nature connected with the Supreme Deity by intermediate beings of various orders, Powers, Virtues, Spirits, whom they conceived to be inſtruments of communication between the Firſt Being and man, and to whom their religious worſhip was wholly addreſſed. They believed the bodies of the planets to be the habitations, or temples, of intelligent natures; and this notion became the baſis of a fanciful and ſuperſtitious ſyſtem of ſtar-worſhip. The Zabian ſect probably derived their opinions immediately from the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy of the Jews, and from the tenets of certain Chriſtian heretics, who, about the time when this ſect appears to have ariſen, reſided in Arabia and its vicinity. But, whatever was the origin of this ſect, it deſerves little attention; for it was no better than a nurſery of idle tales, and puerile ſuperſtitions. Of the latter, Abulfarius furniſhes the following example. The Zabii, believing in the reſurrection of the dead, at the funeral of a departed friend killed a camel upon his tomb, that at the reſurrection he might not be without a beaſt to ride upon[a].

Such was the ſtate of philoſophical knowledge in Arabia, at the time when Mahomet appeared. This bold adventurer ſeized the opportunity, which the general prevalence of ignorance and ſuperſtition among his countrymen afforded him, for paſſing himſelf upon

[a] Abulf. apud Pococke, l. c. p. 139. Maim. Mor. Nebh. l. iii. c. 29.

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the world as a divine prophet. Himſelf wholly illiterate, and aſſiſted by men who were better able to practiſe the arts of impoſture, than to teach the doctrine of truth and wiſdom, it is no wonder that the law, which this new prophet inſtituted, and to which he enjoined implicit obedience on pain of death, breathed little of the ſpirit of philoſophy. The great object of the artificers of this law was, to ſuit it to the feeble underſtandings, and groſs paſſions, of the ignorant multitude. For this purpoſe they filled it with vulgar notions, and romantic fables, as remote as poſſible from every thing rational. They who contend, upon the authority of certain Mahometan theologians, that whatever may be thought irrational in the Koran is to be taken figuratively, and explained in a philoſophical ſenſe, do not recollect, that the unlearned founder of the Iſlamitic law was a ſtranger to ſuch refinements, and that it was not till long after the eſtabliſhment of Iſlamiſm, that the neceſſity of introducing them was diſcovered. And even when the unphiloſophical ideas and language of the Koran obliged the teachers of Iſlamiſm, as they became more enlightened, to adopt the figurative and allegorical mode of interpretation, and produced the ſects of the Aſharites and Motazalitæ, there ſtill remained other ſects, particularly the Moſhabbehi and Cerami[a], who adhered to the vulgar notions, or choſe rather to impute their apparent abſurdity to human ignorance, than to abandon antient errors. The truth is, nothing could be more inimical to ſcience, than the blind aſſent which Mahomet required to the doctrines of the Koran; the violent means, which, as ſoon as he had acquired ſufficient ſtrength, he employed in propagating his religion; and the barbarous edict, by which he prohibited among his followers the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy. So ſucceſsful was this impoſtor in his attempts to prevent enquiry, and to bind his vaſſals in the chains of ignorance, that it became a common opinion among them, that the Koran was a complete ſummary of every thing neceſſary and uſeful to be known; and conſequently, that all other learning might be ſafely neglected. They believed that the book

[a] Pococke, l. c. p. 226. Port. Moſ. Diff. vii.

itſelf

itſelf was immediately ſent down from heaven; and violent diſſenſions, and even perſecutions, aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether the Koran was the created, or uncreated, Word of God. The firſt period of the Saracenic hiſtory, which includes the Ommiadean dynaſty, may be called the barbarous age of Arabian philoſophy [a].

After the acceſſion of the Abbaſidean dynaſty, we have indeed ſeen that learning, and learned men, enjoyed the countenance and protection of the Arabian princes. But philoſophy was rather called in to perform the office of a ſervile auxiliary to Iſlamiſm, than to reſume her natural authority over the human mind, and reſcue it from the tyranny of ſuperſtition. The princes themſelves, rigidly tenacious of the doctrine of Mahomet, regarded with indignation every attempt to weaken its authority; and employed their learned men rather in rivetting, than in looſening, the fetters which the founder of their religion had thrown over the underſtandings of men [b]. In the moſt enlightened period of Arabian philoſophy, the utmoſt that was attempted was, to apply the principles of philoſophy to the correction of the abſurdities of Mahometaniſm. The learned profeſſors of their ſchools were, indeed, thoroughly convinced, that Iſlamiſm could not long ſubſiſt, unleſs it were corrected by philoſophy. But in endeavouring to give a philoſophical air to the crudities and abſurdities of the Koran, the ingenuity of learned men, reſtrained by reverence for authority, framed a ſyſtem of opinions, in which, neither the true meaning and ſpirit of the Iſlamitic law were preſerved, nor the freedom of philoſophical ſpeculation was indulged; whence numerous ſects aroſe, in which an unnatural alliance was long maintained between philoſophy and ſuperſtition [c].

Two miſchievous conſequences followed this alliance. The firſt was, that the abſurd dogmas of the Koran were by this means ſo

[a] Pococke, p. 220.
[b] Elmacin. l. c. l. ii. c. 6, 8, 16. Eutych. Ann. t. ii. p. 375. 400—20. 472.
[c] Pococke, l. c. p. 213.—219.

far gloſſed over, or blended with more rational tenets, that the Mahometans imagined themſelves poſſeſſed of a law, which would harmoniſe with philoſophy, and with the doctrines of other religions, and were hereby confirmed in their attachment to a ſyſtem founded in abſurdity, and ſupported by impoſture. The ſecond, that when it was diſcovered that the letter of the Mahometan law would not eaſily accord with philoſophical notions, and that in attempting to produce this union inextricable difficulties and endleſs diſputes aroſe, ſome reſolved at once to treat all theſe ſpeculations with contempt, and, without the trouble of inquiry, to acquieſce in the doctrines of the prevailing religion, however irrational; whilſt others perplexed themſelves with ſubtle diſputations, till they were loſt in the miſts of ſcepticiſm, or in the thick darkneſs of atheiſm. Of this latter iſſue of Arabian polemics, the hiſtory of Iſlamiſm affords many examples [a].

How ineffectual the efforts of philoſophy were to ſolve the difficulties which aroſe in theology, appears from the diſputes which were long carried on, with great ſubtlety and much animoſity, among the different ſects of Mahometans, concerning the decrees of God, and the freedom of the human will. Modern ingenuity has ſcarely been able to invent a diſtinction on this obſcure ſubject, which may not be found in the Arabian controverſialiſts; yet, after all, the queſtion remains undecided [b].

Another cauſe of the imperfect ſucceſs of the Arabians in philoſophy, notwithſtanding all the induſtry and ſpirit with which they proſecuted theſe ſtudies, may be found in the ſtate of knowledge among the Chriſtians, at the period when philoſophy paſſed over from them to the followers of Mahomet. In the ſecond age of Iſlamiſm, that is about the latter end of the eighth century, when philoſophy began to be ſtudied at Bagdat, the Eclectic ſect being,

[a] Reimmann. Hiſt. Ath. p. 536. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 4. l. iii. c. 6. Hottinger. Hiſt. Or. l. i. c. 8. l. ii. c. 6. Herbelot. Bib. Or. p. 929. Pococke, p. 240.

[b] Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 83. Reland. de Rel. Muhammid. l. ii. § 3. Pococke, p. 241. Hottinger. l. ii. c. 6.

as

as we have ſeen, nearly extinct, together with Paganiſm, almoſt the whole Chriſtian world profeſſed themſelves followers of Ariſtotle; but derived their ideas of his philoſophy, not from the pure fountain of his own writings, but from the adulterated ſtreams of commentators, who were deeply infected with the Eclectic ſpirit of the Alexandrian ſchools, ſuch as Porphyry, Themiſtius, Simplicius, and Joannes Philoponus. When therefore the Saracen princes, and chiefly Al-Mamon, became deſirous of introducing philoſophy among their ſubjects, and for this purpoſe invited learned Chriſtians to their court, it was impoſſible that the Arabians ſhould be inſtructed in any other ſyſtem of philoſophy than the Peripatetic, or that even of this they ſhould form more than a very imperfect and obſcure conception[a].

This will ſtill more fully appear, if it be conſidered, through how obſcure a medium the Arabian philoſophers looked into the mind of Ariſtotle. Not only were they unaccuſtomed to metaphyſical abſtraction, and unacquainted with the general hiſtory of antient philoſophy, but they were even ignorant of the Greek language, and were obliged to have recourſe to Arabic verſions, and theſe not taken immediately from the originals, but from Syriac tranſlations, made by Greek Chriſtians at a period when barbariſm was overſpreading the Eaſtern world, and philoſophy was almoſt extinct. The firſt tranſlators themſelves were ill-qualified to give a true repreſentation of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, ſo obſcurely delivered by its author, and ſo wretchedly defaced by his commentators. What then was to be expected from the ſecond claſs of tranſlators, who implicitly followed ſuch blind guides? The truth is, that the Arabian tranſlators and commentators executed their taſk neither judiciouſly nor faithfully; frequently miſtaking the ſenſe of their author, adding many things which are not in the original, and omitting many paſſages which they did not underſtand. Theſe errors were transferred, with no ſmall increaſe, into the ſubſequent Latin verſions, and became the cauſe of innumerable miſcon-

[a] Hottinger. Bib. Or. c. 2.

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ceptions and abſurdities in the Chriſtian ſchools of the Weſt; where the doctrines of Ariſtotle, after having paſſed through the hands of the Alexandrians and Saracens, produced that wonderful maſs of ſubtleties called the ſcholaſtic philoſophy [a].

From theſe premiſes, it is eaſy to infer the true ſtate of philoſophy among the Saracens. In every branch of ſcience, in which Ariſtotle led the way, the Arabian philoſophers followed him as an infallible guide. Logic was diligently cultivated in their ſchools, but always with a ſervile adherence to the Ariſtotelian method [b]. In metaphyſics, though ſome of theſe philoſophers, particularly Averroës, reaſoned with great ſubtlety, they chiefly made uſe of the abſtract conceptions and nice diſtinctions of the Peripatetic philoſophy, for the purpoſe of caſting a veil over the groſs and unphiloſophical dogmas of the Koran. In morals, ſome of the Arabians, after the example of Ariſtotle, taught political and civil precepts of wiſdom in popular ſentences and aphoriſms; whilſt others, upon the metaphyſical ground of the Ariſtotelian doctrine concerning the ſupreme good and the firſt cauſe, framed a myſtical ſyſtem of ethics, which placed the perfection of human nature in the intuitive viſion of God, and an eſſential union with the divine nature. Of the former kind of moral writings are, "A Collection of the Moral Sayings of Wiſe Men," by Ibn Havaſen Cuſiira, and "The Perſian Roſary [c]:" of the latter kind, are the "Myſtic Poems" of Ibn Ahmed Buſiris, and an allegorical piece "On the Love of God," by Omar Ibn Phared [d]. The mathematical ſciences were cultivated with great induſtry by the Arabians, and in Arithmetic, both Particular and Univerſal, their inventions and improvements were valuable; but in Geometry, they were ſo far from adding any thing new to the treaſures which were left by the Greek mathematicians, that they in many particulars corrupted their doctrine. An Arabic verſion of

[a] Patricii Diſcuſſ. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 143. Huet. de claris Interp. l. ii. p. 198. Renaudot. Ep. in Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 812.

[b] Hottinger. Bib. Or. c. ii. p. 218.

[c] Ib. p. 259.

[d] Ib. p. 263.

Euclid, preserved at Rome, and published by order of Pope Sextus V. gives the propositions in a form so confused and mutilated, as to afford an unequivocal proof, that the translator was very imperfectly acquainted with his author's method of reasoning. A similar want of accuracy has been observed in the Arabic version of "The Sphærics of Theodosius," and of Ptolemy's "Doctrine of the Projection of the Sphere[a]." In Medicine, to which the Arabians paid much attention, their chief guides were Hippocrates and Galen; but, by attempting to reconcile the doctrine of these writers with the physiology of Aristotle, they introduced into their medical system many inconsistent tenets, and many useless refinements[b]. In the science of Botany, though they made choice of no unskilful guide, and spent much labour in interpreting him, they frequently, for want of understanding the subject, mistook his meaning so egregiously, that in the Arabian translations, a botanist would scarcely suppose himself reading Dioscorides: nor were they more successful in other branches of natural history. Their discoveries in Chemistry, which, it is confessed were not inconsiderable, were concealed under the occult mysteries of alchymy. Even in astronomy, where they obtained the highest reputation, they made few improvements upon the Greek authors whom they followed; as appears from the Arabic version of the Almagest of Ptolemy, and from their account of the number of the fixed stars[c]. There is one science, indeed, in which the Arabians must be acknowledged to have excelled all other philosophers, that which treats of the influence of the stars and planets upon the affairs of this world; but this science, if Astrology can deserve the name, owes its existence and continuance entirely to ignorance, superstition, and imposture; and, therefore, can reflect no honour upon the people by whom it was cultivated.

Upon the whole it appears, that when philosophy, in order to escape the violence of barbarism, took refuge in Arabia, she met

[a] Friend. Hist. Med. p. ii. p. 12.
[b] Ib. p. 14. [c] Ib. p. 11.

with no very hoſpitable reception. The Saracens were too much under the dominion of authority and prejudice, to be capable of proſecuting the ſearch after truth with an independent ſpirit. Wanting ſufficient confidence in their own abilities, they choſe rather to put them under the direction of Ariſtotle, or any other guide, than to ſpeculate for themſelves with the freedom of true philoſophy: the conſequence was, that, notwithſtanding all their induſtry and ingenuity, they contributed little towards enlarging the field of human knowledge. We do not mean to aſſert, that there were no great men among the Arabians, or that philoſophy owed nothing to their exertions. We freely confeſs, that it was in a great meaſure owing to the light of learning and ſcience, which ſhone in Arabia, that the whole earth was not at this time overwhelmed with intellectual darkneſs. But thus much may be with confidence aſſerted, that the advances which the Arabians made in knowledge was very inconſiderable, compared with what has been done in modern times; and that, in the preſent enlightened ſtate of the world, ſcience can ſuffer no material loſs, if their writings be permitted quietly to repoſe in that oblivion to which time has conſigned them. The Arabians certainly fell far ſhort of the Greeks in general knowledge; and it was only in a very few particulars that they made any additions to the fund of antient wiſdom. Since the original writings of the Greeks are come down to the preſent times, we have little reaſon to regret the want of thoſe remains of Arabian learning, which are ſtill untranſlated[a].

The method we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this work, would now lead us to enter into a diſtinct detail of the ſeveral branches of the Arabian philoſophy; but ſince their tenets, as far as they are diſtinct from the peculiar dogmas of the Koran, are, without variation, thoſe of the Peripatetic ſchool, which have been already explained at large, this part of our taſk is ſuperſeded. We ſhall therefore

[a] Conring. Acad. Sup. 23. p. 257. Lud. Vives de Cauſ. Corrupt. l. v. p. 167. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 816.

conclude our account of the Saracenic philoſophy, by ſubjoining, in a few words, the theological tenets and moral precepts of the Arabians, after they were enlightened by a free intercourſe with Jewiſh and Chriſtian philoſophers.

According to Al-Gazel, the doctrine of the Arabians concerning God and Spiritual Natures was as follows [a]:

God created all things from nothing, and doth whatever he pleaſeth. In his eſſence he is one, without companion or equal, eternal and immutable. He has no corporeal form, nor is circumſcribed by any limits. He neither exiſts in any thing, nor does any thing exiſt in him. The divine eſſence admits of no multiplicity; his attributes therefore do not ſubſiſt in his eſſence, but are his eſſence itſelf. That God exiſts, is known by the apprehenſion of the intellect in this world, and in the eternal habitation of the holy and bleſſed, by immediate viſion and intuition. Whatever happens in nature, happens according to the will and appointment of God, whoſe decrees are in all things irreſiſtible. The Law, or Word of God, is eternal and uncreated. God has created all things for the manifeſtation of his glory, and will reward his worſhippers, not according to their merit, but according to his own munificence. Angels, the ſervants of the moſt high God, are clothed with ethereal bodies of different forms, and have different offices aſſigned them; and, though neither their names nor diſtinctions are known, they ought to be loved and honoured. The ſouls of men are immortal, and their bodies will be raiſed from the dead. In the interval between death and the reſurrection, ſouls remain in an intermediate ſtate; and after the reſurrection, the good and faithful ſhall be rewarded, and the wicked and unbelieving ſhall be puniſhed: but they who, after having ſuffered puniſhment, ſhall confeſs One God, will, through his favour, be releaſed from their confinement, and placed among the bleſſed [b].

[a] Apud Pococke Spec. p. 220—274. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Compend. Ultraj. 1717. Port. Moſ. p. 230.

[b] Conf. Theophail. Vit. Hai Ebn Yockdan. Ed. Pococke Ox. 1700.

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With respect to morals, Mahomet, notwithstanding all his pretensions, did little. Although he laid a good foundation, in the belief of one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, he was so far from raising hereupon a superstructure of rational ethics, that he relaxed the bonds of morality; partly, by representing future happiness as chiefly consisting in corporeal and sensual pleasures; and partly, by giving his followers a code of laws, in which atonement is made for moral defects and irregularities by the observance of superstitious rites and ceremonies. After the introduction of philosophy among the Arabians, the ethical system of Mahomet was, however, materially improved; so that it would be unfair to ascribe to the whole Mahometan world, or even to the Mahometan religion itself, as it was in process of time corrected by philosophy, all the defects and errors of the moral doctrine taught by the Illiterate Prophet.

The fundamental precepts of Islamism are these: Believe in one God, and in Mahomet the prophet of God. Perform the appointed ablutions. Pray to God devoutly at the stated seasons, and according to the prescribed forms. Keep strictly the fasts enjoined by the law, especially the thirty days of the month Ramadan. Let your prayers and fastings be accompanied with alms-givings. Visit the holy temple at Mecca [a].

Besides the precepts of the Koran, the Arabians have always had among them lessons of moral wisdom, written in verse, in the form of aphorisms. Several collections of these sentences have been made by modern writers, from which it appears, that the Arabians, though they did not treat the doctrine of ethics scientifically, were very capable of thinking justly, and writing elegantly, on moral subjects [b]. One poet, in particular, appeared among them, who wrote a beautiful compendium of Oriental Ethics, under the title

[a] Vid. Lib. Mostatraf. ap. Pococke Spec. p. 301. Reland. l. c. Sale's Koran.

[b] Erpenii Centur. Proverb. Arab. Galland. les Paroles Remarq. des Orient. Paris, 1694. 12°. Hottinger. Hist. Or. l. ii. c. 5.

of the PERSIAN ROSARY [a]. This was EDDIN SADI, a Perſian, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Turks invaded Perſia, withdrew from his own country, and ſettled at Bagdat, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies. After experiencing much viciſſitude of fortune, he returned home, and compiled the book juſt mentioned, which he completed in the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven. This work has been univerſally read in the Eaſt; and has been tranſlated into Latin, and into ſeveral modern languages. From this Roſary, which is divided into eight chapters, we ſhall cull a few of the choiceſt flowers.

1. Paradiſe will be the reward of thoſe kings who reſtrain their reſentment, and know how to forgive. A king, who inſtitutes unjuſt laws, undermines the foundation of his kingdom. Let him, who neglects to raiſe the fallen, fear, leſt when he himſelf falls, no one will ſtretch out his hand to lift him up. Adminiſter juſtice to your people, for a day of judgment is at hand. The diſhoneſt ſteward's hand will ſhake, when he comes to render an account of his truſt. Be juſt, and fear not. Oppreſs not thy ſubjects, leſt the ſighing of the oppreſſed ſhould aſcend to heaven. If you wiſh to be great, be liberal; for, unleſs you ſow the ſeed, there can be no increaſe. Aſſiſt and relieve the wretched, for misfortunes may happen to yourſelf. Wound no man unneceſſarily; there are thorns enough in the path of human life. If a king take an apple from the garden of a ſubject, his ſervants will ſoon cut down the tree. The flock is not made for the ſhepherd, but the ſhepherd for the flock.

2. Excel in good works, and wear what you pleaſe: innocence and piety do not conſiſt in wearing an old or coarſe garment. Learn virtue from the vicious; and what offends you in their conduct, avoid in your own. If you have received an injury, bear

[a] Ed. Gentii. Amſtel. 1651. fol. Lit. Perſic. cum verſ. Lat. fol. Amſt. 1651. Lat. ver. 12°. 1655. Hottinger. l. c.

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it patiently: by pardoning the offences of others, you will waſh away your own. Him, who has been every day conferring upon you new favours, pardon, if, in the ſpace of a long life, he ſhould have once done you an injury. Reſpect the memory of the good, that your good name may live for ever.

3. In your adverſity, do not viſit your friend with a ſad countenance; for you will embitter his cup: relate even your misfortunes with a ſmile; for wretchedneſs will never reach the heart of a cheerful man. He who lives upon the fruits of his own labour, eſcapes the contempt of haughty benefactors. Always encounter petulance with gentleneſs, and perverſeneſs with kindneſs: a gentle hand will lead the elephant itſelf by a hair. When once you have offended a man, do not preſume that a hundred benefits will ſecure you from revenge: an arrow may be drawn out of a wound, but an injury is never forgotten. Worſe than the venom of a ſerpent, is the tongue of an enemy, who pretends to be your friend.

4. It is better to be ſilent upon points we underſtand, than to be put to ſhame by being queſtioned upon things of which we are ignorant. A wiſe man will not contend with a fool. It is a certain mark of folly, as well as rudeneſs, to ſpeak whilſt another is ſpeaking. If you are wiſe, you will ſpeak leſs than you know.

5. Although you can repeat every word of the Koran, if you ſuffer yourſelf to be enſlaved by love, you have not yet learned your alphabet. The immature grape is ſour; wait a few days, and it will become ſweet. If you reſiſt temptation, do not aſſure yourſelf that you ſhall eſcape ſlander. The reputation, which has been fifty years in building, may be thrown down by one blaſt of calumny. Liſten not to the tale of friendſhip, from the man who has been capable of forgetting his friend in adverſity.

6. Perſeverance accompliſhes more than precipitation; the patient mule, which travels ſlowly night and day, will in the end go further than an Arabian courſer. If you are old, leave ſports and jeſts to

the young: the ſtream, which has paſſed away, will not return into its channel.

7. Inſtruction is only profitable to thoſe who are capable of receiving it: bring an aſs to Mecca, and it will ſtill return an aſs. If you would be your father's heir, learn his wiſdom: his wealth you may expend in ten days. He who is tinctured with good principles while he is young, when he is grown old will not be deſtitute of virtue. If a man be deſtitute of knowledge, prudence, and virtue, his door-keeper may ſay, No-body is at home. Give advice where you ought; if it be not regarded, the fault is not yours.

8. Two kinds of men labour in vain: they who get riches, and do not enjoy them; and they who learn wiſdom, and do not apply it to the conduct of life. A wiſe man, who is not at the ſame time virtuous, is a blind man carrying a lamp: he gives light to others, whilſt he himſelf remains in darkneſs. If you wiſh to ſleep ſoundly, provide for to-morrow. Truſt no man, even your beſt friend, with a ſecret; you will never find a more faithful guardian of the truſt than yourſelf. Let your misfortunes teach you compaſſion: he knows the condition of the wretched, who has himſelf been wretched. Exceſſive vehemence creates enmity; exceſſive gentleneſs, contempt: be neither ſo ſevere, as to be hated; nor ſo mild, as to be inſulted. He who throws away advice upon a conceited man, himſelf wants an adviſer. In a ſingle hour you may diſcover, whether a man has good ſenſe; but it will require many years to diſcover, whether he has good temper. Three things are unattainable; riches without trouble, ſcience without controverſy, and government without puniſhment. Clemency to the wicked is an injury to the good. If learning were baniſhed from the earth, there would, notwithſtanding, be no one who would think himſelf ignorant.

The whole book from which the preceding ſentences are extracted, whether written from the author's own conceptions, or compiled

piled from other ſources, deſerves to be read as an elegant ſpecimen of Arabian morals *.

* Vidend. Boulainvillier Vie de Mahomet. Erneſt. Gerhard. de Theol. Muhammed. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Renaudot. Epiſt. ad Dacier de exiguo pretio verſ. Arab in Fab. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 812. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 10. Compend. Theol. Muham. Ultraject. 1717. 8vo. Pfeffer. Theol. Jud. atque Moham. Kruger de Fato Muhamm. Lipſ. 1759.

BOOK VI.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANTIENT CHRISTIANS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

IN the preceding books we have traced the hiſtory of Pagan, Jewiſh, and Mahometan philoſophy, from the earlieſt times to the period of literary and philoſophical darkneſs called the Middle Age. We next proceed to mark the progreſs of philoſophy among Chriſtians from the birth of Jeſus Chriſt to the eighth century, when, as will afterwards appear, it ſuffered material alteration and corruption in the Chriſtian ſchools.

Although JESUS CHRIST demands attention and reverence under a much more exalted character than that of a philoſopher, yet it will not be queſtioned by thoſe who are more inclined to regard the real nature of things than to cavil about words, that the Chriſtian religion merits, in the higheſt ſenſe, the appellation of philoſophy. For the weighty truths which it teaches, reſpecting God and man, are adapted to produce in the minds of men the genuine principles

of wiſdom, and to conduct them to true felicity. At the ſame time that it enlightens the underſtanding, it intereſts the heart; exhibiting Divine Wiſdom in her faireſt form, and ſupporting her authority by the moſt powerful ſanctions. The ſchool of Chriſt is free from the errors and abſurdities with which the pureſt ſyſtems of Pagan philoſophy abounded, and teaches every important principle and precept of religion and morals, with a degree of ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and energy, which, in connection with other more direct proofs, affords no inconſiderable evidence of the divine authority of the Chriſtian religion. It muſt, therefore, be the intereſt of every one, who is deſirous of making a right uſe of his reaſon, and attaining true wiſdom, to become a diſciple of Chriſt.

On theſe grounds, doubtleſs, it was, that the Chriſtian fathers ſo frequently ſpoke of Chriſtianity under the title of True and Evangelical Philoſophy[a], and called the profeſſors of the Chriſtian faith, Divine Philoſophers[b]. In this application of the term, they were, however, far from meaning to pay any reſpect to Pagan wiſdom; their intention was, on the contrary, to intimate that the wiſdom, which had been long ſought in the ſchools of heathen philoſophers, was only to be met with in the ſchool of Chriſt.

The founder of the Chriſtian faith was early ranked, both by the enemies and the friends of Chriſtianity, among philoſophers. Lucian claſſes him with Pythagoras, Apollonius Tyanæus, and Alexander. Several of the Platonic philoſophers ſpeak of him as a man animated by a divine dæmon, and ſent from heaven for the inſtruction of mankind. The Jews early accuſed him of practiſing magical arts. Some of the Pagan adverſaries of Chriſtianity even aſſerted that Chriſt was indebted, for his doctrine, to the heathen philoſophers, and particularly to Plato[c]. On the other ſide, among

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. fin. p. 357. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 27. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Affect. l. xii.

[b] Clem. Al. l. c. l. vi. p. 642. l. ii. p. 380. Lactant. de Op. Dei. c. i. p. 671.

[c] Lucian. Peregr. t. iv. p. 220. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. Origen cont. Celſum, l. vi. p. 279. Aug. Epiſt. 34. Conf. Bibl. Univ. t. x. p. 402. Balt. Def. de SS. Peres, l. iv. c. 11.

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the Chriſtians, falſe ſtories were early circulated (probably by the Gnoſtics, in order to obtain credit to their fanciful tenets), concerning the ſupernatural wiſdom of Chriſt in his childhood, many of which are to be found in a ſuppoſititious book[a] entitled, "The Goſpel of the Infancy;" and other fabulous reports of a ſimilar nature obtained too much credit in the early ages of the church. But if, without regarding either the calumnies of infidels, or the tales of ſuperſtitious believers, we adhere to the ſimple account given of Jeſus Chriſt by the Evangeliſts, we ſhall find no difficulty in admitting, that he was appointed by God to teach men a kind of wiſdom far ſuperior to the ſubtleties of ſpeculative philoſophy, and to confirm them in the belief and expectation of a future ſtate; and conſequently, that, whatever reſpect he might have claimed as a philoſopher, he is entitled to much higher regard, as the Meſſenger of Divine Truth, and the Author of Eternal Salvation.

The Apostles of Jeſus Chriſt, who were appointed by him to teach the goſpel to all nations, like their maſter, relied more upon the divine authority which attended their embaſſy, than upon any human abilities or attainments. "They ſpoke, not with the enticing words of man's wiſdom, but with the demonſtration of the ſpirit, and with power[b]." So far were they from affecting human learning, that they frequently expreſſed contempt for the philoſophy of the age; becauſe they ſaw, that philoſophers mingled with the truth many falſe opinions and vain fables, and involved themſelves in endleſs controverſies, moſt of which were, in fact, a mere "ſtrife of words." The apoſtle Paul, writing to the Chriſtians at Coloſs, ſays[c], "Beware leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt." This apoſtle was not indeed unfur-

[a] Fabric. Cod. ap. N. T. p. iii. p. 424. t. i. p. 168. Conf. Iren. adv. Hæreſ. l. i. c. 17.

[b] 1. Cor. ii. 6.

[c] Col. ii. 8. Conf. Eph. iv. 6. Acts xvii. 18.

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niſhed with learning, having ſtudied Jewiſh wiſdom under Gamaliel, and having, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in his epiſtles, and from ſome incidents in his life, acquired, probably at Tarſus, his native place, a competent knowledge of Greek literature. But he diſclaimed all confidence in theſe attainments, and relied for ſucceſs upon the intrinſic excellence of the Chriſtian doctrine, and the divine power by which it was ſupported. And, with reſpect to the reſt of the apoſtles, they were, unqueſtionably, men deſtitute of the advantages of a learned education; the author of our holy religion purpoſely chooſing his miniſters out of the claſs of the vulgar and illiterate, that his cauſe might the more evidently appear to depend upon its own purity and truth, without the aid of human wiſdom. There is, then, no ſufficient reaſon for ranking the apoſtles of Chriſt, as ſome Chriſtian writers have done[a], in the claſs of philoſophers.*

[a] Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. v. c. 3. See Bp. Horſley's Sermon on 1. Cor. xii. 4.

* Vidend. Jonſ. Scr. Hiſt. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Lamius de Erud. Apoſt. c. 16. Miſcell. Lipſ. Obſ. 96. t. v. Miſcell. Berolin. p. iii. n. 11. Suidas, t. ii. p. 97. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 56. Elſwich Diff. de Philoſ. viris ſac. temere affict. Sandii Interp. Paradox. p. 151. Clerici in Joan. Ev. c. 1.

CHAP. II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS, CONSIDERED IN GENERAL.

AFTER the example of the apoſtles, their immediate followers, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of APOSTOLIC MEN, were more deſirous to teach the divine doctrine which they had received from Jeſus Chriſt in ſimplicity and truth, than to render themſelves illuſtrious by any diſplay of human learning. They had no other deſign, than to ſpread the knowledge of Chriſt and his goſpel in the world; and they executed this deſign with ſimplicity, fidelity, and magnanimity, without the aid of rhetorical embelliſhments, or philoſophical refinement. Their genuine epiſtles, particularly thoſe of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp, bear many marks of that ſincerity and zeal, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the writings of the apoſtles. But ſome pieces are aſcribed to the Apoſtolic Men, which carry with them many internal proofs of forgery. To this claſs belong "The ſecond Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus;" "The Apoſtolic Canons;" "The Apoſtolic Conſtitutions;" "The Recognitions of Clement;" "The Clementines;" "The Larger Epiſtles of Ignatius;" "The Epiſtle of Barnabas;" and "The Shepherd of Hermas." The Clementines, and Recognitions of Clement, were probably written in the third century, by ſome Jewiſh Chriſtian of Alexandria, who made Clemens ſpeak the language of an Alexandrian philoſopher, in hopes of defeating the philoſophers with their own weapons. But this practice of corrupting the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic doctrine commenced much earlier than the third century. The firſt witneſſes of Chriſtianity had ſcarcely left the world, when the Shepherd of Hermas appeared; a work too ſtrongly marked with the character of philoſophical fanaticiſm

fanaticiſm to be received as the genuine production of an apoſtolic man. The writer of this work certainly borrowed from the Platonic ſchools, or from the Jewiſh Cabbaliſts, his doctrines of a good or bad angel attending every man, and producing all his virtuous or vicious inclinations; and of a peculiar angel appointed to preſide over each animal[a].

The fathers of the Chriſtian church ſoon departed from the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic age, and corrupted the purity of the Chriſtian faith. This is chiefly to be aſcribed to two cauſes: firſt, the practice, which at that time ſo generally prevailed, of clothing the doctrines of religion in an allegorical dreſs; and ſecondly, the habit of ſubtle ſpeculation, which the more learned converts from Paganiſm brought with them from the ſchools of philoſophy.

The practice of allegorical interpretation, which the Jews had learned from the Egyptians, and which, before the time of Chriſt was common among them, the early converts to Chriſtianity brought out of the Jewiſh into the Chriſtian church. Some traces of this method of interpretation we find in the New Teſtament, particularly in St. Paul's argument againſt the Jewiſh advocates for the perpetual and univerſal obligation of the Moſaic Ritual, drawn from the hiſtory of Abraham, in the epiſtle to the Galatians[b]; and in the typical application of the ceremonial appointments of Moſes to the Chriſtian inſtitution, in the epiſtle to the Hebrews. But a leſs ſober and judicious uſe was made of this kind of language by the Chriſtian fathers. This was more eſpecially the caſe with thoſe Gentile converts who had been educated in the Alexandrian ſchools, where, by the help of allegory, the ſeveral ſyſtems of philoſophy were mixed and confounded; and with thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians, who, by the ſame means, had been inſtructed in the Cabbaliſtic doctrines, which, before this time, had ſprung up in Egypt, and paſſed thence into Judea. Several of thoſe ſects of

[a] L. i. Mand. 6. v. iv. c. 2. Hieron. in Habac. l. i. ad c. i. 14. Conf. Plut. de Tranq. Anim. t. ii. p. 263. Theodor. de Cur. Gr. Affect. S. 3. Cenſorin. de Die Nat. c. 3. Philo de Anim. c. 3. Cabbal. denud. t. i. p. 3. p. 121.

[b] C. iv. v. 22.

Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, who were called Heretics, particularly the Valentinian Gnoſtics, made uſe of allegorical language to diſguiſe the unnatural alliance which they had introduced between the fanciful dogmas of the Oriental philoſophy, and the ſimple doctrine of Chriſt. The orthodox fathers of the church, too, defended themſelves with the ſame armour, both againſt heretics and infidels; applying, with more ingenuity than judgment, the ſymbolical method of interpretation to the ſacred ſcriptures. In the ſame manner in which Philo and other Alexandrian Jews had corrupted the Jewiſh church, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and other diſciples of the Alexandrian ſchool, in the ſecond century, introduced error and corruption into the church of Chriſt [a].

The light of Chriſtianity having, by this time, been ſpread through a great part of the Roman empire, many learned men, who had ſtudied and profeſſed philoſophy, tired of the fruitleſs diſputes which had ſo long been carried on among the Grecian ſects, and diſguſted with the infamous and fraudulent practices of many who called themſelves philoſophers, paſſed over to another maſter, from whom, on account of thoſe characters of divinity which they ſaw ſtamped upon his doctrine, they aſſured themſelves of receiving that ſatisfaction, which they had in vain ſought in the ſchools of Pagan wiſdom. Comparing the obſcurity and barrenneſs of the ſpeculations in which they had been engaged with the perſpicuity and utility of the doctrine taught by Jeſus Chriſt, they plainly ſaw, that darkneſs was not further from light, than the vanity of gentile philoſophy from the truth of the Chriſtian religion.

It evidently appears from Juſtin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the Jew [b], that this compariſon of gentile philoſophy with Chriſtian wiſdom was one of the principal conſiderations which induced him, and other philoſophers, to become converts to Chriſtianity. Accordingly we find, that when theſe learned men undertook the defence of Chriſtianity againſt the gentile philoſophers, who ſupported the falling cauſe of Paganiſm by ſophiſtry, impoſture, and violence, they chiefly

[a] Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 2. Whitby on the Interpretation of Scripture, Lond. 1714.
[b] P. 217, &c.

employed themſelves in expoſing the futility and abſurdity of the Pagan religion and philoſophy, and in diſplaying the ſuperiority of the Chriſtian doctrine above that which had been taught in the moſt celebrated Grecian ſchools. This is the main drift of thoſe apologies for Chriſtianity, which were written by Juſtin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolitus, Origen, Euſebius, and other Greeks; and by Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Julius Firmicus, and other Latin fathers: writings to which the cauſe of Chriſtianity was at that time much indebted, and which, even in the preſent day, if read with a due attention to the ſtate of philoſophy and religion at the period in which they were written, will amply repay the labour of a diligent peruſal.

Rejecting with contempt the whole apparatus of Pagan ſuperſtition, the Chriſtian fathers naturally transferred the averſion which they conceived againſt this antient monument of human folly, to thoſe ſyſtems of philoſophy which they ſaw employed by the learned in its ſupport. Juſtin Martyr[a] expoſes the abſurdities of the poetical theology of the Pagans, and undertakes to prove, that their philoſophical doctrine concerning divine natures was not leſs abſurd. All the early fathers of the Chriſtian church labour to overturn the principles upon which the ſeveral Grecian ſects were founded, and to ſhow that they were inconſiſtent with each other, and with truth and reaſon. Such was their zeal in this argument, that they did not ſpare even Plato himſelf, whom, nevertheleſs, they acknowledged to have thought more judiciouſly and profoundly upon divine ſubjects than any other philoſopher[b].

It was a circumſtance which greatly increaſed the averſion of the Chriſtian fathers to Pagan ſyſtems, that they ſaw innumerable hereſies ſpringing up in the church, which aroſe from the Oriental philoſophy, as it was taught in Egypt, in conjunction with Pytha-

[a] Cohort. ad Græcos.

[b] Tertull. adv. Nationes, l. ii. Lactant. Int. Div. l. iii. c. 2. Cyprian. Epiſt. 55. Aug. De Civ. D. l. viii. Theodor. Therap. l. v.

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goric and Platonic dogmas[a]. The dreams of the Orientaliſts concerning the divine nature were multiplied without end by the Chriſtian Gnoſtics, particularly by Valentine, the founder of a ſect which aroſe in the ſecond century, and ſpread through Egypt, Syria, and Aſia Minor[b]. This fanatic conceived the divine nature to be a vaſt abyſs, in the *pleroma* or fulneſs of which exiſted, as emanations from the firſt fountain of being, Æons of different orders and degrees. The ſource of Æons Valentine called *Bython*. To this he united a principal, which he called *Ennoia*, or *Sige*: from the union of theſe he ſuppoſed to be produced *Nous* and *Aletheia*, and from theſe, in ſucceſſion, *Logos*, *Anthropos*, and *Eccleſia*; among the remote deſcendants of whom was Jeſus Chriſt, and below him the *Demiurgus*, or creator of the world, who held the middle place between God and the material world. This fanciful ſyſtem (ſimilar to that of the Jewiſh Cabbala, and doubtleſs derived from the ſame ſource, the Oriental doctrine of emanation[c]) was highly diſpleaſing to thoſe Chriſtian fathers who were diſpoſed to think more ſoberly and reverently concerning the divine nature. When they ſaw the doctrine of Chriſt corrupted by ſuch abſurd fictions, they were naturally led to inveigh againſt that falſe philoſophy, from which they ſuppoſed them to have originated.

Notwithſtanding the proofs with which the writings of the Chriſtian fathers abound, of their enmity to Pagan philoſophy, conſidered as a ſyſtem of doctrines oppoſed to the Chriſtian faith, it is, however, certain that many among them were well acquainted with the dogmas of the Grecian ſects, and, after their converſion, endeavoured

[a] Iren. adv. Her. l. ii. c. 14. Tertull. Præſcr. c. 7. de Anim. c. 17. Pſeudo-Orig. Philoſophum. l. i. p. 5.

[b] Iren. l. iii. c. 3. Tertull. contr. Valent. Juſtin. M. Dial. cum. Tryph. p. 349.

[c] The Valentinian hereſy is ſuppoſed by Irenæus * and other Chriſtian fathers, and by ſeveral modern writers, through their inattention to Oriental learning, to have been borrowed from the Grecian philoſophy; but the contrary is evident from the ſimilarity of this hereſy to the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem, which has been ſhewn to be of Oriental origin; and from the teſtimony of Theodotus, whoſe account of the Valentinian and other Gnoſtic hereſies † is entitled, *An Epitome of the Doctrine called Oriental in the time of Valentinian.*

* Hæreſ. l. ii. c. 14. † Apud. Op. Clem. Alex. et Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. v. p. 105.

to render their knowledge of philoſophy ſubſervient to the Chriſtian cauſe. Having been in their youth inſtructed in this kind of learning, they now borrowed, from the Pagan ſchools, weapons in defence of Chriſtianity. They examined in detail the tenets of antient philoſophers, that, where they found them erroneous, they might expoſe their futility, and hence diſplay the ſuperior excellence of the Chriſtian religion; and that where they appeared conſonant to truth, they might make uſe of them, in their catechetical inſtructions, to prepare the minds of their pupils for the reception of the doctrines of divine revelation. This latter uſe of philoſophy was frequent in the Chriſtian ſchools of Alexandria, conducted by Clemens, Pantænus, Origen, and others. Theſe Chriſtian philoſophers did not ſcruple to avail themſelves of all the helps, which their learning afforded them, in the exerciſe of the arts of logic and rhetoric. They induſtriouſly enriched their writings with the moral doctrines and precepts of the antients, as far as they would coaleſce with the Chriſtian inſtitutes. Without addicting themſelves to any ſect of heathen philoſophers, they ſelected from each whatever they judged to be conſiſtent with the doctrine of their divine maſter, and capable of forwarding the great end of their office as teachers of Chriſtianity. In fine, from the time that the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic age was forſaken, the Chriſtian fathers ſtudied the writings of the antients, firſt, to furniſh themſelves with weapons againſt their adverſaries; next, to ſupport the Chriſtian doctrine, by maintaining its conſonancy to reaſon, and its ſuperiority to the moſt perfect ſyſtems of Pagan wiſdom; and laſtly, to adorn themſelves with the embelliſhments of erudition and eloquence [a]. Baſil wrote a diſtinct treatiſe, upon the benefits which young perſons might receive from reading the writings of heathens [b]. His pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his panegyric on Origen, inſiſts largely upon the ſame topic; highly commending him for having, after the example of his preceptor Clemens Alexandrinus, induſtriouſly inſtructed his pupils in philoſophy. And there can be no doubt, that Greek learning, of every kind, was at a very early period admitted

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 278. Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magn.
[b] Conf. Origen. Philocal. c. 13.

into the Chriſtian ſchools; not, however, without repeated cautions to young perſons, to diſtinguiſh carefully between the true and the falſe, the uſeful and the pernicious, in the writings of the antients, and always to keep human learning in due ſubordination to divine Wiſdom [a].

The fathers of the Chriſtian church are then, neither, on the one hand, to be conſidered as by profeſſion philoſophers, nor, on the other, to be denied the credit of any acquaintance with philoſophy. Their great object was to apply philoſophy to the illuſtration, confirmation, and defence of divine revelation. We are not, therefore, to ſearch in their writings for philoſophical tenets, raiſed upon rational principles, and ſupported by logical arguments; nor ſhall we find among them, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any philoſophical ſectarians, ſuch as Speuſippus and Xenocrates were among the antient, or Plotinus and Porphyry among the modern, Platoniſts. But, though they were not properly philoſophers, it muſt not be inferred, that they gave no preference to any particular ſect. Whilſt they were averſe to the Grecian philoſophy in general, as inimical to the Chriſtian cauſe, and inveighed againſt every Pagan ſyſtem, as containing many things contrary to the true doctrine of Chriſt, they were willing to acknowledge, that every ſect taught ſome principles not inconſiſtent with this doctrine, and were moſt inclined to favour thoſe ſects which taught tenets moſt conſonant to it.

Throughout the various ſyſtems of philoſophy, the Chriſtian fathers ſaw many truths diſperſed, which they ſuppoſed to be beyond the reach of human reaſon, and which, therefore, they believed to have been borrowed from the Hebrew ſcriptures, or to have been rays of heavenly wiſdom originally proceeding from the pure fountain of divine revelation. Theſe relics of ſacred truth, which they conceived to be ſcattered through the various ſects of philoſophy, they were exceedingly deſirous to collect, and to incorporate with the doctrine of Chriſtianity. Hence the high encomiums, which we frequently meet with in their writings, upon this kind of Eclectic philoſophy. Clemens Alexandrinus ſays [b], "I do not call that philo-

[a] Greg. Naz. Carm. I. p. 33.

[b] Strom. l. i. p. 288.

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ſophy, which either the Stoics, the Platoniſts, the Epicureans, or the Peripatetics, ſingly teach; but whatever dogmas are found in each ſect to be true, and conducive to the knowledge and practice of piety and juſtice, theſe, collected into one ſyſtem, I call philoſophy." Juſtin Martyr[a], Gregory Thaumaturgus[b], and Lactantius[c], expreſs the ſame ſentiment. We are not, however, to confound the Eclectic philoſophy of the Chriſtian fathers with that of the Ammonian ſchool; ſince the former were directed in their ſelection by a notion peculiar to themſelves, that whatever was valuable in Pagan philoſophy was the remnant of ſome former revelation from the λόγος, or had been purloined from the Hebrews or Chriſtians, and might therefore be fairly claimed as the property of the Chriſtian church.

By comparing the preceding obſervations, we may eaſily account for the different, and apparently contradictory, language which the Chriſtian fathers held concerning the gentile philoſophy: ſome of them, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Auguſtine, ſpeaking of heathen wiſdom as lawful ſpoil, which may be uſefully employed in the ſervice of the church, and of certain philoſophers, as being, in their notions of the divine nature, almoſt Chriſtians; whilſt others repreſent heathen philoſophy as ſo pernicious and miſchievous in its nature, that it could only be the work of the devil. In order to reconcile theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that wherever the Chriſtian fathers ſpoke in commendation of philoſophy, they meant to limit their approbation to certain truths, which they conceived to have been originally communicated by divine revelation; but that, when they inveighed againſt it, their cenſure fell upon thoſe ſyſtematic maſſes of error, which they aſcribed to human invention.

The virulence with which the ſupporters of Pagan ſuperſtition aſſaulted Chriſtianity, ſometimes led its advocates, in return, to load the gentile philoſophy with invectives, which, though they may be in part excuſed, cannot be juſtified. Their contempt and indignation did not, however, fall indiſcriminately upon every ſect; they eſtimat-

[a] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218. [b] In Orig. p. 10. [c] Inſt. l. vii. c. 7.

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ed the merit of each by its ſuppoſed affinity to revelation, in the purity of its doctrine concerning God and divine things. Hence their ſevereſt cenſures were pointed againſt the Peripatetic and Epicurean ſects. The doctrines of the Peripatetics concerning Divine Providence, and the Eternity of the World, chiefly excited their averſion againſt this ſect; but, beſides this, they were much diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle, for having furniſhed heretics and infidels with the weapons of ſophiſtry. The ſyſtem of Epicurus, which excluded the Deity from the government of the world, and admitted no expectation of a future ſtate, ſo directly contradicted the fundamental principles of the Chriſtian religion, that it is not ſurpriſing that it ſhould have awakened great indignation in the friends of Chriſtianity, eſpecially as they miſapprehended the nature of his moral doctrine, and credited the calumnies, which had long before this time been circulated, concerning his perſonal character.

There were not wanting, however, among the Chriſtian fathers, advocates for different ſects of Grecian philoſophy. After the eſtabliſhment of the Ammonian ſect, when Origen and his followers, with many others, favoured the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, which had been followed in the Alexandrian ſchools, they eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that as a coalition had in theſe ſchools been effected between Plato and Ariſtotle, it would not be difficult to accompliſh a ſimilar coalition between Jeſus Chriſt and Ariſtotle. Others reaſoned in the ſame manner with reſpect to the doctrines of Stoiciſm. The Epicurean was almoſt the only ſect, which met with no patrons among the Chriſtian fathers.

But the ſect, which, for the reaſons already aſſigned, obtained moſt favour in the Chriſtian ſchool, was the Platonic. None of the Chriſtian fathers, indeed, entertained ſuch an opinion of the perfection of the Platonic ſyſtem, as to ſubſcribe implicitly to its principles and tenets; but they imagined, that they found in the writings of Plato many divine truths, which he had received, either directly or indirectly, from the Hebrews, and which they had therefore a right to transfer from the Academy to the Church. Clemens Alexandrinus, Euſebius, and Auguſtine, were ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with this notion,

tion, that they fancied a wonderful ſimilarity between the theology of Plato and that of Moſes. Clemens[a] ſpeaks of Plato as the philoſopher of the Hebrews, whoſe doctrine concerning Gods, and Virtue, and a Future State, agrees with that of the ſcriptures: with Numenius, he calls Plato the Athenian Moſes; and he even aſſerts, that Plato, in his Theætetus, deſcribes the Chriſtian life. Euſebius, in his *Preparatio Evangelica*[b], "Evangelical Preparation," quotes many paſſages from the Dialogues of Plato, to ſhew how nearly his ſentiments and language approach to thoſe of the ſacred writings. Auguſtine, in ſome parts of his works, prefers Plato to every other heathen writer; and contends, that, in many particulars, eſpecially thoſe which relate to God, he was a Chriſtian philoſopher. He afterwards, in a diſtinct chapter, inquires whence Plato derived that knowledge, by which he ſo nearly approximated to the Chriſtian doctrine. Having in a former work given it as his opinion, that Plato, in his journey into Egypt, had either converſed with the prophet Jeremiah, or read the Hebrew ſcriptures, he now retracts this opinion, becauſe he finds, upon further examination, that Plato was born near a hundred years after Jeremiah was in Egypt, and that the Greek verſion of the Jewiſh law was made under the Ptolemies, about ſixty years after Plato's death; and ſubſtitutes, in its ſtead, an unſupported conjecture, that Plato received his information concerning the Hebrew ſcriptures, by converſing with ſome learned interpreter of the law.

This opinion concerning the divine origin of Plato's theology was entertained on grounds equally precarious with the conjectures of Auguſtine, by the general body of the Chriſtian fathers. They thought, that Plato, during his reſidence in Egypt, could not fail to become acquainted with the Jewiſh law, of which they believed, but without any ſufficient authority, that a Greek verſion had been made prior to that of the Septuagint under Ptolemy Philadelphus. They conceived, that Pythagoras, in his Oriental journey, muſt have had frequent opportunities of converſing with the Jewiſh prophets,

[a] Strom. l. i. p. 315. [b] L. ii.

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and that through his schools the doctrine of Moses must have passed to Plato. They were confirmed in this opinion, by observing the doctrine, which was at this time received among the Jews, with the Platonism of the Alexandrian schools. For, from the age of Aristobulus, the Jews had, as we have seen, admitted Ægyptian, Oriental, and Platonic dogmas into an intimate alliance with the simple doctrine of their sacred books; and, in order to give credit and authority to the innovation, had pretended that Moses was the original author of this philosophy. This was maintained by all the learned Egyptian Jews, particularly by Philo; and from these, the notion would naturally pass over to the Christians, by many of whom, doubtless, it was entertained before their conversion to Christianity.

After what has been already suggested, in preceding parts of this work, to shew the improbability of the opinion, that Pythagoras or Plato were instructed by the Hebrews, and to account for the pains which Philo and other platonising Jews took to give their notions the sanction of a divine origin, it is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the subject. We shall only remark, that, in forming this opinion, there were two points in which the fathers were greatly deceived: first, in supposing that the Jews freely communicated their doctrines to their neighbours, when it appears from their whole history, that they studiously separated themselves, in all religious concerns, from the heathens; secondly, in conceiving that the Platonism which was at that time professed was the genuine doctrine of Plato[a].

There can be no doubt, that a strong predilection for Platonic tenets prevailed among those Alexandrian philosophers, who became converts to the Christian faith. These philosophers, who, whilst they corrupted the system, had been accustomed to entertain the highest reverence for the name, of Plato, easily credited the report, that the doctrine of Plato concerning the divine nature had been derived from revelation, and hence thought themselves justified in attempting a coalition between Plato and Jesus Christ. A union of Platonic and Christian doctrines was certainly attempted in the

[a] Just. M. Cohort. ad Græc. Clem. Adm. ad Gent. p. 477. Stromat. l. i. p. 305. l. iv. p. 477. l. v. p. 560. Conf. Lamius de Trinit. l. ii. iii.

ſecond century, by Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Clemens Alexandrinus, in whoſe writings we frequently meet with Platonic ſentiments and language; and it is not improbable, that this corruption took its riſe ſtill earlier. In oppoſing the Gnoſtic hereſies, thoſe Chriſtian teachers who had been inſtructed in the Alexandrian doctrines, adopted from them whatever they thought conſonant to Chriſtian truth, and favourable to their cauſe. From the time that Ammonius Sacca, in order to recommend his Eclectic ſyſtem to the attention of Chriſtians, accommodated his language to the opinions which were then received among them, the miſchief rapidly increaſed. Origen, and other Chriſtians who ſtudied in his ſchool, were ſo far duped by this artifice, as to imagine that they diſcovered, in the ſyſtem of the Platoniſts, traces of a pure doctrine concerning the Divine Nature, which, on the ground above-mentioned, they judged themſelves at liberty to incorporate into the Chriſtian faith. Entering upon the office of Chriſtian teachers under the bias of a ſtrong partiality for Plato and his doctrine, they tinctured the minds of their diſciples with the ſame prejudice, and thus diſſeminated Platonic notions, as Chriſtian truths; doubtleſs, little aware how far this practice would corrupt the purity of the Chriſtian faith, and how much confuſion and diſſention it would occaſion in the Chriſtian church.

Having ſaid thus much concerning the general character of the philoſophy of the Chriſtian fathers, it remains that we offer a few remarks concerning their merit in the diſtinct branches of philoſophy; dialectics, phyſics, and morals.

It will be readily acknowledged, that the early teachers of the Chriſtian church were honeſt and zealous advocates for the cauſe of Chriſt; and that many of their apologies diſcover an extenſive acquaintance with antient philoſophy and learning, and ſerve to caſt much light upon the philoſophical and theological hiſtory of preceding times. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be candidly confeſſed, that in the heat of controverſy, they not only fell into various miſtakes, but made uſe of unſatisfactory methods of reaſoning, which betray imbecility of judgment, or inattention to the principles and rules of good writing. Correctneſs and ſtrength of argument are excellen-

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cies seldom to be met with in the writings of the fathers. On the contrary, their works furniſh innumerable examples of feeble reaſoning, of interpretations of ſcripture which it is impoſſible to reconcile with good ſenſe, and of a careleſs admiſſion of ſpurious writings as genuine authorities. Photius, who was a writer of ſound judgment, complains that Irenæus obſcured the doctrines of religion by illegitimate reaſoning [a]. And this charge is applicable to many other of the Chriſtian fathers. Lactantius affords a curious ſpecimen of futile reaſoning, when, in order to demonſtrate the abſurdity of worſhipping idols, he ſays [b]; "When men take an oath, they look up to heaven: they do not ſeek God under their feet; becauſe whatever lies below them muſt neceſſarily be inferior to them; but they ſeek him on high, becauſe nothing can be greater than man except what is above him; but God is greater than man; he is therefore above, and not beneath him, and to be ſought, not in the lower but the higher regions; whence it is evident, that images formed of ſtones dug out of the earth cannot be proper objects of worſhip." The puerility of this method of arguing is ſufficiently obvious without any comment. Much falſe reaſoning of the ſame kind may be found in the writings of Arnobius, Jerom, and others.

Several cauſes may be aſſigned for the defects, which every accurate obſerver muſt remark, in the method of reaſoning adopted by theſe writers. Their injudicious zeal induced them to graſp at every ſhadow of argument againſt their opponents; and their want of ſkill in the art of reaſoning led them often to miſtake ſhadows for realities. Their fondneſs for allegory dazzled and confounded their underſtandings, ſo that they were unable to diſtinguiſh between fanciful reſemblances and ſolid arguments. They had not learned to diſtinguiſh accurately between the light of revelation, and that of reaſon; and therefore ſuppoſed, that their reverence for the former obliged them to depreciate and vilify the latter. Ambroſe, a learned man but a bad logician, adviſed [c], that, in diſputes where faith is

[a] Cod. 120. p. 161. [b] Inſtit. div. l. ii. c. 19.
[c] De Fide, l. i. c. 5.

concerned, reaſon ſhould be laid aſide. Baſil[a] called reaſoning, *The devil's work*; and refuted the heretic Eumonus by pleading, that his arguments were drawn from the categories of Ariſtotle, and that the wiſdom of this world was deceitful. Others, who admitted the lawfulneſs of uſing the weapons of Ariſtotelian logic in defence of Chriſtianity, contended that Chriſtians were poſſeſſed of a better logic, conſiſting in the demonſtration of the ſpirit; and that they who poſſeſſed this, might defend their cauſe without the arms of human reaſon. Whilſt the fathers thought reaſon of ſo little value, it is no wonder that their reaſonings were frequently injudicious and inaccurate[b].

It muſt be here mentioned, as another proof at leaſt of their want of judgment, that the Chriſtian fathers gave eaſy credit to falſe tales, and received, without careful examination, ſuppoſititious writings, which they obtruded upon others, and to which they referred as ſufficient authorities[c]. Nor is it poſſible to exculpate them from the charge of having made uſe of, and even juſtified, diſhoneſt arts and pious frauds, after the example of their adverſaries. Add to this, that the ſtyle in which their works are written is, for the moſt part, tumid and puerile. In ſearch of the dazzling ornaments of falſe eloquence, they frequently loſt themſelves in the clouds of obſcurity. Innumerable paſſages occur in their popular writings, particularly in the Homilies of Chryſoſtom, which are more adapted to captivate the wondering attention of the ignorant populace, than to impreſs a judicious reader with an idea of the writer's good ſenſe and accuracy. Gregory Nazianzen complains, that, in his time, ſimple and natural eloquence was loſt, and that a thirſt after novelty had led writers into lamentable confuſion and obſcurity[d].

With reſpect to Phyſics, little was to be expected on this ſubject from writers who were ſo deeply engaged in theological labours. The truth is, that the errors into which many of the antients had

[a] Contr. Eumon. p. 17. [b] Orig. adv. Celſ. l. i. c. 5.

[c] Fabric. Obſerv. ad Cod. Apocr. Vet. et Nov. Teſt.

[d] Phot. Cod. 170. Hieron. Ep. 34. ad Nep. Greg. Naz. Enchir. Athanas. Conf. Dallæum de Uſu Patrum, l. i. Cleric. Art. Crit. t. i. p. ii. § 1. c. 17. Petav. ad Epiph. Hær. 59. p. 244.

fallen,

fallen, through their ill-conducted inquiries into nature, gave the Christian teachers a distaste for speculations of this kind. They thought it a mere waste of time to search after the immediate causes of natural appearances, when they might be employed in studying the doctrines and duties of religion. "It is not," says Eusebius[a], "through ignorance of those subjects which are so much admired, but through a conviction of their futility, that we almost entirely neglect them, in order to apply our minds to more useful labours." This contempt of physical inquiries, which was common among the fathers, will account for the egregious mistakes which are found in the commentaries upon those parts of scripture, where subjects of natural history or philosophy are occasionally introduced. Cosmes, an Egyptian monk, wrote a work[b], entitled "Christian Topography," in which he maintained, that the form of the earth is plane, and not spherical, and upon this supposition attempted an explanation of the celestial *phænomena*. The author of *The Physiology*, falsely ascribed to Epiphanius, and inserted in his works[c], treats of animals with most ridiculous ignorance and puerility. Even Ambrose, in many respects a learned writer, trifles egregiously upon these subjects. In explaining that part of the Mosaic history of the creation, which speaks of *waters above the firmament*, he refutes every objection by having recourse to the miraculous power of God[d], and thus makes the thing to be proved the medium of proof. The engagements of his episcopal office might be some excuse for his ignorance of physical subjects, especially in an age when ignorance of this kind was so prevalent; but nothing can excuse his attempting to explain what he did not understand.

ETHICS was a branch of philosophy, in which the fathers of the Christian church were more immediately concerned, as their office required them to instruct the people in good morals; but their attention to this subject was, by no means, equal to its importance.

[a] Prep. Ev. l. xv. c. i. 61. Conf. Lactant. Inst. Div. l. iii. c. 2.
[b] B. Montfaucon. Collect. Nov. Patr. Script. Gr. t. ii. p. 113. Phot. Cod. 36.
[c] Tom. ii. Op. p. 189. [d] Amb. l. ii. c. 3. t. iii. p. 17.

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They were too bufily occupied in difputes with infidels and heretics, to have much leifure to attend to the fimple duties of morality. Although in the writings of all the fathers, moral topics are occafionally touched upon, Ambrofe was, if not the firft, yet certainly among the firft, who wrote a compendium of moral doctrine: it was formed upon the model of Cicero's book *De Officiis*. After the third century, the fathers treated more largely upon thefe fubjects, as may be feen in their Homilies, but in a manner which rendered their moral writings of little value.

Among the caufes which promoted the corruption of their moral doctrine, we may reckon the practice, which they borrowed from the Alexandrian Jews, of affixing an allegorical meaning to the words of fcripture. This method of interpretation, as Le Clerc juftly remarks, enabled them to put any conftruction upon particular texts which fuited their prefent purpofe. What abfurd interpretations they gave of the Old Teftament (with the Hebrew original of which, by the way, fcarcely any of them, except Jerom and Origen, were acquainted, as fufficiently appears from their implicit reliance on the Septuagint verfion) may be eafily feen by confulting their works[a]. Indeed it was not to be expected that they fhould fucceed better, when they undertook to draw moral doctrine from the facred fcriptures, without ftrictly adhering to the rules of found criticifm, and without being accurately acquainted with the general principles of morals.

To what an abfurd extreme of rigour the fathers carried their ideas of morality, may be feen in their doctrines concerning the fexual paffion. They commonly held a fecond marriage to be unlawful; and Chryfoftom maintained, that it was a fpecies of fornication; and that whilft this indulgence was permitted by God, fornication became lawful[b]. With refpect to matrimony, they admitted three degrees of merit: the loweft, matrimonial fidelity; the fecond,

[a] See examples of this in Barbeyrac de la Morale des Peres, c. ii. § 3.
[b] Chryfoft. Hom. 32. in Matt. xix.

matrimonial abſtinence; the third, perfect celibacy, Clemens Alexandrinus [a] repreſents it as a meretricious practice for a woman to look at herſelf in a mirror; "becauſe," ſays he, "by making an image of herſelf, ſhe violates the commandment, which prohibits the making of the likeneſs of any thing in heaven above, or on earth beneath." As a further example to the ſame purpoſe may be mentioned, the doctrines of the unlawfulneſs of putting out money to intereſt, of uſing muſical inſtruments in churches, and of taking any kind of oath [b].

Another principal cauſe of the corruption of the Chriſtian doctrine of morality was, that it was very early tinctured with the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of the Alexandrian philoſophy. Many of the Chriſtian fathers were infected with the practical, as well as the ſpeculative, errors of this ſchool. To this ſource we are to trace back the numerous adulterations of the ſimple morality of the New Teſtament, which are to be found in "The Shepherd of Hermas," and in the writings of Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, and Tertullian. This corruption chiefly diſcovered itſelf in a peculiar ſpecies of fanaticiſm, conſiſting in a certain myſtical notion of perfection, which originated from a principle common to Platoniſts, Orientaliſts, and Gnoſtics; that the ſoul of man is impriſoned and debaſed in its corporeal habitation, and in proportion as it becomes diſengaged from the incumbrance, and purged from the dregs of matter, it is prepared for its return to the divine nature, the fountain from which it proceeded [c]. The early Chriſtians appear to have been led into this ſyſtem, and into all the unnatural auſterities which ſprung from it, by obſerving the extraordinary ſanctity of the Therapeutic ſect among the Jews [d], and of many aſcetic Platoniſts who, in this reſpect, followed the example of the Egyptian Pythagoreans. Emulous of the fame which both Jews and Heathens had obtained by their voluntary mortifications, and, perhaps too, inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic notion, that they ſhould by this means

[a] Pædag. l. iii. c. 2. l. ii. c. 10.
[b] Conf. Barbeyrac, c. 6, 9, 10, 15.
[c] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. p. 412.
[d] Philo de Vit. Contempl.

approach

approach nearer to God, and be better prepared for heaven, many Christians, even so early as the second century, retired into solitary places, where they devoted themselves to abstinence, contemplation, and prayer[a]. It is impossible to enumerate the erroneous opinions, and absurd practices, which this false idea of perfection introduced into the Christian church, or to say how grossly it corrupted the Christian system of morals.

The clear result of these general observations on the circumstances, opinions, and writings of the Christian fathers, is, that they contributed little towards the improvement of true and sound philosophy. Whatever abilities or learning they possessed (and in several instances these were not inconsiderable) their peculiar situation, as well as the general state of philosophy, prevented them from making any important advances in science. Through several centuries, they partook of the spirit of the Alexandrian school, and the Eclectic method of philosophising platonised Christianity. And when, in process of time, the philosophers themselves began to forsake Plato, and follow Aristotle, the Christian fathers preferred the Stagyrite as the more accurate philosopher. In this preference they were confirmed by the example of the Saracens: and hence arose that pernicious corruption, both of theology and philosophy, the SCHOLASTIC SYSTEM. At the same time, the adulterated Platonism of Alexandria continued among the Greek Christians, and produced THE MYSTIC THEOLOGY. Thus the church was at once disturbed by two monstrous productions in philosophy, of which we shall treat in the sequel.*

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Past. Herm. et Apol. Athenag.

* Vidend. Moshem. Diss. de Caussa supposit. lib. inter Christ. Sec. I. et II. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. Origenian. l. ii. c. I. § 4. Baptista Crispus de caute legendo Platone, Rom. 1594. fol. Petav. Dogm. Theol. t. ii. l. I. c. 8. Balt. Defense des S. Peres accus. de Platonisme. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed. Sand. de Trinit. Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccl. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. x. Bibl. Choisie, t. xii. Epistola sub. nom. Liberii. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. p. 79. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 39. 176. Buddæi Isag. in Hist. Theol. l. ii. c. 3. Dupin. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. i. p. 203. Blount. Cens. cel. Auct. p. 213. Blondell. de Sybillis, l. i. c. 26. Moshem. Diss. de turbata per Platon. rec. Eccl. Dallæus de Usu Patrum. Souverain. Platonisme devoillé.

CHAP. III.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS IN PARTICULAR.

FROM the beginning of the ſecond to the ſeventh century, which may be conſidered as the commencement of the Middle Age, many learned men aroſe in the Chriſtian church, who ſtudied and applied philoſophy in the manner explained in the preceding chapter. A diſtinct but brief account of the principal of theſe, as far as reſpects the ſubject of this work, we now proceed to lay before the reader, referring him for other particulars to eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians.

The Chriſtian fathers may be divided into two claſſes; thoſe who flouriſhed before, and thoſe who flouriſhed after, the inſtitution of the Eclectic ſect: and this diſtinction is of conſiderable conſequence in the preſent inquiry. The firſt claſs commences with Juſtin Martyr; the ſecond, with Origen.

The Apoſtolic Fathers, who had derived their knowledge of Chriſtianity, and their habits of thinking, from the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, were more deſirous of imitating their ſimplicity of ſentiment and expreſſion, than of excelling in ſubtle ſpeculation. Hence we find in their genuine writings but few traces of the Grecian or Alexandrian philoſophy. But when men, who had been educated in the Pagan ſchools, became converts to the Chriſtian faith, they brought with them their philoſophical ideas and language, and aſſociated them with the doctrine of Chriſtianity.

Among theſe Chriſtian philoſophers, the firſt, and one of the moſt celebrated, was JUSTIN, who, on account of the teſtimony which he afterwards bore to the Chriſtian cauſe, is uſually diſtin-

guiſhed by the title of "The Martyr." He was born at Neapolis, or Sichem, in Paleſtine, about the beginning of the ſecond century. His father, whoſe name was Priſcus, was a Gentile Greek, and ſent him to Alexandria to be inſtructed in Grecian learning. In his youth, as he himſelf relates, he ſtudied, firſt the Stoic, and afterwards the Peripatetic philoſophy, under different maſters. Not, however, finding in either of theſe ſchools the ſatisfaction he wiſhed concerning the divine nature, and having been refuſed admiſſion to the Pythagorean ſchool for want of the neceſſary preparatory inſtruction and diſcipline, he determined to addict himſelf to the ſtudy of the doctrine of Plato, who, for his ſublime notions concerning God and religion, had long obtained the name of The Divine Philoſopher. Under the direction of an able and judicious Platoniſt of Alexandria, he proſecuted this ſtudy with great delight, "finding," as he ſays, "that the contemplation of Incorporeal Ideas added wings to his mind, ſo that he hoped ſoon to aſcend to the true wiſdom[a]."

That he might proceed without interruption in this favourite purſuit, Juſtin withdrew to a place of retirement near the ſea. He had not been long in this place, when, in one of his ſolitary walks, he was accoſted by an old man of venerable aſpect, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been Polycarp; a ſuppoſition which Juſtin himſelf favours, by calling himſelf a diſciple of the apoſtles, which ſeems to imply that he had been inſtructed by ſome apoſtolic man[b]. Whoever he was, this old man, in his converſation with Juſtin, diſcovered no ſlight acquaintance with the Platonic philoſophy; for he made uſe of the Platonic principles and language, to which he found Juſtin attached, in order to conduct him to the knowledge of a more pure and perfect ſyſtem. The diſcourſe of this reverend preceptor inſpired Juſtin with an earneſt deſire of peruſing the writings of the prophets and apoſtles; and when he had read them, he confeſſed, that the goſpel of Chriſt was the only certain and uſeful philoſophy. About the year one hundred and thirty-three, he embraced the Chriſtian faith; ſtill, however, retaining the habit of a philoſopher.

[a] Dialog. cum Tryphone.

[b] Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 501. Conf. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. ii. c. 3. et Phot. Cod. 234.

Juſtin, after his converſion, retained a ſtrong attachment to the Platonic ſyſtem, and applied his knowledge of this ſyſtem to the explanation and defence of the Chriſtian doctrine. Perceiving, or imagining, in many particulars, an agreement between Platoniſm and Chriſtianity [a], he concluded, that whatever was valuable in the former had either been communicated to Plato, by inſpiration, from the Logos, or firſt emanation of the divine nature, or had been tranſmitted by tradition from Moſes [b] and the Hebrew prophets, and might therefore be juſtly claimed as belonging to divine revelation, and incorporated into the Chriſtian creed. All good doctrine, according to him, proceeds from the Logos, and, on that account, wherever it is found, of right belongs to Chriſtians. "Next to God," ſays he, "we revere and love the Logos of the underived and ineffable Deity, who for our ſake became man, that partaking of our infirmities he might heal our diſeaſes. All writers, through the ſeed of the Logos ſown within them, are able obſcurely to diſcern thoſe things which have a real exiſtence." And in another place [c], "We are inſtructed that Chriſt is the firſt-begotten ſon of God, and have already ſhewn, that he is the Logos, of which the whole human race partakes, and that whoever lives according to the Logos are Chriſtians, even though [for their neglect of pagan divinities] they have been reckoned atheiſts: as, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like;

[a] Apol. ii. p. 50. 78.

[b] Though Juſtin repeatedly aſſerts the doctrine of Plato concerning the Logos to have been derived from Moſes, there is no proof that this was in truth the caſe. It is therefore probable that Juſtin, from an undue fondneſs for his former maſter, endeavoured, in order to ſupport his aſſertion, to find the Logos in the Old Teſtament. His proofs, that the Logos, an emanation from the divine nature, was the creator of the world, reſt upon fanciful interpretations of ſcripture, inconſiſtent with good ſenſe and ſound criticiſm, as any one may be convinced who will be at the pains to examine his explanations of Gen. i. 26. xviii. 1, &c. xxviii. 11—19. Exod. iii. 1—6. Prov. viii. The truth ſeems to have been, that Juſtin, being of an enthuſiaſtic turn, imagined Chriſt to have been the Logos, the firſt of thoſe emanations of the divine nature of which Plato ſpoke; and that he fancied his own mind to have been, in a ſupernatural manner, enlightened *, to diſcover him as the Logos in the writings of Moſes and Solomon. See this opinion ably ſupported in LINDSEY's Second Addreſs to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge, ch. ii.

[c] Apol. ii. p. 83.

* Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 154, 155.

 and

and among barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elias, and many others."

From these and other passages[a] in the writings of Justin, it appears, that he understood by the term Logos, not the reasoning faculty of the human mind, but, after Plato, the emaning Reason of the Divine Nature; that he conceived this Divine Reason to have inspired the Hebrew prophets, and to have been the Christ, who appeared in flesh; that he supposed it to have been participated not only by the Hebrew patriarchs, but by the more excellent Pagan philosophers; and consequently, that he looked upon every tenet in the writings of the heathens, which he could reconcile with the doctrine of Christ, as a portion of divine wisdom which Christians might justly appropriate to themselves. Having learned from Plato and his followers, in the schools of Alexandria, that the knowledge of God is alone to be gained by the contemplation of Ideas, which have their primary seat in the Divine Logos; and that the human mind, in consequence of its nature as proceeding from the soul of the world, is capable of contemplating those divine Ideas, by means of which it may ascend to the knowledge of God, Justin was necessarily led to conclude, that man can only arrive at divine science through the medium of the Logos. Hence, he referred all Christian knowledge to the perception of the Divine Reason inhabiting in man; and thus laid the foundation of an error, still retained in some Christian sects, that Christ, or the Word, is a substantial ray of divine

[a] In his dialogue with Trypho, Justin says *, "I will bring you another proof from the scriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God produced from himself a Rational Power (ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν) which is called by the holy spirit the glory of God, sometimes wisdom, sometimes an angel, sometimes God, sometimes Lord and Logos.—He has this name (Logos) from his being subservient to his father's counsels, and from being produced by his father's will, as we experience in ourselves." See the passage at large, with remarks, in PRIESTLEY's *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ* †; a valuable work, in which it is proved at large, that the notions of the first Christian fathers concerning the Divine Nature originated in the Platonic schools, and that these notions gradually produced the doctrine of the Trinity, which, from the time of the Council of Nice, was embraced as a fundamental article of faith in the Christian church.

* Dial. p. 266. † Vol. ii. p. 56.

light internally communicated to man. Juſtin alſo borrowed from Plato his notion of angels employed in the government of the elements, the earth, and the heavens, and many other tenets not to be found in the ſcriptures[a].

On the whole, it cannot be doubted, that Juſtin Martyr mixed Platonic notions and language with the ſimple doctrine of Chriſtianity, and wrote concerning God and divine things like a Chriſtian Platoniſt. He muſt, nevertheleſs, be acknowledged to have been a faithful and zealous advocate for Chriſtianity; for, in conſequence of an attack which he made upon the Cynic philoſophy, Creſcens the Cynic, who with the reſt of the philoſophers enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Aurelius Antoninus, raiſed a perſecution againſt him and his brethren, in which this excellent man fell a martyr in the cauſe of Chriſt. This happened in the year one hundred and ſixty-three.

Tatian, by birth a Syrian, a Sophiſt by profeſſion[b], who flouriſhed about the year one hundred and ſeventy, after his converſion from heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, became a diſciple of Juſtin Martyr, and accompanied him to Rome, where he partook with his maſter the hatred and perſecution of Creſcens[c]. After the death of Juſtin, excelling more in the powers of imagination than of judgment, he gave the reins to the former, and framed a new ſyſtem of fanciful opinions, called, The Hereſy of the Encratitæ[d]. His apology for Chriſtianity, entitled, *Oratio ad Græcos*, "An Addreſs to the Greeks," the only genuine work of this father which remains, every where breathes the ſpirit of the Oriental philoſophy. Tatian teaches, that God, after having from eternity remained at reſt in the plenitude of his own light, that he might manifeſt himſelf, ſent forth from his ſimple nature, by an act of his will, the Logos, through whom he gave exiſtence to the univerſe, the eſſence of which had eternally ſubſiſted in himſelf. "The Logos," he ſays, "through the will

[a] Apol. i. p. 44. Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 498. [b] Orat. p. 170. 173. ed. Paris.

[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.

[d] Epiphan. Hæreſ. xlvi. 1. t. i. p. 390. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 10. Philaſtr. de Hær. c. 48.

of God, sprang from his simple nature:" Θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτῆς προπηδᾷ λόγος. This first emanation, which, after the Alexandrian Platonists, he calls the Logos, and which, like the Adam Kadmon of the Cabbalists, is the first medium through which all things flow from God, he represents as proceeding, without being separated from the divine nature. Matter is conceived by Tatian to have been the production of the Logos, sent forth (προβεβλημένη) from his bosom. And the mind of man is, according to him, λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, reason produced from a rational power, or an essential emanation from the divine Logos. He distinguishes between the rational mind and the animal soul, as the Alexandrian philosophers between νοῦς and ψύχη, and the Cabbalists between Zelem and Nephesh. The world he supposed to be animated by a subordinate spirit, of which all the parts of visible nature partake: and he taught that dæmons, clothed in material vehicles, inhabit the aerial regions; and that above the stars, Æons, or higher emanations from the divine nature, dwell in eternal light[a]. In fine, the sentiments and language of Tatian upon these subjects perfectly agree with those of the Egyptian and the Cabbalistic philosophy, whence it may be presumed, that he derived them, in a great measure, from these sources.

After Plato, this Christian father maintained the imperfection of matter as the cause of evil, and the consequent merit of rising above all corporeal appetites and passions; and it was, probably, owing to this notion, that, with other fathers, he held the superior merit of the state of celibacy above that of marriage; and that he adopted, as Jerom relates, the Gnostic opinion, that Christ had no real body. The tenor of Tatian's Apology concurs with what is known of his history, to prove, that he was a Platonic Christian. Little regard is therefore due to the account which is given of his opinions by Epiphanius, who was unacquainted with the manner in which Christian heresies sprung from the Oriental philosophy, the common source, as we have seen, of the Egyptian, Cabbalistic, and Gnostic systems.

[a] Orat. ad Græc. p. 138—159. Clem. Al. Str. l. i. p. 320. l. iii. p. 335. Excerpt. Theodot. Cl. Al. p. 806. Orig. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 16. De Orat. § 13. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. iv. c. 11. 16. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.

THEOPHILUS

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, born of Gentile parents, and in his youth well inſtructed in human learning and Pagan philoſophy, after his converſion became an able advocate for Chriſtianity. He was appointed biſhop of Antioch in the year one hundred and ſixty-eight. Having long enjoyed an intimate friendſhip with Autolychus, a learned Pagan, he was exceedingly deſirous of converting him to the Chriſtian faith, and for this purpoſe wrote an Apology for Chriſtianity, in which he expoſed, with much ability, the ſuperſtitions and abſurdities of Paganiſm [a]. Several things in this apology diſcover the writer's predilection for the Platonic ſyſtem, and his inclination to adapt it to the Chriſtian doctrine. Particularly, in ſpeaking of the Logos, as proceeding from the Divine Nature, and as the agent in the divine operations, he makes uſe of Platonic ideas and language; doubtleſs, in hopes of reconciling his friend Autolychus, who was converſant with the writings of philoſophers, to the Chriſtian ſyſtem. His doctrine is, that God had always within himſelf his Logos, or wiſdom, which he produced by ſending forth from his boſom before the univerſe was created; and that this Logos was the miniſter, by whom he made all things, and who afterwards deſcended upon the prophets.

We may alſo rank among the Platoniſing fathers, ATHENAGORAS, the author of "An Apology for Chriſtians," and of "A Treatiſe on the Reſurrection of the Body." It appears from his writings, that he was a native of Athens, and that he paſſed his youth among the philoſophers of his time. He flouriſhed towards the cloſe of the ſecond century. After he became a convert to Chriſtianity, he retained the name and habit of a philoſopher, probably in expectation of gaining greater credit to the Chriſtian doctrine among the unconverted heathen. In his apology, he judiciouſly explains the notions of the Stoics and Peripatetics concerning God and divine things, and expoſes, with great accuracy and ſtrength of reaſoning, their reſpective errors. He frequently ſupports his arguments by the authority of Plato, and diſcovers much partiality for his ſyſtem. In what he advances concerning God and the Logos, or divine rea-

[a] Apol. ed. Wolf. l. ii. § 14, &c. Ed. Oxon. 1700.

ſon,

ſon, he evidently mixes the dogmas of Paganiſm with the doctrines of Chriſtianity [a].

According to Athenagoras, God is underived, indiviſible, and diſtinct from matter; there are middle natures between God and matter; from the beginning, God, the eternal mind, being from eternity rational, had the Logos within himſelf: the Son of God is the Reaſon of the Father in idea and energy; for, ſince the Father and Son are one, by him and through him all things are made: the Logos was produced, that the ideas of all things might ſubſiſt, and they are contained in his ſpirit.

On the imperfect and untractable nature of matter; on angels, dæmons, and other natures compounded of matter and ſpirit; and on other philoſophical topics, Athenagoras reaſons with all the ſubtlety of the Grecian ſchools; ſo that, in every page, you ſee him to be by profeſſion a philoſopher. One cannot peruſe his writings, without admiring in them an happy union of Attic elegance and philoſophical penetration. In moral philoſophy, he adopted the common auſterities, particularly with reſpect to marriage.

The ſecond century probably produced the learned work, entitled, "HERMIAS's Ridicule of the Gentile Philoſophers [b]." The tenor as well as the title of the work renders it probable, that it was written by ſome philoſopher, who had been converted to Chriſtianity. It contains no inelegant compendium of the Greek philoſophy. The author of the piece is unknown.

Another writer of great diſtinction in this early period of the Chriſtian church is IRENÆUS, probably a native of Smyrna. He was a diſciple of Polycarp and other apoſtolic fathers, and was well read, not only in ſacred learning, but in antient philoſophy. Viſiting the Weſtern churches, he became firſt preſbyter, and afterwards, in the year one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, biſhop of Lyons [c]. He employed his learning and induſtry in refuting the Gnoſtic hereſies,

[a] Apol. Athen. Ed. Par. p. 5—39. Phot. Cod. 234.
[b] Baſil. 1553. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 88. Oxon. 1700. ad. Calc. Tatiani.
[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. v. p. 170.

which had, even in the firſt age of the church, ariſen from the union of the dogmas of the Oriental, Egyptian, and Platonic philoſophy with the doctrine of Chriſt. It is, however, to be regretted, that this learned and zealous advocate for Chriſtianity, having been leſs converſant with the Oriental than the Greek philoſophy, did not perceive the true origin of the hereſies which he undertook to refute. Upon a compariſon of his writings with the Platonic ſyſtem at that time taught in Alexandria, it will alſo be acknowledged, that his repreſentation of Chriſtian doctrines is ſtrongly tinctured with Platoniſm. He ſpeaks of the ſon as the miniſter and inſtrument of the father in the creation of the world, and ſays, "that God had no need of the miniſtry of angels in forming the world, when he had his ſon, and his image, miniſtering to him." This doctrine he advances in refutation of the Gnoſtic notion, that the *Demiurgus*, or creator of the world, was a divine Emanation far inferior to the Logos[a]. In ſeveral other particulars, Irenæus borrowed the ideas and language of the Alexandrian Platoniſts. He attributed a ſubtle corporeal form to angels and to the human ſoul, and held that the latter, after death, retains the figure of a man[b]. The hope of immortality he derived, not from the nature of the human ſoul, but from the will of God. He conceived man to conſiſt of three parts, body, ſoul, and ſpirit[c]. His moral doctrine was by no means free from ſuperſtition.

About the beginning of the third century flouriſhed TERTULLIAN, a native of Carthage. He appears to have been a convert from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity. In his writings may be diſcovered many traces of an acquaintance with antient juriſprudence. Tertullian was intimately converſant with the ſeveral ſects of Grecian philoſophy, and, with Irenæus, ſuppoſed the hereſies of the times to have been derived from this fountain. Seduced by a lively imagination, which appears in all his writings, and by his zeal againſt the Gnoſtic doctrine of Æons, which he aſcribed to the

[a] Iren. Heræſ. l. iii. c. 8. n. 3. l. iv. c. 7. n. 4. c. 38. n. 3. l. ii. c. 30. n. 9. c. 25. n. 8. Tertull. in Val. c. 5. Hieron. Ep. 83. Epiph. Hær. 31. c. 33.

[b] Heræſ. l. ii. c. 34. p. 168. l. ii. c. 19. n. 7.

[c] L. v. c. 7. l. ii. c. 19. n. 6.

Platonic notion of Immaterial Forms, or Ideas, he banished all pure intelligence from his system, and maintained, that all intelligent beings, not excepting even God himself, though not visible, are material. "Who can deny," says he, "that God, though a spirit, is a body? for spirit is a body of a peculiar kind. Even those beings which are invisible to us, have, with God, a body and form of their own, by which they are visible to God alone, since what proceeds from his substance cannot be unsubstantial [a]." Tertullian inveighs with great bitterness against the several sects of the Greek philosophy, and calls philosophers the patriarchs of the heretics [b]. Nevertheless, in refuting them, he frequently makes use of Platonic notions and language. Concerning the Son of God, he says, that there was a time when he did not exist. In argumentation Tertullian is weak, futile, and sophistical. On moral subjects, he held many absurd opinions; particularly with respect to marriage, war, and the power of magistrates. With several other Christian fathers, he wore the philosopher's cloak; a dress which seems indeed to have been commonly worn by those, who took upon them the character of Christian philosophers, or devoted themselves to an ascetic life [c], as we find Tertullian did, after he became a Montanist.

None of the fathers of this period merit higher distinction, for erudition in general, or for the knowledge of philosophy in particular, than CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS; nor was any one among them led further astray, by philosophical subtlety, from the simplicity of the Christian faith. This Christian father, who flourished between the years one hundred and ninety-two and two hundred and seventeen, early devoted himself to study, in the schools of Alexandria, probably his native city, and had many preceptors [d]. As he himself relates, "One of these was an Ionian; a second was from *Magna Græcia*; a third, from Cælo-syria; a fourth, an Egyptian; others came from the EAST, of whom one was an Assyrian, and another a Hebrew:" a passage, which, by the way

[a] Advers. Praxeam c. 7.
[b] De Præscript. c. vii. p. 232. Adv. Hermog. c. viii. p. 269.
[c] Salmas. de Pallio.
[d] Strom. l. i. p. 274. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. v. c. 2.

clearly

clearly proves, that thoſe who ſtudied at Alexandria did not confine themſelves to Greek philoſophy and literature, but engaged in the ſtudy of Oriental learning. His Hebrew preceptor, whom he calls the Sicilian bee, by whom ſincere and incorruptible truth had been collected from the prophets and apoſtles, was unqueſtionably Pantænus, a Jew by birth, but of Sicilian extraction, who united Grecian with ſacred learning, and was attached to the Stoic philoſophy[a]. Clement ſo far adopted the ideas of this preceptor, as to eſpouſe the moral doctrine of the Stoics. In other reſpects, he followed the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing. It does not however appear, that he was a follower of Ammonius, the father of the Eclectic ſect. It is more probable, that before Potamo, or rather Ammonius, gave this method the form and name of a ſect, Clement, like many other of his fellow-citizens and contemporaries, ſelected for himſelf, from the ſeveral ſects, ſuch tenets as beſt agreed with his own judgment. Whilſt the Pagan philoſophers pillaged the Chriſtian ſtores to enrich the Eclectic ſyſtem, this Chriſtian father, on the contrary, transferred the Platonic, Stoic, and Oriental dogmas to the Chriſtian creed, as relics of antient tradition originating in divine revelation[b]. He expreſsly aſſerts, that philoſophy was communicated to the Greeks from heaven, as their proper teſtament or covenant; and that it was to them, what the law of Moſes was to the Hebrews. In hopes of recommending Chriſtianity to his catechumens (for, after Pantænus, he had the charge of the Chriſtian catechetical ſchool in Alexandria[c]) Clement made a large collection of antient wiſdom, under the name of *Stromata*; aſſigning this reaſon for the undertaking, that much truth is mixed with the dogmas of philoſophers, or rather covered and concealed in their writings, like the kernel within its ſhell[d]. This work is of great value, as it contains many quotations, and relates many facts not elſewhere preſerved. But, though the object of his labours was laudable, it muſt be confeſſed, that his inclination to blend heathen tenets with Chriſtian doctrines rendered his writings in

[a] Valeſ. ad Euſeb. l. v. c. 10, 11. Chron. Ann. t. ii. an. 185. Phot. Cod. 118. Hieron. Ep. 84. [b] Strom. l. i. p. 313.
[c] Phot. l. c. [d] Strom. l. i. p. 278, 279. l. i. c. 3. p. 83. l. iii. p. 443.

 many

many reſpects injurious to the Chriſtian cauſe. His vaſt reading encumbered his judgment; and his injudicious zeal ſometimes led him into credulity, if not into diſhoneſty. He admitted the authority of doubtful, and even of ſpurious writings. He quotes as authentic the work entitled, "The Preaching of Peter and Paul[a]," which Jerom acknowledges to be ſpurious. In like manner, he admits the doubtful authority of Ariſtobulus, Ariſtæus, and others, and on this ground maintains the inſpiration of the Septuagint verſion of the Hebrew ſcriptures.

The erroneous explanations which Clement gives of the tenets of the Grecian ſects betray both prejudice and precipitation. As one example of this, out of many others which might be ſelected from his writings, we ſhall mention the manner in which he ſupports the aſſertion, that Plato agrees with Moſes in his account of the production of the world. "Plato affirms," ſays he, "that the world was originally produced (γεγονέναι) from ſome principle, and ſpeaks of God as the former and father of the univerſe; herein declaring, that the world is not only begotten, but begotten as a ſon from a father[b]:" a repreſentation equally inconſiſtent with the Moſaic doctrine of creation, and with Plato's notion of the formation of the world from pre-exiſtent matter.

We frequently find Clement adopting Platonic and Stoic tenets as Chriſtian doctrines, and thus ſowing the ſeeds of error in the Chriſtian church. He ſpeaks, for example, of the Chriſtian doctrine, reſpecting the government of the paſſions, as coincident with the Stoic doctrine of apathy, and makes the perfect Chriſtian a character exactly ſimilar to the wiſe man of the Stoics. He even falls ſo far into the rant of the Porch, as to adopt their abſurd language, concerning the poſſibility of attaining abſolute independence and perfection[c].

Among the doctrines of Clement are theſe[d]: that the Logos is

[a] Strom. l. vi. p. 636. Conf. Fabr. Cod. ap. N. T. p. 797. Hieron. de Scr. Eccl. c. i. p. 19. [b] Strom. l. v. p. 592. Conf. p. 593—5. [c] L. vi. p. 640.
[d] Strom. l. v. p. 592, 3. Admon. ad Gent. p. 62. Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vii. p. 702. Pædag. l. iii. c. 2. p. 222. l. i. c. 6. Strom. l. vi. p. 648. l. i. p. 272. l. vii. p. 718.

the image of the father, and man the image of the Logos; that the Logos proceeded from God for the purpofe of creation; that the world is produced from God, as a fon from a father; that there are two worlds, the fenfible and the intelligible; that angels are corporeal; that the Greeks received their wifdom from the inferior angels; that man has two fouls, the rational and the irrational; that the perfection of human nature confifts in the contemplation of Ideas; and that the ftars [a] are animated by a rational foul: pofitions which approach nearer to the Platonic or the Gnoftic fyftems, than to the fimple doctrine of Chriftianity. Clement alfo afferts, that Plato received his doctrine of Ideas from Mofes, and intimates, that the Egyptians borrowed their doctrine of Tranfmigration from the Hebrews [b]. From thefe particulars, the philofophical fpirit and character of Clement of Alexandria may be eafily inferred. What fruit it produced will appear in the hiftory of his pupil Origen.

The Chriftian fathers, in the period we have hitherto confidered, formed different ideas of antient philofophy, and applied its dogmas differently, according to their refpective talents and modes of education. But in the third century, when Ammonius, following the idea of Potamo, framed the Eclectic fyftem, and had a numerous train of difciples, a new order of Chriftian preceptors arofe, who addicted themfelves to this new fect, fo far as to teach Chriftianity after the manner of the Ammonian fchool [c]. The moft celebrated of this clafs of Chriftian fathers was Origen, who had many followers, and whofe tenets had an extenfive and lafting influence upon the ftate of opinions in the Chriftian church.

ORIGEN [d], called alfo, on account of his invincible perfeverance and patience, Adamantius [e], was born at Alexandria, in the year one hundred and eighty-four, or one hundred and eighty-five. From his childhood he enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education. He became an early catechumen in the Chriftian fchool of Alexandria under Clement, by whom he was introduced to

[a] In Eclogis. Phot. Cod. 109. [b] Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vi. p. 633.
[c] Hieroc. apud Phot. Cod. 214.
[d] Huet. Origeniana. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 237. Suidas.
[e] Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 73.

an acquaintance with philosophy, and impressed with a strong persuasion of its utility as preparatory to the study of Christian truth [a]. Thus prepared, he passed over, with great avidity, from the initiatory instructions of Clement, to the philosophical school of Ammonius [b], which was frequented both by Pagans and Christians. This philosopher, as we have already seen, was a man of a wild imagination and fanatical spirit, who, despising the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, revolted to Paganism, and from the dogmas of the Oriental and the Grecian philosophy framed a new system. In order to gloss over his apostacy from Christianity, he was particularly desirous of admitting Christian doctrines into his crude and inconsistent chaos of opinions, and claimed to himself the merit of reconciling philosophy with revelation. Under such a master, it may be easily conceived, that Origen would become well acquainted with the writings of the Greek philosophers; and this is expresly attested by Eusebius. At the same time, by the aid of ready ability and great industry, he made himself master of all the learning of the times [c].

With these qualifications, Origen, about the eighteenth year of his age, opened a school in Alexandria for the instruction of youth in grammatical and philosophical learning. The circumstance, which led him to take upon him this charge so early, reflects too much honour upon his memory to be omitted. His father Leonidas having suffered martyrdom, all his property was confiscated, and Origen's mother, with six children, was left without any other support than the bounty of certain Alexandrian matrons. In these circumstances, Origen undertook the instruction of youth, to furnish his mother and her family with the means of subsistence, and his filial piety was amply rewarded; for his school soon became so famous, that it was crowded with young men both of Christian and Pagan families, and he acquired a considerable portion of wealth [d].

After the death of Clement, when Origen took upon him the charge of the Christian catechetical school, he closely followed the steps of his predecessor; taking great pains to instruct his pupils in

[a] Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. vi. c. 3. 6. [b] Ib. c. 19.
[c] Suidas in Origen. Hieron. de Scr. Eccl. c. 54. Euseb. l. c. l. vi. c. 2. 20.
[d] Euseb. l. c. c. 2, 3.

the tenets of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophy, as the moſt probable means of convincing them of the ſuperior excellence of Chriſtianity. At the ſame time he inculcated upon them, by precept, authority, and example, an auſtere and rigid ſyſtem of morals [a]. The ſeverity of his own manners may be inferred from ſeveral circumſtances mentioned by Euſebius; particularly, that he wore no ſhoes, nor more than one coat; and that he prevented all ſexual deſires by voluntary emaſculation; an unuſual kind of ſelf-denial, to which he was probably led by an injudicious explanation of certain Chriſtian precepts.

Having in this manner raiſed an eminent ſchool, in which the Alexandrian philoſophy was employed to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh the doctrine of Chriſtianity, Origen found little difficulty in ſpreading his tenets beyond Alexandria, through Paleſtine, Syria, and other countries which he viſited, partly to negociate certain eccleſiaſtical affairs, and partly to eſcape the violence of Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria. In the courſe of his journey he paſſed through Greece, and made ſome ſtay at Athens, where he attended the ſchools of the philoſophers, who at this time enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. At laſt he ſettled at Cæſarea, where he taught both ſacred and profane learning to a numerous train of diſciples, among whom was Porphyry [b]. Origen died in the year two hundred and fifty-three.

By the help of lively talents, a ready elocution, and great induſtry, Origen was one of the moſt popular preceptors of the age; and was therefore able, not only to diſſeminate his opinions far abroad during his life, but to tranſmit them to ſucceeding times. It will therefore be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the ſources, and the leading heads, of his doctrine.

The allegorical method of explaining the writings and traditions of the antients, long practiſed in Egypt, having been adopted by the Jews who had been educated in the Alexandrian ſchools, and particularly by Philo, theſe examples were followed by Origen; and thus a

[a] Euſeb. l. c. Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 2. 61. c. 1. Greg. Thaumaturg. Pareg. p. 10, &c. Ed. Hoeſh.

[b] Euſeb. l. c. c. 3. 18—20. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 54.

fanciful method of interpreting the fcriptures was encouraged, which opened a wide door to error and delufion. As the Alexandrian philofophers had, by this expedient, been able to accommodate the Pagan mythology to their refpective fyftems; and as Ammonius had employed it to reconcile the fuppofed truths of revelation with his new modelled Platonifm; fo Origen hoped, by the fame method, to eftablifh a union between Heathen philofophy and Chriftian doctrine. His fundamental canon of criticifm was, that wherever the literal fenfe of fcripture was not obvious, or not clearly confiftent with his tenets, the words were to be underftood in a fpiritual and myftical fenfe: a rule by which he could eafily incorporate any fancies, either original or borrowed, with the Chriftian creed.

The principal tenets of Origen are thefe: The Deity is limited in his operations by the imperfect nature of matter. The divine nature is the fountain of matter, and is itfelf, though free from grofs corporeality, in fome fenfe, material. God, angels, and the fouls of men, are of one and the fame fubftance. There are in the divine nature three ὑποςάσεις, fubfiftences. The fon, proceeding from the father like a folar ray, differs from, and is inferior to him: he is the firft emanation from God, dependent upon him, and his minifter in creation. Minds are of various orders, and, according to the ufe or abufe of liberty, they are placed in various regions of the world, which was made for this purpofe. Angels are clothed with a fubtle corporeal vehicle. Evil fpirits are degraded by being confined to a groffer body; and in thefe they are purged from their guilt, till they are prepared to afcend to a higher order. Every man is attended both by a good and a bad angel. Human fouls were formed by God before the bodies, into which they are fent as into a prifon, for the punifhment of their fins: they pafs from one body to another. The heavenly bodies are animated by fouls, which have preferved their purity; and thefe fouls are capable of predicting future events. All things are in perpetual rotation, receding from, and at laft returning to, the divine fountain: whence an eternal fucceffion of worlds, and the final reftoration of the fouls of bad men, and of devils, after cer-

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tain purgations, to happineſs[a]. The ſouls of the good are continually advancing in perfection, and riſing to a higher ſtate; matter itſelf will be hereafter refined into a better ſubſtance; and, after the great revolution of ages, all things will return to their ſource, and God will be all in all[b].

Theſe tenets, which approach nearer to the doctrine of Ammonius or Plotinus than to that of Chriſt, may be ultimately traced up to that Emanative ſyſtem, which gave riſe to Gnoſticiſm, and to the Jewiſh Cabbala. It is much to be regretted that Origen, who had, unqueſtionably, talents and merit ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries, ſhould have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far miſled by the authority of Clement, and the example of the apoſtate Ammonius, and by a fondneſs for allegory, as thus to attempt to unite the dreams of a myſtical ſyſtem of philoſophy with the ſimple doctrine of Chriſtianity. The fatal effects of this unnatural combination were widely extended, and long experienced.

Whilſt the Alexandrian philoſophy had many patrons in the Chriſtian church, the ſyſtems of other ſects were not without their admirers. The Stoic doctrine found an advocate, as has already been ſaid, in Pantænus. The Peripatetic philoſophy, though it contradicted the Chriſtian ſyſtem, particularly in its dogmas concerning the eternity of the world, and concerning divine providence, was ſtudied, firſt by the heretical, and afterwards by the orthodox ſects, in order to furniſh themſelves with logical armour in defence of their reſpective opinions.

ANATOLIUS[c] of Alexandria, whoſe extenſive acquaintance with philoſophy and literature qualified him for the undertaking, at the requeſt of the Alexandrians, who lamented the failure of the Peripatetic ſchool, attempted with reſpect to the doctrine of Ariſtotle, what Plotinus had executed with reſpect to that of Plato. Making the tenets of the Peripatetic ſect the baſis of his ſyſtem, he in-

[a] Contra Celſum. In Joan. t. ii. p. 49—70. De Principiis, l. i. ii. iv. Phot. Cod. 117. 234. 235. Hieron. Ep. 59. Epiph. Hæreſ. 64. c. 17. Huet. Origeniana.
[b] Philocal. c. i. Princ. l. i. c. 6. 12. l. iii. c. 6. l. ii. c. 3. Phot. 234. Huet. Orig. [c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. vii. c. 32. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 73.

corporated with them other doctrines, both Pagan and Christian, and thus formed a new school, in which Aristotle was the chief master. But, none of his commentaries upon Aristotle being extant, the particular manner in which he philosophised is unknown. After residing many years in Alexandria, Anatolius (on what occasion is uncertain) went into Syria: he afterwards became bishop of Laodicea, about the year two hundred and seventy. This Christian father was well skilled in mathematical learning, and wrote a work called "The Paschal Canon," of which a Latin version remains, and "Institutes of Arithmetic," extracts from which are preserved in a collection, entitled, *Theologumena Arithmetica*. Some fragments of his philosophical writings are collected by Fabricius [a]; whence it appears, that, after the example of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, he made mathematical learning subservient to philosophy.

The aspect, which philosophy had assumed among the Christian fathers in the third century, it retained in the fourth. Many learned men, who were well acquainted with Greek literature and philosophy, after the example of their predecessors, employed their ability and learning in opposing Pagan superstition, and contending for the Christian faith: and in this important service they laboured with great success. Still, however, the prejudice in favour of the Platonic doctrine, as either immediately or ultimately derived from the divine Logos, and therefore a part of revelation, remained among them, and continued to fix and perpetuate the errors which it had introduced. Among the names which distinguish this period, the principal are Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius Pamphilus, Didymus of Alexandria, and Augustine.

Arnobius, an African by birth, and a rhetorician by profession, from a warm patron of gentile superstition became a zealous defender of the Christian faith; but his zeal far surpassed his judgment. He depreciates human reason, and maintains the uncertainty of all human knowledge: he rests the belief of the existence of God upon no rational argument, but upon an innate principle. With the Platonists, he imputes the disorders of nature to the imperfec-

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 274. v. v. p. 277.

tion of matter. In fine, it is in vain to ſearch for accurate reaſoning in the writings of this father, whoſe education, talents, and principles, led him to excel in eloquence rather than philoſophy[a].

LACTANTIUS, a pupil of Arnobius, and probably an African by birth, is juſtly celebrated for ſeveral elegant treatiſes. His principal object was to expoſe the errors and contradictions of Pagan writers on the ſubjects of theology and morals, and hereby to eſtabliſh the credit and authority of the Chriſtian religion[b]: and his works are written with much purity and elegance of ſtyle, and diſcover great erudition. Several material defects muſt, however, be remarked in this writer. He frequently quotes and commends ſpurious writings as if they were genuine, and makes uſe of ſophiſtical and puerile reaſonings[c]. Of his puerilities, a ſpecimen has been given in the preceding chapter; and others may be ſeen in what he has advanced concerning the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, the Millenium, the coming of Elias, and many other topics in theology. Lactantius ſometimes falls into egregious miſtakes, through his deficiency in phyſical knowledge. Speaking of the human body, he ſays, "Of many of its parts none can explain the power or uſe but the Maker: who, for example, can explain the uſe of the kidneys, the ſpleen, the liver, the bile, or the heart[d]?" What inexcuſable ignorance in a writer of no inconſiderable erudition! Upon the ſubject of morals, Lactantius has occaſionally ſaid excellent things[e]; but they are mixed with others, injudicious, trifling, or extravagant. He maintains that war is in all caſes unlawful, becauſe it is a violation of the commandment, Thou ſhalt not kill[f]. He cenſures navigation and foreign merchandiſe, condemns all kinds of uſury, and falls into other abſurdities on moral

[a] Arnob. de Chriſt. Rel. Ed. Canter, Conf. l. i. c. 8. 9. 20. 27. 39. l. ii. c. 2. 9. 11, 12. [b] Inſtit. Divin. Ed. Lugd. 1567.
[c] Ib. l. i. c. 5. [d] De Opif. Dei, c. 14.
[e] As a proof that Lactantius, notwithſtanding all his defects, was capable of thinking juſtly and liberally, we ſhall refer the reader to an excellent paſſage, in which he ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the right of private judgment in religion, and calls upon all men to employ their underſtandings in a free enquiry after truth. Vid. Inſtit. l. ii. c. 7. For a further account of the writings and opinions of Lactantius, ſee Lardner's Credibility, part ii. c. 65. [f] Inſt. l. v. c. 20.

topics. We muſt not, however, diſmiſs Lactantius without mentioning, to his credit, that he acknowledges[a], that when Pythagoras and Plato viſited barbarous nations in order to inform themſelves concerning their ſacred doctrines and rites, they did not become acquainted with the Hebrews; an obſervation which, had it been earlier admitted, might have prevented many miſtakes in the hiſtory of philoſophy. Lactantius flouriſhed at the beginning of the fourth century.

Eusebius Pamphilus of Cæſarea, born about the year two hundred and ſeventy, is a writer, who deſerves to be mentioned with particular reſpect. This learned biſhop, entertaining the common notion, that the antient philoſophers had received many truths either immediately, or by tradition, from divine revelation, whilſt in other particulars their writings were full of abſurdities, contradictions, and falſehoods, undertook to raiſe upon this ground a defence of the divine original of Chriſtianity. This great deſign he completed in two valuable works, his *Preparatio et Demonſtratio Evangelica*, "Evangelical Preparation and Demonſtration," both which have happily eſcaped the ravages of time. In providing materials for this work, Euſebius induſtriouſly extracted from antient writings of every kind whatever was ſuitable to his deſign; whence theſe pieces contain many fragments of books which have long ſince been loſt. Had this celebrated writer been more free from prejudice; had he taken more care not to be impoſed upon by ſpurious authorities; had he more clearly underſtood, from the leading principles of each ſect, its peculiar language; had he diſtinguiſhed the pure doctrine of Plato from that of the later Platoniſts; had he more accurately marked the points of difference between the tenets of the Sectarian philoſophers and the doctrine of Chriſt, his works would have been much more valuable. With their preſent defects, they ſhould be read with caution; and particularly with a conſtant recollection of the partiality which Euſebius, with other Chriſtian fathers of this and the preceding centuries, entertained for the Platonic doctrine, on the ground

[a] L. iv. c. 2.

already explained. Eufebius has alfo rendered great fervice, both to the Chriftian and the philofophical world, in his "Ecclefiaftical Hiftory," his "Chronicon," his "Refutation of Hierocles," and other works.

DIDYMUS of Alexandria, a catechetical preceptor, though blind from his infancy, gained fuch an extenfive and intimate acquaintance with philofophy, mathematics, and Greek literature, that he was efteemed a prodigy of learning. He was a pupil of Origen, and wrote in defence of his mafter; but his writings are loft. He flourifhed at the clofe of the fourth century.

CHALCIDIUS[a], the commentator upon the Timæus of Plato, has been ranked by many writers among the Chriftian fathers; but it is doubtful whether he was a convert to Chriftianity.

About the beginning of the fifth century flourifhed AUGUSTINE, who was born at Tagafte in Africa, in the year three hundred and fifty-four. After a courfe of grammatical ftudy, he was introduced to the knowledge of philofophy at Carthage. In early youth he was more addicted to pleafure than to learning; but when he became converfant with the writings of Cicero, they improved his tafte, and infpired him, as he himfelf confeffes, with an ardent thirft after wifdom. Not meeting with the fatisfaction he wifhed from the Greek and Roman writers, he applied himfelf to the ftudy of the fcriptures; but he was foon offended with the fimplicity of their ftyle, and threw them afide to return to his favourite orator. At the age of twenty years, he became acquainted with the works of Ariftotle; and the abftract notions of the divine nature which he collected from this philofopher, led him to adopt the Manichæan doctrine of two independent principles, the one good, the other evil; thinking the latter a neceffary fubftitute for Ariftotle's principle of privation. At this time he fo far receded from the Chriftian faith, as to be of opinion that Jefus Chrift was nothing more than a man of unparalleled wifdom. By a vigorous exertion of his faculties in the ftudy of philofophy, he at length difcovered the futility of

[a] Conf. Mofheim de turbata per recent. Plat. Eccl. § 30. Beaufobre Hift. Manich. p. 1. p. 479. Cave Hift. Lit. Script. Eccl. p. 125.

the

the Manichæan ſyſtem, and abandoned it. To eſcape the ſolicitations of Fauſtus, a leader of the Manichæans, he withdrew to Rome, where he undertook the profeſſion of rhetoric. Still, however, he retained ſo much of his former ſyſtem, as to aſcribe his evil propenſities to a diſtinct nature within him, and to conceive of the Deity as in ſome ſenſe corporeal. In order to extricate himſelf from theſe errors, he now determined to take refuge in Academic uncertainty, and abandoning philoſophical and theological ſpeculations, gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of eloquence. His ſceptical turn having created him many adverſaries at Rome, he removed, by the advice of Symmachus, to Milan, where he opened a rhetorical ſchool[a].

At Milan, Auguſtine, in the midſt of his perplexing doubts, met with Ambroſe, a Chriſtian teacher of great probity and eloquence. By him he was inſtructed, more accurately than he had before been, in the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and brought back to the acknowledgment of the Chriſtian faith. The way was prepared for his converſion by the peruſal of the writings of ſome later Platoniſts, which he found adapted to raiſe his conceptions above material objects to the contemplation of the divine nature as a pure mind, the fountain of all intelligence. Finding this doctrine fully confirmed, and other important truths clearly taught, in the holy ſcriptures, Auguſtine from that time devoted himſelf to the ſervice of Chriſt, and returned to Africa, where he roſe to great diſtinction in the church[b]. The particulars of his life, from this period, more properly belong to eccleſiaſtical than to philoſophical hiſtory. He died in the year four hundred and thirty.

Although Auguſtine, after his eſtabliſhment in the Chriſtian faith, treated philoſophy in general with contempt, he had, nevertheleſs, a ſtrong attachment to the Platonic ſyſtem, as accommodated to the ſyſtem of emanation by the later Platoniſts[c]. This appears in many

[a] Confeſſion, l. i. c. 9. n. 14. c. 13. n. 20, 21. l. ii. c. 3. n. 3. 5. 8. l. iii. c. 3. n. 6. c. 4. n. 8. c. 5. n. 9. c. 6. c. 7. n. 12. l. iv. c. 16. n. 28. l. vii. c. 5. 19. l. iv. c. 2. n. 3. c. 3. n. 4. c. 15. n. 24. l. v. c. 3. n. 3. c. 5. 13.

[b] Conf. l. v. c. 14. De Utilit. Cred. c. 8. Conf. l. vii.

[c] Contra Acad. l. ii. c. 2. n. 4, 5. Conf. l. vii. c. 20, 21.

of

of his Christian tracts, particularly in the eighth book of his most learned and elegant work *De Civitate Dei*, which treats of natural theology according to the doctrine of Plato. This partiality is, without question, to be ascribed to the cause, which has been repeatedly assigned for the same predilection in other Christian fathers, the prevailing opinion, that the truths which are found in Plato, on account of the source whence they were derived, are to be received as the dictates of divine wisdom. This opinion, however, he afterwards saw reason to retract[a].

On the whole, it will not be denied by those who are acquainted with the writings of Augustine, that he was a great man, and an able defender of the Christian cause; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he laboured under the common prejudices of the times, and that these frequently betrayed him into absurd opinions, unsatisfactory reasonings, and fanciful interpretations of scripture. A system of logic appears in the works of Augustine, which was afterwards commonly used in the schools through the Middle Age: it is more properly Stoic than Platonic[b].

Among the more eminent Christian Platonists of the fifth century was SYNESIUS[c], an African bishop. He is chiefly celebrated for his eloquence, an elegant specimen of which remains in his *Dion*, a treatise on the manner in which he instructed himself. He studied philosophy and mathematics at Alexandria, at the time when its schools were adorned with the female philosopher Hypatia, and the eminent mathematicians, Theon, Pappus, and Hero. Under his female preceptor, upon whom he lavishes the highest praises, he became acquainted with Alexandrian Platonism. At an early age, he acquired such distinction among his fellow-citizens, that he was sent upon an embassy to the Emperor Arcadius. Upon his return, through the influence of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, he was engaged to take upon him the profession of Christianity; but his love of retirement and study long prevented him from accepting any ecclesiastical office. At last, however, he reluctantly complied with

[a] Retractat. l. i. c. 1. [b] Biblioth. Lat. Fabr. t. iii. p. 519.
[c] Evagrius, l. i. c. 15. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 15. Phot. Cod. 26. Suidas.

the intreaties of Theophilus, and took upon himſelf the epiſcopal charge of the city of Ptolemais. Syneſius held opinions not perfectly conſiſtent with the popular creed, as he himſelf candidly confeſſes in a letter to his brother: he rejected, particularly, the doctrine of the reſurrection of the body. In his *Hymns* he adapts the Triad, or rather Quaternion, of the ſchools to the received Chriſtian doctrine of the Trinity[a]. If the language of theſe myſtical odes be compared with that of the Gnoſtics and Cabbaliſts, with the theology of Proclus, and the Zoroaſtrean Oracles, it will be eaſily ſeen, that Syneſius was a more worthy diſciple of Hypatia than of Jeſus Chriſt[b].

About this period flouriſhed Dionysius, a writer falſely called The Areopagite[c], who has been ranked, without any ſufficient evidence, among the Apoſtolic men. If the writings which bear this name be fairly compared with thoſe of Proclus and Plotinus, little doubt will remain, that this pretended Dionyſius did not write earlier than the fifth century; for his works abound with the myſtical trifles of the Plotinian ſchool. Yet this fanatic found means to paſs his productions upon the Chriſtian world as of the Apoſtolic age, and hereby greatly contributed to foſter an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit both in the Eaſtern and the Weſtern churches.

The Chriſtian philoſophers hitherto noticed chiefly flouriſhed in the Eaſtern countries. In the Weſtern world, the irruptions of

[a] We ſubjoin the following ſpecimen for the amuſement of the learned reader:

Απλότητας ἀκροτήτων
Ἐνώσασα καὶ τεκοῦσα
Ὑπερουσίοις λοχείαις
Ὅθεν αὐτὴ προθοροῦσα
Διὰ πρωτόσπορον εἶδος
Μονὰς ἄῤῥητα χυθεῖσα
Τρικόρυμβον ἄχων αλκαν
Ὑπερούσιος δε παγὰ
Στέφεται κάλλει παίδων
Απο κέντρου τε θορόντων
Περὶ κέντρον τε ῥυέντων.

Hymn i. v. 22, &c.

[b] Hymn iii. v. vi. Conf. Epiſtol. Syneſ.

[c] Suidas.

barbarous

barbarous nations almost extinguished the remains of learning and science: whence, through several succeeding centuries, we meet with few names which deserve a place in the history of philosophy. Some stars, however, of considerable lustre, if not of the first magnitude, appeared to dissipate the darkness of this period.

The first of these, in order of time, is CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS[a], a learned presbyter of Vienna, who flourished about the year four hundred and sixty. He is celebrated for his eloquence, and his general knowledge; and particularly, for his acquaintance with the dialectics of Aristotle, which were made use of by the orthodox fathers, as weapons both offensive and defensive, against heretics. He wrote a treatise "On the State of the Soul[b]."

At the beginning of the sixth century appeared a writer of great erudition and distinguished genius, ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS. He was born of a noble family at Rome, and was early sent to Athens to learn the Greek tongue, and to study philosophy. In the school of Proclus, he became acquainted with the Eclectic system; and from the commendations which he bestows upon Porphyry, as the best interpreter of Aristotle, he seems to have united the Platonic with the Aristotelian doctrine. He translated the treatises of Aristotle and Porphyry on categories, and illustrated them with notes. But his most valuable work is his book, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, "On the Consolation of Philosophy;" in which, after the Eclectic manner, he has blended, for the purpose of his work, the tenets of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, but without any notice of the sources of consolation which are peculiar to the Christian system. In the elegant verses interspersed with this work, the intelligent reader will discover many traces of the Platonic philosophy, as it was then taught by Syrian, Proclus, and Marinus. Boëthius wrote two treatises, *De Arithmetica*, "On Arithmetic;" five books, *De Unitate et Uno*, "On Unity and One;" *Institutio Musica*, "Institutes of Music," and other pieces[c]. He had

[a] Sidon. Ep. i. Alan. Encyclop. p. 341.
[b] Ed. Barthii Cygn. 1655.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 642. t. iii. p. 202.

formed a deſign of tranſlating all the works of Plato and Ariſtotle into Latin, but was prevented from executing his purpoſe by a premature death. Having with great freedom cenſured the conduct of Theodoric, he was baniſhed into Perſia, and, after a ſhort interval, beheaded. It was during his exile that he wrote, for the relief of his own mind, his Treatiſe on Conſolation, which diſcovers an extent of learning, and purity of taſte, worthy of a better age. Boethius died about the year five hundred and twenty-ſix.

Towards the cloſe of the fifth century flouriſhed ÆNEAS GAZA, a Pagan by birth, by profeſſion a Sophiſt, a diſciple of Hierocles, and, after his converſion, a Chriſtian philoſopher. His dialogue, entitled *Theophraſtus*, in which he maintains the immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body, has reſcued his name from oblivion. In this poem, although he profeſſedly writes againſt the Platoniſts, the doctrines of Platoniſm and Chriſtianity are confounded[a].

In the ſixth century, ZECHARIAS, ſurnamed the Scholaſtic, acquired ſome diſtinction among Chriſtian philoſophers. He was educated at Alexandria, and at length, for his learning and piety, was placed at the head of the church of Mitylene, in Leſbos. Gaza wrote a treatiſe againſt the Manichæans, "On the doctrine of Two Principles in Nature;" and a Dialogue againſt the Eternity of the World[b]. Another Chriſtian philoſopher, who wrote upon the ſame ſubject, againſt the diſciples of Proclus, was JOANNES PHILOPONUS, a grammarian of Alexandria. He was more inclined to the Peripatetic than the Platonic ſyſtem, and wrote commentaries upon Ariſtotle. Philoponus was protected by Amrum, the Saracen commander, in the year ſix hundred and forty, when he was probably about eighty years of age; for he was patriarch of Conſtantinople under the emperor Juſtin II[c].

The laſt name, which we ſhall add to this ſeries of Chriſtian fathers, who might be ranked among philoſophers, is that of NEME-

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 427. v. vii. p. 99. v. xiii. p. 458, 508.

[b] Cave Hiſt. Lit. Scr. Ecc. p. 227. Fabr. Syllab. Script. de Vir. Ch. R. p. 107.

[c] Fab. l. c. p. 108. et Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 358. v. ix. p. 363. Phot. Cod. 215. 55. 75.

SIUS,

SIUS [a], whoſe age is uncertain, but is ſuppoſed by his editor [b] to have flouriſhed about the cloſe of the fourth century. He was the author of a treatiſe "On the Nature of Man," which is one of the moſt elegant ſpecimens, now extant, of the philoſophy which prevailed among the antient Chriſtians. The writer relates and examines the opinions of the Greek philoſophers on the ſubject of his diſſertation with great perſpicuity of thought, and correctneſs of language. But the treatiſe is chiefly curious, as it diſcovers a degree of acquaintance with phyſiology, not to be paralleled in any other writers of this period. He treats clearly concerning the uſe of the bile, the ſpleen, the kidneys, and other glands of the human body, and ſeems to have had ſome idea of the circulation of the blood. In fine, though, on account of the uncertainty of his date, Nemeſius is mentioned laſt in the preſent ſeries, he merits a place of no inconſiderable diſtinction among the antient Chriſtian philoſophers.*

[a] Fabr. Syll. c. 2. § 30.

[b] Pref. Edit. Oxon. Conf. Friend's Hiſt. Phyſic.

* Vidend. Cave's Lives of the Fathers, and Eccl. Antiq. Tenzel. Exerc. Select. p. i. p. 179, 210. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 56, 81, 88. Fabric. Syllog. Script. de Ver. Chriſt. Rel. Longuerve de Tatiano ap. Orat. Ittig. de Hæreſiarch. ævi. ap. c. 12. Petav. Dogm. Theol. l. i. c. 3. Huet. Orig. l. ii. c. 2, 9. Ittig. ſelect. cap. Hiſt. Ecc. ſ. ii. c. 3. Huet. de Fab. Rom. p. 53. Maſſuet. Diſſ. ad Irenæum. Whiſton's Prim. Chriſt. p. iv. art. 7. Deyling. de Iren. Teſt. Ver. § 42. Vinc. Lirin. Commonit. c. 24. Pamelii Vit. Tertulliani. Barbeyrac de la Morale des Peres, c. 6, 8. Dupin. Bibl. Scr. Ecc. t. i. p. 104. Le Clerc. Bibl. Un. t. x. p. 175, 193. R. Montacutius Orig. Eccl. l. ii. p. 52. Clerici Ep. Crit. i. p. 18. Otium Vindal. Mel. i. Gaudentii Diſſ. de Compar. Dogm. Orig. cum Dogm. Platonis, Flor. 1639. De la Rue Præf. Op. Orig. Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem. c. v. ſ. iii. § 34. Journal de Scavans, 1734. May, Art. 4. Le Clerc, Ep. vii. Hiſtoire de Boëte, Par. 1715. 12°. Tillemont Mem. Eccl. t. xii. de Syneſio. Boyſen. Diſſ. de Phil. Syneſii. Lardner's Account of the Chriſtian Fathers in his Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Part ii. paſſim.

BOOK VII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGE.

CHAP. I.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEK CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

HAVING related the philoſophical hiſtory of the Antient Chriſtians, that is, of thoſe who lived in the firſt ſix centuries of the Chriſtian æra, our plan requires that we proceed to inquire into the ſtate of philoſophy in the period of darkneſs called the MIDDLE AGE, which laſted from the beginning of the ſeventh century till the revival of letters in the fourteenth.

About the beginning of this period, under the Chriſtian emperors, the Sectarian philoſophy, together with Pagan ſuperſtition, was nearly extinct: and, in conſequence of the irruption of the Northern Barbarians, almoſt the whole Weſtern world was overwhelmed with intellectual darkneſs. This part of the hiſtory of philoſophy reſembles a barren wilderneſs, where the traveller is fatigued with beholding dreary waſtes, in which he meets with

ſcarcely

ſcarcely a ſingle object to relieve his eye, or amuſe his fancy. Yet, in order to preſerve the connection of facts, and account for the ſtate of philoſophy after the revival of letters, it will be neceſſary to trace with attention the great changes through which philoſophy paſſed during this period. The order we ſhall obſerve will be, firſt to repreſent the ſtate of philoſophy in the Eaſt to the taking of Conſtantinople, when the Eaſtern world ceaſed to philoſophiſe, and the Greek philoſophers paſſed over into the Weſt; ſecondly, to relate its condition in the Weſtern world from the ſeventh to the twelfth century; and laſtly, to ſubjoin the hiſtory of the Scholaſtic Philoſophy, which flouriſhed from that time to the revival of letters.

The fate of the Platonic ſchool having been already related, it is only neceſſary to remind the reader, that although the Pagan philoſophers, who, in conſequence of Juſtinian's interdict, had taken refuge in Perſia under Choſroës, returned about the middle of the ſixth century into the Roman Empire[a], the Eclectic ſect, as ſuch, did not long ſurvive. Still, however, the ſpirit, and many of the tenets of this ſchool, remained among the clergy of the Chriſtian church, the generality of whom tenaciouſly adhered to opinions which, inconſiſtent as they were with the pure doctrine of Chriſtianity, had been embraced and propagated by the Chriſtian fathers. The followers of Origen, whoſe tenets were chiefly borrowed from the Alexandrian philoſophy and theology, were particularly attached to this ſyſtem. Of theſe the greater part were Monks, who were induced, by a ſuperſtitious zeal for the rigorous diſcipline which he eſtabliſhed, to profeſs his doctrine in the face of perſecution. The enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, which was foſtered by the writings of Origen, and by thoſe of the ſuppoſed Dionyſius already mentioned, eſtabliſhed in the monaſteries a myſtical kind of theology, which was from this time embraced both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern world.

[a] Procopius in Anecdotis.

From

From the commencement of the ſame period, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which had for ſeveral paſt centuries languiſhed, began to revive and flouriſh. In the early ages of the Chriſtian church, the tenets of Ariſtotle being underſtood to militate ſtrongly againſt the doctrines of Chriſtianity, the Chriſtian fathers had in general been exceedingly adverſe to the Peripatetic ſect. But, when the orthodox clergy ſaw the ingenious and ſucceſsful uſe which many heretics made of the art of logic, they began by degrees to endure, and at length to admire and ſtudy, the dialectics of Ariſtotle, which were now tranſlated into the Syriac language by Chriſtians living under the Saracens. In the numerous conteſts, which were at this time conducted with ſo much acrimony among the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians, each had recourſe to theſe artificial methods of diſputing. At a time when men were daily loſing ſight of common ſenſe and ſimple truth, every champion for a ſyſtem, whether orthodox or heretical, imagined that he rendered eminent ſervice to the church, when he covered its ſuppoſed doctrines with the formidable redoubt of definitions and ſyllogiſms. Thus the Ariſtotelian philoſophy gradually roſe into repute, till at length it ſo far triumphed over Platoniſm, that, whilſt we only meet with a few individuals among the Greek Chriſtians who were acquainted with the Platonic philoſophy, great numbers ſtudied and taught the Peripatetic. The more celebrated of theſe we ſhall diſtinctly mention.

The firſt who, after Philoponus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Greek Chriſtians as an admirer, and as far as was not wholly inconſiſtent with his Chriſtian profeſſion, a follower of Ariſtotle, was JOANNES DAMASCENUS. He flouriſhed at the beginning of the eighth century. In early life he filled a high ſtation in the court of the Saracen caliph; but afterwards retired to the monaſtery of St. Sabas, that he might be at leiſure to proſecute his ſtudies. With due allowance for the age in which he lived, he was a great maſter of mathematical and philoſophical learning. The Arabians were much indebted to this Chriſtian philoſopher for their deliverance from barbariſm. Among his writings are an explanation of dialectics, under the

the title of Capita Philoſophica, "Heads of Philoſophy;" "Diſſertations on the Three Parts of the Soul, the Four Virtues, and the Five Faculties;" "Sacred Parallels;" and "An Accurate Delineation of the Orthodox Faith[a]." This latter work is, perhaps, the firſt attempt which was made to apply the language and arrangements of the Peripatetic philoſophy to theology, and to form what has ſince been called, *A Body of Divinity*. Hence ſome have conſidered Joannes Damaſcenus as the father of the Scholaſtics. It is certain, that his example was afterwards followed by a long train of Chriſtian writers. To him therefore ought, in ſome meaſure, to be aſcribed the miſchiefs which aroſe from the alliance which he introduced between Jeſus Chriſt and Ariſtotle.

Under the Eaſtern emperors, philoſophy and learning, in the eighth century ſeemed ready to expire. Beſides the general torpor which appears to have at this time overſpread the minds of men, the harraſſing incurſion of the Arabians into the empire, and the ſpirit of barbariſm which poſſeſſed the reigning princes, may be mentioned as cauſes of the general decay of knowledge. Zonaras relates a wonderful inſtance of ferocity in the emperor Leo the Iſaurian[b]: that his librarian, and twelve other learned men, who lived in a royal college, and were ſupported at the public expence, having ventured, in a conſultation upon ſome affair of ſtate, to give their opinion in oppoſition to that of the emperor, the monſter ordered the building where they ſlept to be ſet on fire, and the whole fraternity periſhed in the flames. If this ſtory, through the known inaccuracy and partiality of the writer, be ſomewhat doubtful, it is, however, certain, that this prince aboliſhed many ſchools which had ſubſiſted from the time of Conſtantine, and perſecuted, with great ſeverity, many learned men who were deemed heretics.

Succeeding emperors, however, probably excited by the example of the Saracen caliphs, formed a deſign of re-calling philoſophy, and

[a] Op. Ed. á M. Le Quien. Par. 1712. 2 vol. fol. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 777.
[b] Ann. t. iii. p. 123.

reviving learning; and, by the help of a few able and induftrious fcholars, perhaps effected as much as the times would permit. Michael and Bardas, in particular, difcovered an inclination to become patrons of letters: they inftituted fchools of various kinds, and appointed teachers with liberal falaries [a].

The emperor Conftantine Porphyrogenetes, by the encouragement which he gave to able preceptors, promoted the ftudy of arithmetic, geometry, aftronomy, and philofophy. This emperor was himfelf, in the ninth century, the pupil of an eminent fcholar, MICHAEL PSELLUS, whom, however, he afterwards fuffered to be accufed before him of apoftacy from the Chriftian faith. Pfellus, to wipe off this calumny, fubmitted, at an advanced age, to receive inftruction in the Chriftian myfteries; after which he wrote many treatifes, which are often erroneoufly afcribed to the younger Pfellus. Among thefe is a dialogue "On the Operations of Dæmons," which breathes fo much the fpirit of the Platonic fchools as to render it highly improbable that it was written by a Peripatetic in the eleventh century [b].

This Pfellus had a difciple named LEO, who, for his fingular attainments in philofophical learning, was called, The Philofopher. He became an eminent preceptor in rhetoric, arithmetic, philofophy, and other fciences; firft in the ifland of Andros, and afterwards at Conftantinople. To increafe his learning, he vifited the libraries of many diftant monafteries. One of his pupils being taken prifoner by the Saracens [c], aftonifhed his victors by folving a problem which had perplexed the Saracen philofophers. Upon this, the caliph Al-Mamon, inquiring by whom he had been inftructed, fent a meffenger to his preceptor, to invite him to his court; but Leo, not thinking it fafe to receive the letter, ordered it to be delivered to the emperor Theophilus, through the hands of his fecretary. The emperor immediately rewarded Leo, and appointed him to the

[a] Zonar. t. iii. p. 129.
[b] Leo Allatius de Pfellis, p. 2.
[c] Zonaras, t. iii. p. 129. Scyliza Curopalates in Chronico.

charge of a public ſchool. After the death of Theophilus, Leo was diſmiſſed from his office, becauſe he was an enemy to the worſhipping of images; but was afterwards reſtored to his honours by Barda, and appointed head of the profeſſors of learning and ſcience in Conſtantinople. Under the auſpices of this Leo, who is not to be confounded with the ſixth emperor of that name, literature revived[a].

In this period, however, the chief place is unqueſtionably due to PHOTIUS, the learned patriarch of Conſtantinople, whoſe merit was equal to his fame. He excelled in grammatical learning, poetry, and eloquence, and was well acquainted with philoſophy, medicine, and all the ſcience of the age. A valuable proof of his erudition remains in his *Bibliotheca*, or "Literary Memoirs," containing extracts from various authors, with original remarks, which abundantly prove the writer's extenſive learning, and critical penetration.

This work is a valuable treaſure, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of many writings, particularly in philoſophy, which would otherwiſe have been entirely loſt. A man, furniſhed with ſuch various learning, and endued with ſuch ſuperior talents, in an age of almoſt univerſal ignorance, muſt have been deemed a prodigy of wiſdom. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that he was advanced to the ſenatorial rank in the ſtate, and to the higheſt dignity in the church. By the authority of Barda, Ignatius was depoſed (whether juſtly or unjuſtly we ſhall not enquire) from the patriarchal ſee of Conſtantinople, and Photius was appointed in his room. In the next reign, this great man was, chiefly in conſequence of theological diſputes, diſmiſſed from his ſtation, and ſuffered ſevere perſecutions; of which he eſteemed it not the leaſt, that, being deprived of his library, he was denied the conſolation of reading. He was afterwards reſtored to the emperor's favour, and his patriarchal honours, and was entruſted with the education of the young princes. Through the jealouſy of the clergy, and the intrigues of the

[a] Allatius, l. c. p. v. Hanckius de Byzant. Scrip. p. i. c. 26.

court,

court, Photius was, however, again in his old age deposed and banished [a].

LEO THE SIXTH, the son of the emperor Basil, who himself assumed the purple in the year eight hundred and eighty-nine, acquired so, much learning and wisdom under his illustrious preceptor, as to obtain a place among the philosophers of the age. In the language of eulogy, it was said, Ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφώτατος ἐν Βασιλεῦσι Λέων, Among princes, Leo was the greatest philosopher. But after all, it is difficult to say, how far this emperor is indebted to his real merit, and how far to clerical adulation, for his fame. In the remains of his writings [c], he appears in no other light, than that of a skilful astrologer.

Besides these principal restorers and patrons of learning and philosophy among the Greek Christians in the Middle Age, several other learned men came forth from the school of Leo the philosopher, whose names, in this dark period, must not be wholly omitted. These where NICETAS DAVID, a Paphlagonian, who at the close of the ninth century wrote a life of Saint Ignatius; MICHAEL of Ephesus, known among the Greek interpreters of Aristotle; MAGENTINUS of Mitylene, who wrote a Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics; EUSTRATIUS, who explained the dialectics and morals of Aristotle; NICEPHORUS, a rigid monk of the thirteenth century, who was the preceptor of Theodore Lascar, and wrote an Epitome of the Aristotelian Logic and Physics [d]; GEORGIUS PACHYMERUS, a native of Nice, who lived in the thirteenth century, from whose manuscripts has been edited a compendium of Aristotelian philosophy [e]; THEODORE METACHITA [f], a Constantinopolitan of the

[a] Hanck. de Byz. Script. l. c. § 7. Nicetas in Vit. Ignatii. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 463. Phot. Ep. 97. 174.

[b] Hanck. l. c. c. 23. Allat. p. 5. Zonar. t. iii. p. 141.

[c] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 364, 431.

[d] Ed. Aug. Vindel. 1606.

[e] Ed. Oxon. 1666. 8vo.

[f] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 215. 218.

fourteenth century, known among Ariſtotle's commentators; Nicephoras Gregoras, who wrote ſeveral philoſophical works; Georgius Cyprius, celebrated for his acquaintance with Greek learning; and Georgius Lapitha, who is mentioned as a logician and an aſtronomer [a].

To this liſt muſt be ſubjoined, as entitled to peculiar diſtinction, Michael Psellus the Younger, a learned Chriſtian of the eleventh century, whoſe genius and induſtry raiſed him above the level of his age. He was by birth a Conſtantinopolitan, of conſular rank, and flouriſhed under the emperor Conſtantinus Monomachus. The female hiſtorian, Anna Comnena [b], ſpeaks of him as one who had been more indebted for his attainments to his own excellent talents than to the inſtructions of his preceptors; and adds that, having made himſelf maſter of all the wiſdom of the Greeks and the Chaldeans, he was juſtly eſteemed the moſt learned man of the age. Thus furniſhed, he became the chief inſtructor of the Conſtantinopolitan youth. He was at the ſame time the companion and the preceptor of the emperor, who was ſo captivated by the ſtudies and amuſements in which Pſellus engaged him, that, according to Zonaras, he neglected the concerns of the empire. The Byzantine hiſtorians complain, that the emperor, deluded by the head of the philoſophers (the title with which Pſellus was honoured) loſt the world [c]. Towards the cloſe of his life, Pſellus met with a powerful and ſucceſsful rival in John of Italy, who, through the favour of Botaniatas Nicephorus, the ſucceſſor of Michael, was inveſted with the honours which Pſellus had enjoyed. Pſellus retired into a monaſtery, and ſoon afterwards died. The time of his death is uncertain. His works, which have been much celebrated, are, "Commentaries upon Ariſtotle's Logic and Phyſics;" "A Com-

[a] Hank. l. c. Allat. de Pſellis. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 116. 130—152. v. ix. p. 365. v. vi. p. 300, 383, 466, 635. v. x. p. 666. Ann. Comnen. Alexiad. p. 453.
[b] Alex. l. v.
[c] Zonar. t. iii. p. 127. Hank. l. c. p. 483.

pendium

pendium of Queſtions and Anſwers;" and "An Explanation of the Chaldean Oracles." The two latter works prove him to have been converſant, not only with Grecian, but with Oriental philoſophy.

After the time of Pſellus, the Greek empire declining, learning and philoſophy were much neglected. There were, however, about the time when Conſtantinople was taken (which happened in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-one) ſeveral learned men among the Greek Chriſtians, who merit a place in the annals of philoſophy: but the confuſion which at this time prevailed in the Eaſt, obliged them to quit their monaſteries, and to ſeek for refuge in a more hoſpitable region. This circumſtance occaſioned the return of Grecian learning and philoſophy into Europe; for, after the Greek empire was deſtroyed by the Turks, the friends of literature and ſcience, deſpairing of meeting with protection and encouragement among barbarians, fled into Italy, and there, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, purchaſed an immortal name by the Revival of Letters.*

* Vidend. Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. Vatican. t. i. Hottinger. Bibl. Orient. c. iii. p. 291. et Hiſt. Eccl. Sec. viii. Hank. de Byzant. Script.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE WESTERN CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

FROM the Chriſtian philoſophers of the Eaſt, during the Middle Age, we now paſs to thoſe of the Weſt.

Upon a general ſurvey of the facts which have been already collected, and are hereafter to be adduced, with reſpect to the ſtate of philoſophy in this obſcure period, there is one circumſtance, which will appear too evident to be diſputed, and which will deſerve particular attention; namely, that both the Scholaſtic and the Myſtic theology, which ſprung up in this period, owed their riſe and increaſe to the mixture of the dogmas of Pagan philoſophy with the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Although theſe two ſyſtems of theology differ in their leading characters; the former attempting to derive the confirmation of divine truth from philoſophy; the latter calling in its aid to ſupport the ſpirit of fanaticiſm; the true origin of both will be found to have been, an injudicious application of the Peripatetic and Platonic philoſophy to the illuſtration of theology. The ſeeds of the Scholaſtic theology were ſown, when the dialectics of Ariſtotle were firſt introduced into the controverſies of the church; and the Myſtical theology took its riſe, when the enthuſiaſtic notion of union with God, and other fanatical principles, taught by the Alexandrian philoſophers, were embraced among Chriſtians; and was eſtabliſhed, when the ſpurious writings of the pretended Dionyſius obtained credit and authority in the Chriſtian world. From the Peripatetic ſchool, Chriſtians learned to perplex the truth by ſubtle diſputations; and from that of the later Platoniſts, they received a powerful bias towards enthuſiaſm. Hence, with the profeſſed deſign of exploring truth, they enveloped it in a cloud

cloud of obſcure notions and ſubtle diſtinctions; and, under the pretence of producing ſublime piety, enfeebled and enſlaved the human mind by the extravagancies of myſticiſm: in both ways, oppoſing the true ſpirit, and obſtructing the natural operation of chriſtianity.

From the time of Boethius, whoſe learning gleamed through the darkneſs which then overſpread the Weſtern regions, ignorance ſo generally prevailed, that, at the beginning of the ſeventh century, a ſcholar, or philoſopher, even of moderate attainments, was, in this part of the world, rarely to be found. This is, doubtleſs, in a great meaſure, to be aſcribed to the barbariſm of the Northern conquerors, and to that depravity of manners, which had long prevailed in the nations whom they conquered. But the evil was greatly increaſed by the hoſtility, which the emperor Juſtinian exerciſed againſt the whole race of philoſophers. His inveterate averſion to thoſe who ſtill continued to profeſs the Pagan religion, induced him to ſhut up the ſchools of philoſophy which ſtill remained at Athens, and to deprive the profeſſors of the ſalaries which former princes had appointed. Whilſt ſome of the chief ſupplies of learning were thus cut off, the general prevalence of barbarous manners rendered it unſafe to travel in ſearch of knowledge. The intercourſe between the Eaſtern and Weſtern countries becoming on this account leſs frequent, the Greek language fell into neglect in the Weſt; ſo that, in a ſhort time, ſcarcely any one in this part of the world was capable of reading the antient Greek authors, and thoſe who were deſirous of reading the works of Ariſtotle or Plato, were obliged to content themſelves with imperfect Latin tranſlations. The political ſpirit of the times, too, was exceedingly unfavourable to learning. At a period, when the natural ardour of the human mind is damped by tyranny, it is ſcarcely poſſible that it ſhould exert itſelf with vigour in the purſuits of ſcience. Add to this, that the Barbarian princes, who took more delight in arms than letters, were little inclined to afford encouragement and patronage to philoſophers.

These were great evils. But a ſtill more fruitful ſource of ignorance and barbariſm remains to be mentioned, namely, the general prevalence of a ſuperſtitious and bigotted contempt of philoſophy. The miſchiefs which ſprang from this ſource were ſo extenſive and laſting, that we muſt give it a diſtinct conſideration, and endeavour to account for its exiſtence.

About the beginning of the ſecond century, aſtrologers, Chaldeans, and other diviners, diſgraced the profeſſion of philoſophy by aſſuming the title of mathematicians. By this name they were commonly known, and this ſignification of the term was in general uſe for ſeveral centuries. In the Juſtinian code we find a chapter under this title[a], *De Maleficis et Mathematicis*, "On Sorcerers and Mathematicians;" and one book of the *Theodoſian Code* preſcribes the baniſhment of mathematicians out of Rome, and all the Roman cities, and the burning of their books. Impoſtors, who paſſed under this appellation, rendered themſelves exceedingly obnoxious to princes and ſtateſmen by the influence which their arts gave them over the minds of the vulgar; and it was thought neceſſary, for the ſafety of the ſtate, to ſubject them to rigorous penalties[b]. This averſion to mathematicians, or diviners, paſſed the more eaſily from the Pagans to the Chriſtians, as it was a general perſuaſion among the latter, that a diſpoſition to pry into futurity was culpable, and even impious. Hence, not only were books written againſt the practice of divination, but biſhops from their councils and ſynods iſſued ſtatutes and canons againſt thoſe who followed the arts of divination, or magic; and, in their popular diſcourſes, diſſuaded the people from hearkening to them. The thirty-ſixth canon of the council of Laodicea orders them to be baniſhed[c]. Gregory, biſhop of Rome, whoſe negative merit ob-

[a] L. x. Tit. 18. Conf. Noctes Attic. l. i. c. 9. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. iv. § ult. l. v. § 2. Euſeb. Prep. l. vi. c. 1. Suet. Tib. c. 14. 36.

[b] Fabrottus ad. t. 10. l. 16. Cod. Theod. de Pagan. p. 37. Jul. Firmic. Math. l. i. c. 7.

[c] In Photii Nomocan. Tit. ix. c. 25.

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tained him the furname of Great, adopted this decree [a]. And thus far, perhaps, the conduct of the clergy, as guardians of religion, might admit of fome apology; but this ignorant bigot proceeded much further. Inflamed with blind zeal againft every thing that was Pagan, Gregory gave orders that the library of the Palatine Apollo, a valuable collection of books formed by the Roman emperors, and kept in the temple of Apollo adjoining to the palace, fhould be committed to the flames [b]. This order, fo difgraceful to the epifcopal chair, and of fuch irreparable injury to pofterity, was iffued under the notion of confining the attention of the clergy to the facred fcriptures. This ftory, which we relate on refpectable authority, is the more credible, as it perfectly agrees with the fpirit of this ignorant pontiff, who defpifed all profane learning as unworthy of a Chriftian. Of this we have a curious proof in his letter to a teacher of grammar, reproving him for polluting, with hymns to Jupiter, that tongue, which ought to be employed in celebrating the praifes of Chrift, and exhorting him to defift from the vain purfuit of human learning [c]. It is eafy to perceive, that the authority of this renowned prelate, whofe fingular fanctity procured him a degree of veneration among the vulgar little fhort of idolatry, would not fail to create a general prejudice againft learning of every kind. And no one, who reflects how eafily the ignorant vulgar are led wherever their teachers pleafe, will be furprifed, that, from this time, men regarded as PROFANE every ftudy which was not fanctified by the authority of the church; and thought that they made an acceptable offering to the Lord, when they configned to the flames the valuable remains of Greek and Roman literature.

What reparation did this zealous guardian of the purity of Chriftian doctrine make, for the depredations which he committed upon antient learning? Did he provide precepts of wifdom more

[a] Sarifberiens. Policrat. l. i. c. 9.
[b] Ib. l. ii. c. 26. l. viii. c. 19.
[c] Ib. l. ii. c. 29. l. ix. Ep. 48.

 confonant

consonant to sacred truth, or more suitable to Christian piety? This his vanity prompted him to undertake; and this his ignorant and servile followers, for several centuries, imagined that he had accomplished. From a bigotted contempt of heathen morality, he thought it necessary to furnish the church with a pure system of Christian ethics, and drew up his celebrated BOOK OF MORALS. And such was the opinion which was entertained of his piety and learning, and such the reverence which was paid to his authority, that the work was received with universal admiration. About forty years after his death, in the pontificate of Theodore, whilst a council was sitting at Toledo, the king of Spain sent a bishop to Rome, to request from the pontiff a copy of Pope Gregory's Morals. The pope detained the messenger three days, pretending that the book could not be found; the bishop passed the third night in prayer in the church of Peter and Paul, and in the morning reported, that about the middle of the night, he had had a vision of those heavenly apostles, who informed him of the place in which this sacred book lay concealed. The book was accordingly found, and delivered to him by the hands of the pontiff[a]. This bishop, whose name was Taio, afterwards collected from these writings of Gregory, four books of sentences, which at this day sleep in libraries, without much injury to the learned world; and the same task was repeated by three different ecclesiastics in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. So long did the Morals of Gregory retain their credit and authority in the church. Notwithstanding all this, no one who now examines this famous production will hesitate to pronounce the book a confused mass of superstitious trifles, and mystical absurdities; such as might have been expected from a writer, who, in the dedication of his work, expressly disclaims all attention to style, and even to grammar, judging it unworthy of a Christian bishop "to restrict the words of celestial wisdom by the rules of Donatus."

[a] Anon. in app. ad. Conc. Tolet. vii.

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In the midſt of all the diſcouragements, which were at this period caſt in the way of letters by thoſe from whom it ought to have received ſupport and patronage, there were, however, a few who ventured to converſe with authors that treated on ſubjects of human learning and philoſophy. Theſe authors, who were called Secular Writers, and may be conſidered as the claſſics of the Middle Age, were MARCIANUS CAPELLA, of Madaura in Africa, who, in the fifth century, wrote *Novem Librorum Satyras*, a work which, without perſpicuity or elegance, treats of grammar, dialectics, geometry, rhetoric, arithmetic, aſtrology, and muſic;—BOETHIUS, the author of the book *De Conſolatione*, concerning whom it is difficult to ſay, whether he owed his authority more to his knowledge of the Grecian language, or to the intimate friendſhip which is ſaid to have ſubſiſted between him and Saint Bernard;—AURELIUS CASSIODORUS, who wrote a treatiſe on the ſeven branches of learning, eagerly read by the *learned men* of theſe times;—MACROBIUS, a writer already noticed, whoſe erudition and perſpicuity made him exceedingly valuable to theſe ſchools;—FIRMICUS MATERNUS, whoſe treatiſe *De Matheſi*, or *Aſtrologia Apoteleſmatica*, was much valued;—and CHALCIDIUS, whoſe Commentary upon the Timæus of Plato afforded great ſcope for the profound ſpeculations of the philoſophers of the Middle Age [a].

With ſuch guides, it was impoſſible for thoſe who, in this period of blind ſuperſtition, dared to turn their eyes towards profane literature and ſcience, to make any conſiderable proficiency in knowledge. Many of the writers, whom we have mentioned as the claſſical authors of this age, do not profeſſedly deliver precepts of liberal arts, or elements of philoſophical ſcience, but interſperſe them with ſubjects of a different kind; while others are employed in recondite ſpeculations, the reſult of the moſt profound ſtudy of philoſophy. In order to underſtand, and profit by either of theſe claſſes of pre-

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 638. 644. 651. tom. iii. p. 185. 209. 218. t. iii. p. 97. 145. Sariſb. Policrat. l. ii. c. 19. l. viii. c. 10. Trithem. de S. E. c. 201. Caſſiod. Op. Ed. Rothomag. 1676. Metalog. l. iv. c. 9. p. 890.

ceptors, it is evident that the pupil muſt have acquired a much larger ſhare of preparatory knowledge, than could be commonly attained at a period, when genius was neglected, and the antients were almoſt unknown.

Beſides the profane, or ſecular, writers above-mentioned, the ſcholars of this age choſe for their oracle and guide the pious and learned Saint Auguſtine [a], who was ſo great a maſter of the dialectic art, that in a diſpute which he held with Ambroſe, he obliged that Saint to have recourſe to his prayers, that he might not be caught in the web of Auguſtine's ſophiſtry [b]. A ſummary of the precepts of logic, and an explanation of the Categories, introduced into the ſchools under the name of Auguſtine, were eſteemed invaluable treaſures of philoſophical learning, and were uſed as the chief text books in public lectures [c]; till at length the ſagacity of the Benedictine Monks, who edited the works of Auguſtine, ſaw reaſon to reject them as ſpurious, becauſe the dialectics which he wrote were, as he himſelf atteſts, written upon Pythagoric and Platonic principles, whereas the pupil's manual taught the dialectics of the Stoics; and becauſe the book of Categories aſſerted the exiſtence of antipodes, which Auguſtine had denied [d]. Yet theſe ſpurious books obtained, and for ſome centuries preſerved, the higheſt credit in the ſchools.

If the poverty of theſe ſources of inſtruction be compared with other unfavourable circumſtances of the times, it will not be thought ſurpriſing, that the ſeventh century afforded no writers of diſtinction; though, doubtleſs, there were, even at this period, men who in leſs diſadvantageous ſituations would have riſen to eminence in philoſophy. This would, probably, have been the caſe with Isidore, archbiſhop of Seville, who attained that dignity in five hundred and ninety-five, and died in ſix hundred and thirty-ſix. He appears to have been a man of conſiderable reading, and his writings are valuable for the numerous extracts they contain from Latin books which are now loſt. His principal works are, his *Origines*, " Derivations,"

[a] Barbeyrac de Phil. Mor. Patr. Præf. p. 39. [b] Amb. Serm. 92.
[c] Launoius de Scholis cel. c. 59. art. 1. p. 178. Id. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 5. p. 197.
[d] De Civit. Dei, l. xvi. c. 9.

which

which is not merely an etymological work, but treats on many miscellaneous topics in mathematics and physics; and his book "On the Nature of Things," which contains many fragments of Nigidius, Varro, Suetonius, and others. The works of Isidore were of great use in the subsequent ages, in which the antients were little read.

In the Eighth Century, learning and philosophy, which had as we have seen nearly expired in the East, were in the West so far from reviving, that they seemed in danger of being entirely lost. Of the state of knowledge at this period some judgment may be formed, from the eighth canon of the council of Toledo, which required that every clergyman should be able to read and chaunt the psaltery, and to perform the ceremony of baptism. The best singer was at this time reckoned the most accomplished priest. In the reign of Charlemagne, a violent dispute arose between the singers at Rome, and those in France, concerning the merit of their respective performances, which was brought before the emperor, and decided in favour of the Romans, who had been instructed by Pope Gregory. The Roman singers valued themselves so highly upon this circumstance, that in the course of this controversy they did not scruple to call their Gallic brethren ignorant rustics and brutes[a]. The attention which was at this time universally paid to music, contributed greatly towards establishing the dominion of barbarism; for whilst the ecclesiastics were chiefly occupied in this pursuit, learning and philosophy, through the whole Western world, were forgotten. Ignorance and indolence, cherished by this passion for music, prevailed to such a degree, that those who were ambitious to obtain some reputation as philosophers, looked no further than that part of philosophy which treats of music, and wasted their time in writing books upon the art of chaunting and singing[b].

The credit of affording an asylum to philosophy and learning, at a time when they seem to have been banished from courts and cities, is commonly given to monastic institutions. And the monks of St. Benedict, in particular, have obtained much praise as the first patrons of

[a] Launois de Schol. cel. c. i. p. 3.

[b] Fabric. Bibliogr. Antiq. c. xi. p. 368. Id. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 644.

letters.

letters. But the world is lefs indebted to this order than is commonly fuppofed. Benedict himfelf was an enemy to learning. Though his education had introduced him to the knowledge of letters, he voluntarily relinquifhed all profane literature, and defirous to pleafe God alone, devoted himfelf to a monaftic life, *fcienter nefcius, et fapienter indoctus*, knowingly ignorant, and wifely unlearned [a]. The candidates for admiffion into this order were indeed required to receive preparatory inftructions, and for this purpofe fchools were erected; but it does not appear, that any provifion was made in thefe fchools for ftudy of any kind, either fecular or facred; the candidates feem to have been wholly employed, either in manual labour, or in fuch religious exercifes as were judged neceffary to form them to habits of piety and fanctity. And the cafe was the fame with refpect to other celebrated monaftic inftitutions [b]. The truth, therefore, feems to be, that there was no direct eftablifhment in thefe focieties for the encouragement and propagation of learning; but that a long courfe of leifure and retirement naturally led the Monks to feek relief from the fatigue of abfolute inaction in fpeculation and ftudy; and that in this manner monafteries gradually became feats of learning. This good end was probably promoted by Caffiodorus, who about this time wrote *Inftitutiones Divinæ & Humanæ*, "Lectures on fubjects of divine and human learning," for the ufe of his own Monks.

At this period, when the Lombards, and other barbarians, had eftablifhed the empire of ignorance in Italy, and the Saracens had, by the terror of their arms, difperfed the fmall remains of learning in Spain and France, philofophy, now fo difguifed as fcarcely to be known, and the Mufes, with their lyres now almoft unftrung, could find no other fecure retreat, than in the iflands of Great Britain and Ireland [c]. Several fchools of learning were at this time eftablifhed in

[a] Anton. Summa Hiftor. Tit. xv. c. 13. Conring. Acad. Ant. Diff. iii. Id. Suppl. 30.

[b] Baillet. Vit. nov. SS. Bafnage Hift. Eccl. l. xxi. c. 4. t. iv. p. 1621. Holften. Cod. Regul. Rom. 1661. G. Naud. Conject. Cauf. Kempenf. p. 155.

[c] Sulgeri vet. Biog. apud Cambden.

Ireland, to which the English sent their children for education; and from these nurseries many scholars returned to England, and obtained great reputation. It is probable, that the British youth were sent to the Irish schools to study philosophy; for Eric says[a], "What shall I say of Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the sea, is migrating to our coasts with almost her whole train of philosophers?" England seems to have been much indebted to Ireland for the learned men, whose names distinguished this period of her history.

One of the most celebrated scholars of this age was THEODORE CILIX, of Tarsus, a Monk, who about the middle of the seventh century was created archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian. He brought into England a large collection of Greek and Latin books, and being himself a tolerable proficient in the metrical art, in astronomy, in ecclesiastical calculations, and in music, he instructed others in these branches of learning. His successors, Berechtwald, Tobias bishop of Rochester, Aldhelm of Sherborne, and others, made some efforts towards the advancement of knowledge[b]. But this feeble light could do little towards the dispersion of the Cimmerian darkness which had overspread the world. Notwithstanding their laudable exertions, Bede, one of the greatest lights of the eighth century, speaks of it as a fact not to be observed without tears, that the church was continually becoming weaker and more corrupt[c].

The VENERABLE BEDE[d] was born in six hundred and seventy-two, or six hundred and seventy-three, at Jarrow, in Durham, acquired the elements of learning in the monastery of Saint Peter, and was ordained a priest by John of Beverley, bishop of Horgulstad, or Hexham. Though the fame of his learning obtained him an invitation from Pope Sergius, he chose to remain in his monastery, and prosecute his studies. He wrote many books, of which the most valua-

[a] In Vit. S. Germani. Conf. Alcuin in Vit. Willibrord.

[b] H. Spelman. ad A. C. 668. t. i. p. 152. Cave. p. 387. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. t. i. p. 1655. Bedæ Hist. Ang. l. iv. c. 1. 2. Conring. l. c. p. 285.

[c] Expos. Alleg. in Sam., l. iv. c. 2. Bedæ Hist. Cont. l. i. c. 8.

[d] Bed. Op. t. iii. p. 151.

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ble is his Ecclefiaftical Hiftory. Bede had great merit, not only in the diligence with which he ftudied both facred and profane literature, in an age fo unfavourable to learning, but in the pains which he took to diffeminate knowledge. He was converfant with the writings of the antients, and drew from thefe pure fountains his knowledge of mathematics, phyfics, and philofophy. His erudition fo far exceeded that of the generality of his contemporaries, that they fet no bounds to their admiration. His writings became the chief guide of youth in their academical ftudies, and furnifhed popular difcourfes, which, under the authority of the bifhops, were read by the clergy to the people. On thefe accounts he obtained the appellation of the Venerable Bede[a]. And it cannot be doubted that his induftry was indefatigable, and that, confidering the difadvantages under which he laboured, his attainments were great; but, either he wanted that ftrength of judgment, without which a great philofopher can never be formed, or the errors and prejudices of his age were obftacles in his way, which he had not vigour of mind fufficient to overcome. His philofophical works are, for the moft part, compilations from former writers, which contributed little towards the improvement of fcience, and which, in the prefent advanced ftate of knowledge, will fcarcely repay the trouble of perufal. Bede died about the year feven hundred and thirty-five.

Another Englifhman of great diftinction at this period was ALCUIN, a pupil of EGBERT archbifhop of York. Under his preceptor, who was an eminent patron of learning, and himfelf a learned man, he acquired the knowledge not only of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but of mathematical and philofophical fcience. After the Venerable Bede, he became an eminent teacher both of languages and fciences in the univerfity of Cambridge. Charlemagne, hearing of his fame, invited him, in the year feven hundred and ninety-three, to his court, and admitted him to his confidence. It was, probably, through the advice and direction of this learned man, that Charlemagne founded many fchools in France, Germany, and Italy.

[a] Oudin. de S. E. t. i. p. 1672. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 496. Bal. Script. Ang. Cent. i. p. 84. Fuller. Præf. ad Res Angl. ap. Blount. Cenf. p. 340.

After

After acquiring juſt fame for the ſervices he had rendered to learning, he died, at an advanced age, in the year eight hundred and four[a].

But neither the learning of Alcuin, nor the authority of Bede, nor the power of Charlemagne, could ſubdue the ferocity and barbariſm of the times. Even in the moſt celebrated ſchools of this age, the field of inſtruction was confined and barren. In philoſophy, nothing was ſtudied but mathematics and logic; and the latter was taught in a trifling and uſeleſs manner, from the book before-mentioned, attributed to Auguſtine. Neither preceptor nor pupil was at this time to be found, who deſired, or dared to attempt, greater things. The circle of inſtruction, or the Liberal Arts, as the term was then underſtood, conſiſted of two branches, the *trivium*, and the *quadrivium*; the *trivium* included Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics; the *quadrivium*, comprehended Muſic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Aſtronomy. The reſpective objects of theſe ſeven liberal arts are, after the manner of the times, thus quaintly expreſſed in two memorable verſes.

GRAMM. *loquitur*, DIA. *vera docet*, RHET. *verba colorat*;
MUS. *canit*, AR. *numerat*, GEO. *ponderat*, AST. *colit aſtra*.

Theſe ſeven heads were ſuppoſed to include univerſal knowledge. He who was maſter of theſe was thought to have no need of a preceptor to explain any books, or to ſolve any queſtions which lay within the compaſs of human reaſon; the knowledge of the *trivium* having furniſhed him with the key to all language, and that of the *quadrivium* having opened to him the ſecret laws of nature[b].

At a period, where few were inſtructed in the *trivium*, and very few ſtudied the *quadrivium*, to be maſter of both was ſufficient to complete the character of a philoſopher. When phyſics were al-

[a] Pagi ad A. C. 796. n. 22. Mabillon, Sec. iv. Bened. p. 1. Laun. l. c. p. 15. 31. Conring. Ant: Ac. Diſſ. iii. p. 75. Alcuin. Op. Par. 1612. Bal. Cent. i. p. 110. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 134.

[b] J. Sariſber. Metalog. l. i. c. 12.

moſt entirely neglected; when morals were only taught in wretched compilations, after the model of Pope Gregory's *Moralia*; and when Caſſiodorus, Capella, Iſidore, and Auguſtine, ſupplied the place of the antients, how wretched muſt have been the ſtate of knowledge! eſpecially when it is added, that the liberal arts were only taught in monaſteries, and ſcarcely ever ſtudied by any but the clergy, who were thought ſufficiently learned, if, beſides an acquaintance with church muſic, they were tolerable maſters of the *trivium*. Beyond the precincts of the cloiſters and ſchools, the name of learning was ſcarcely known; military exploits were the buſineſs, and groſs luxury the amuſement, of the nobles; the inferior laity were ſunk in extreme indolence, and never dreamed of requiring a reaſon for their religious belief or prejudices; and the clergy and monks had no deſire to awaken that ſpirit of enquiry, which is ſo hoſtile to ſuperſtition and ſpiritual tyranny.

Through the ninth century, notwithſtanding the efforts which were made for the revival of learning, about its commencement under the auſpices of Charlemagne, ignorance and barbariſm were ſtill predominant. Nothing contributed more to that general contempt and neglect of learning, which ſo ſtrongly characteriſes this period, than the ſhameful depravity of the clergy, of the enormity of whoſe vices the ſynodical ſtatutes and canons, as well as the hiſtory of theſe times, afford abundant proofs. Though many ſchools were erected, and though ſome of theſe produced men whoſe names deſerve a place in the hiſtory of literature and philoſophy, the united efforts of the few, who at this period wiſhed well to the cauſe of learning, were unable to counteract the powerful operation of that indolent and licentious ſpirit, which prevailed among the Eccleſiaſtics.

In England indeed, ALFRED[a], for his ſuperior wiſdom and merit juſtly ſtiled The Great, did every thing which, at ſuch a period, it was poſſible for example and authority to effect, towards reviving

[a] Leland. c. 115. Life of Alf. Ed. Lond. 1574. Conf. Cambden, Cave, Oudin. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 69. Brian Twyn. Apol. Ant. Oxon. T. Caius Vind. Ant. Ox.

the love of learning and philoſophy. In the midſt of all the cares of his buſy and troubleſome reign, he is ſaid to have devoted eight hours of every day to ſtudy and devotion. By this perſevering application, he made ſuch proficiency in the knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, philoſophy, hiſtory, mathematics, and poetry, that he had, among his contemporaries, in point of learning, few equals, and no ſuperiors. His writings, among which was a Saxon tranſlation of Boëthius *De Conſolatione*, are a ſufficient proof of his learning. At the ſame time that he encouraged letters by his example, he made uſe of every means in his power to baniſh barbariſm from his kingdom. He invited learned men from all countries to reſide in Britain, and made ample proviſion for their ſupport in the capacity of public profeſſors. He founded the univerſity of Oxford, ſo celebrated in Academical Hiſtory from that time to the preſent day; and inſtituted Profeſſorſhips in Grammar, Rhetoric, Philoſophy, and Theology. In the execution of this laudable deſign, he was much aſſiſted by Neot, a monk. Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, ſpeaking of Alfred, ſays[a], "he was ſo aſſiduous in ſacred reading, that he always carried in his boſom a pſalter, or ſome other edifying book; and he invited learned foreigners to his palace, to aſſiſt him in his ſtudies, and afterwards beſtowed upon them eccleſiaſtical honours. Grimbald, who was famous for his knowledge of the ſcriptures, and his ſkill in church muſic, he ſent for from France, and appointed him abbot of the new monaſtery which he had erected at Wincheſter. Joannes Scotus, an eminent philoſopher, he appointed abbot of the monaſtery of Atheling; and other men of diſtinguiſhed learning he advanced to the higher ſtations in the church[b]." But theſe meritorious efforts for the reſtoration of ſcience and learning were ſoon rendered abortive by the incurſions of the Danes, and the ſubſequent cruelties of Harold, which overwhelmed the whole country, not excepting the ſchools, in confuſion and calamity. From this time, to the Norman conqueſt in the eleventh century, knowledge in England was at

[a] Hiſt. Croyland. ap. Oudin. l. c. p. 312.

[b] Conf. Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rer. c. 71.

ſo low an ebb, that, according to William of Malmſbury[a], both ſacred and profane learning were become obſolete, and the clergy were ſcarcely able to ſtammer out the words of the ſacrament; and he who underſtood grammar was admired by the reſt as a prodigy of learning.

We muſt not omit to mention, among the learned men of this century, RABANUS MAURUS[b], pupil of Alcuin, and afterwards a preceptor in the monaſtery of Fulda, in Heſſe. It was his cuſtom, and that of his colleagues, not only to inſtruct their pupils in theology, but in every kind of literature and ſcience; for "theſe learned men thought, that no one could underſtand the ſcriptures, who was unacquainted with human learning[c]." Rabanus acquired ſo high a reputation for knowledge and piety through all Germany and France, that many of the nobility entruſted him with the education of their ſons. In the year eight hundred and forty-ſeven, he was advanced to the ſee of Mentz[d].

But the firſt place among the ſcholars of this age is certainly due to JOANNES SCOTUS, ſurnamed ERIGENA. He is ſaid by ſome writers to have been a native of the town of Aire in Scotland, and by others to have been born in Herefordſhire. For his profound knowledge of philoſophy he obtained, among the writers of the Middle Age, the appellation of Scotus the Wiſe. Having early acquired (by what means is not certainly known) an uncommon ſtock of erudition, he penetrated further than any of his contemporaries into the myſteries of the Grecian, and eſpecially the Alexandrian, philoſophy. The fame of his learning reached Charles the Bald, who invited him into France, admitted him to his intimacy, and gave him the direction of the univerſity of Paris. But a circumſtance ſoon afterwards aroſe, which brought upon him much obloquy and perſecution. The Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, had, in the year eight hundred and twenty-four, ſent over, as a

[a] L. iii. Conf. Matt. Weſtmonaſt. Chron. Ann. 839.
[b] Laun. c. 8. Pagi Crit. Antib. ad. A. 814. n. 28. Mabill. Sec. iv. Ben. p. 1.
[c] Trithem. Chron. Hirs. An. 813.
[d] Trithem. de S. E. c. 247.

present

prefent of ineftimable value to the Weftern emperor, Lewis the Mild, the treatifes of the fuppofed Dionyfius the Areopagite, which had long been held in great veneration among the Greek Chriftians. This book, Charles the Bald, who could not read Greek, was earneftly defirous of perufing in a Latin tranflation. This defire was doubtlefs increafed by the opinion which at this time univerfally prevailed, though without any proof, that Dionyfius the Areopagite, or St. Denys, was the firft Chriftian teacher, or apoftle, in France. At the requeft of the emperor, Joannes Scotus undertook the tafk of tranflating the books of this Dionyfius, "On the Celeftial Monarchy;" "On the Ecclefiaftical Hierarchy;" "On Divine Names;" and "On "Myftic Theology." Thefe books were received with great eagernefs by the Weftern churches. The tranflation, however, being made without the Pope's licence, and containing many things contrary to the received faith of the church of Rome, the pope, Nicholas the Firft, was highly difpleafed, and wrote a threatening letter to the emperor, requiring that Scotus fhould be banifhed from the univerfity of Paris, and fent to Rome. The emperor had too much refpect for Scotus to obey the pope's order; but Scotus thought it advifeable, for his fafety, to retire from Paris, and after the death of the emperor is faid to have returned into England[a].

It was the tranflation of this book which revived the knowledge of Alexandrian Platonifm in the Weft, and laid the foundation of the myftical fyftem of theology which afterwards fo generally prevailed. Thus philofophical enthufiafm, born in the Eaft, nourifhed by Plato, educated in Alexandria, matured in Afia, and adopted into the Greek church, found its way, under the pretext and authority of an apoftolic name, into the Weftern church, and there produced innumerable mifchiefs.

Erigena was expert in metaphyfical fubtleties, and applied them to the elucidation of theological tenets. He wrote a book "On the

[a] Fordun. l. iv. c. 19. Chron. Scot. Ed. Galæi. Conrig. Ant. Ac. Supp. 31. G. Malmfbur. de Geft. Reg. Ang. l. ii. c. 4. S. Dunelm. Recapit. ad A. C. 882. Mat. Weftm. Flor. Hift. ad. A. 883. Roger Hoveden. Ann. ad 883. Maibillon. l. c.

Nature

Nature of Things," which Gale disturbed in its quiet repose, and published under the title of *Joanni Scoti Erigenæ de Divisione Naturæ Libri quinque, diu desiderati*[a], "Five books of J. Sc. Erigena, long wished for, on the Division of Nature." At the entrance of the work, he divides nature into that which creates and is not created; that which is created and creates; that which is created and does not create; and that which neither creates nor is created. If the reader wishes for any further specimen of the singularity of Joannes Scotus, let him attend to the following argument for the eternity of the world[b]. "Nothing can be an accident with respect to God; consequently, it was not an accident with respect to him to frame the world: therefore God did not exist before he created the world; for if he had it would have happened to him to create; that is, creation would have been an accident of the divine nature. God therefore precedes the world, not in the order of time, but of causality. The cause always was, and is, and will be, and therefore the effect always has subsisted, doth subsist, and will subsist; that is, the universe is eternal in its cause." Hence he taught that God is all things, and that all things are God; by which he probably meant the same with the Oriental, Cabbalistic, and Alexandrian philosophers, and, after these, with the followers of Origen, Synesius, and the supposed Dionysius, that all things have eternally proceeded by emanation from God, and will at length return into him as streams to their source. Accordingly he says, that after the resurrection nature itself will return to God; God will be all in all, and there will remain nothing but God alone[c].

These brief specimens are sufficient to shew, that the philosophy of Erigena was founded in the enthusiastical notions of universal deification; and consequently, that he is rather to be ranked among the fanatical than among the atheistical philosophers. By introducing into the Western church the books of the supposed Dionysius, he sowed the seeds of that mystical theology, which afterwards spread through the church, and which has not to this day been en-

[a] Oxon. 1681. fol. [b] Ib. l. iii. p. 185. [c] P. 232.

tirely

tirely eradicated. The monaſtic life, which afforded ſo much leiſure for indulging the flights of imagination, and ſo many opportunities for an oſtentatious diſplay of piety, was peculiarly favourable to the propagation of enthuſiaſm; and the ignorance of the times made it perfectly eaſy for thoſe, who were inclined to practiſe upon vulgar credulity, to execute their deſign. It is no wonder, therefore, that the dreams of myſticiſm were, under the authority of a ſuppoſed apoſtolical name, extenſively propagated. But we ſhall have occaſion to treat of this ſubject more fully in another place; it may ſuffice for the preſent to have ſhewn, by what channel the ſtream of enthuſiaſm, which Origen and other fathers brought into the Eaſtern church, paſſed over to the Weſt.

Beſides the learned men who have already been mentioned, the ninth century produced a few others whoſe names ſhould not be omitted. EGINHART [a], ſecretary to the emperor Charlemagne, had philoſophy ſufficient to be capable of correcting the terrors of Charlemagne, when, upon the appearance of a comet, that emperor enquired of him, what fatal change this phænomenon portended, by quoting the words of the prophet: "Be not thou afraid of the ſigns of heaven." He wrote the life of Charlemagne in a ſtyle ſuperior to the general taſte of the age [b]. HINCMAR, archbiſhop of Rheims, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the zeal and ingenuity with which he maintained the controverſy of the times concerning predeſtination, and by his attention to moral philoſophy. He wrote treatiſes "On the Character and Office of a King;" "On Virtues and Vices;" and "On the different Faculties of the Mind;" which were chiefly deſigned to correct the manners of the age in which he lived [c]. PAUL WINFRID [d], a monk of Caſſel, was, for his learning and ability, much eſteemed by Charlemagne: he ſtudied not only theology, but hiſtory, poetry, and philoſophy. AGOBARD [e], biſhop of Lyons, in the midſt

[a] Maibillon. Sec. iv. Baned. p. i.
[b] Ed. Schmink. Traj. ad Rhen. 1711. 4°. Epiſt. Eginh. Ed. Weinſk. Frank. 1707.
[c] Trithem. c. 264. [d] Pet. Diacon. de Illuſt. Vir. Caſin. c. 8.
[e] Cave Hiſt. L. p. 438. Dom. de Colon. Hiſt. Lit. de Lyon. t. ii. p. 93.

of the general neglect of physical study, wrote a treatise on hail and thunder, in which he endeavoured to correct the absurd suppositions of the vulgar; and another, in which he enquired into the natural causes of an epidemic epilepsy. GRIMBALD, invited from France to England by Alfred, greatly promoted the study of letters in England. ERIC[a], a monk of Auxerre was preceptor to Lotharius, the son of the emperor Charles the Bald. He appears from his writings to have been better acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues than most of his contemporaries, and to have been capable of producing, from his own stores, more useful works than his *Collectanea*, which, after the bad taste of the age, is a collection of scraps from Bede, Augustine, Jerome, and others.

The feeble exertions of these and other learned men, in the schools and monasteries which were dispersed through the Western world, were wholly insufficient to destroy the empire of barbarism, at a period when public affairs, and private manners, united to establish it. Whilst civil discord reigned through almost every part of Europe; in the midst of the wars of the Normans in France, the dissention of the brothers Lotharius, Charles, and Louis, and the irruptions of the Huns into Pannonia and Germany, and of the Normans and Danes into England, it was impossible that learning and philosophy should flourish; especially when it must be added, that those who alone might seem likely to promote them, the monks and clergy, were sunk in luxury, idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery. It is not therefore difficult to assign sufficient causes for the ignorance of this period, which prevailed to such a shameful degree, that instructions were given by the pope to the bishops, that they should make enquiries through the parishes of their respective districts, whether the officiating clergy could read the gospels and epistles correctly, and give them a literal interpretation. Another part of this enquiry into the learning of the clergy was, whether they could repeat, *memoriter*, the Athanasian creed, and *un-*

[a] Fabr. l. c. t. ii. p. 327. Mabill. Ann. t. i. p. 422.

derstand

derſtand its meaning, and were able to explain it in familiar language [a]. Giſlemar, an archbiſhop of Rheims, being called upon before his conſecration to read a portion of the goſpels, was found ſo ſhamefully ignorant as not to underſtand the literal meaning of the paſſage.

The thick darkneſs, which had now ſo long overſpread the world, was not in the ſmalleſt degree diſperſed in the TENTH CENTURY. At the beginning of this century, in the ſynod of Rheims, among other grievous complaints, it was ſaid [b], "Whilſt even at Rome ſcarcely any one has as much learning as would be neceſſary for a porter, with what front ſhall any one dare to teach what he himſelf has not learned?" The wretched ſtate of learning and philoſophy at this time may be inferred from the narrow limits of that courſe of inſtruction, which was ſuppoſed to comprehend the whole circle of knowledge. The *trivium* and *quadrivium*, as already explained, in which natural, moral, and metaphyſical ſcience was unknown, were now the utmoſt extent of the learning of the ſchools; and very few advanced beyond the *trivium*. If dialectics were more ſtudied and practiſed than in the preceding century, they were applied to no other purpoſe than to maintain frivolous, but often fierce, contentions on theological dogmas. John of Saliſbury complains [c]; "Men at this time waſte their whole lives in controverſy; even diſputing in the public ſtreets. When too old for any other employment, they ſtill retain their fondneſs for debate; always ſeeking but never arriving at truth, becauſe they are ignorant of the antients, or diſdain to adopt their opinions, for ever framing new errors of their own, or, through poverty of judgment, retailing the opinions and ſayings of others, and compiling an inconſiſtent maſs, out of which each author would find it difficult to recover his own." Theſe contentions may not improperly be conſidered as the infancy of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy; they did not, however, hinder the general prevalence of a moſt aſtoniſhing degree of ignorance. The records

[a] Reginon. de Diſciplina Eccl. ſub. init.
[b] Baron. ad Ann. 992. n. 25.
[c] Metalog. l. ii. c. 7.

of these times mention[a] a bishop of Paderborne, who had so entirely neglected the study, not only of the *quadrivium*, but the *trivium*, that he was not able to read the psalter, without committing the most ludicrous blunders[b]. This universal ignorance was accompanied with universal superstition and credulity. It is at present scarcely to be conceived how easily the most extravagant and absurd tales of marvellous events and miracles were believed, and how much influence the clergy, by means of these tales, notwithstanding their heinous immorality, every where obtained. How far corruption of manners now prevailed among them, may be conceived from the advice of Edgar, king of England, to his clergy[c], in which he upbraids them with luxury, grossness of language, lasciviousness of manners, and neglect of duty. When the clergy, who alone pretended to learning, were thus infamous for their vices, it was impossible that learning itself should not fall into contempt among the laity. Every trace of literature and philosophy must at this period have been lost, had they not met with a few zealous patrons and able supporters.

Among the patrons of literature which this age produced, are the emperors OTHO the First and Second, who had themselves some learning, and afforded provision and encouragement to learned men[d]; and ATHELSTAN and EDGAR, kings of England, the former of whom employed certain Jewish converts to translate the Old Testament into English, and himself wrote several books in English and Latin, among which was a treatise on astrology[e].

Among the supporters of literature we find, in England, BRIDFERTH[f], who, besides commenting upon BEDE, wrote a treatise *De Principiis Mathematicis*, "On Mathematical Principles," and *Computus Latinorum, Græcorum, Hæbræorum, et Anglorum*, "On the

[a] Leibnitz. Coll. Scr. Bruns. t. i. p. 555.

[b] He read, *Benedic domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabus tuis*, for *famulis et famulabus tuis*.

[c] Spelman. Conf. Baron. ad Ann. 925. n. 9, 10.

[d] Maibill. Præf. in Sec. v. Bened. Laun. c. 21. Conring. Ant. Acad. Sup. 42.

[e] Pits. p. 173.

[f] Leland. c. 136.

Methods of Computing among the Latins, Greeks, Hebrews, and Engliſh," preſerved in the Bodleian Library; Dunstan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, beſides the encouragement which he gave to the ſtudy of liberal arts in others, himſelf wrote ſeveral books, among which is a treatiſe "On Occult Philoſophy;" Ethelwold and Oswald, who with Dunſtan were preceptors to Edgar.—In France, Remigius, Constantine, and Abbo, monks who appear to have been, for the period in which they lived, well read in letters and philoſophy.—And in Germany, Nanno, of Stavern, in Weſt Frieſland, who, in the tenth century, wrote a Commentary upon Plato, *De Legibus et de Republica*; and upon Ariſtotle, *De Cælo et Mundo, et de Ethicis*: Baldric, preceptor to Bruno, the brother of Otho the Great; and others [a].

One of the moſt celebrated among the learned of this century was Gerbert, a native of Orleans, archbiſhop of Rheims, and afterwards Pope Sylveſter II. He merits a diſtinguiſhed place in the liſt of natural philoſophers, on account of the ſkill which he at this period acquired in mathematics, mechanics, hydraulics, and aſtronomy. Dithmar, writing concerning Gerbert, ſays [b]; "He was well ſkilled in aſtronomical obſervations, and far excelled his contemporaries in various kinds of knowledge. After his baniſhment from France, he fled to the Emperor Otho, and during his ſtay with him at Magdeburg, he made a clock, which he corrected by obſerving through a tube [c] a certain ſtar by which ſailors are guided in navigation." The knowledge of nature which Gerbert poſſeſſed, ſo far ſurpaſſed that of his contemporaries, that they thought him poſſeſſed of magical power, and Benno, a cardinal who owed him a grudge for his oppoſition, to the ſee of Rome, invented and circulated a tale of his holding converſe with the devil [d]. His epiſtles, of which one hundred and ſixty-one are ſtill extant, contain many curious particu-

[a] Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. Conring. Ant. Supp. 43.

[b] Chron. l. vi. p. 309. Conf. Trithem. c. 304. Laun. p. 79.

[c] Teleſcopes not being yet in uſe, this was probably nothing more than an open tube, intended to keep off the ſurrounding rays of light.

[d] Leo Urbevitan. in Deliciis Erudit. Lamii, t. ii. p. 163. Baron. Ann. 1003.

lars reſpecting natural philoſophy[a]. Sylveſter II. died in the year one thouſand and three.

Numerous cauſes concurred, in the ELEVENTH CENTURY, to rivet the chains of ignorance. The eruptions of barbarous nations ſpread terror and deſolation through many of the more civilized parts of Europe. The Chriſtian world, prompted by ſuperſtition, undertook the romantic deſign of expelling the Turks from Paleſtine. Beſides this, literature and philoſophy met with new interruptions and diſcouragements. The ſmall portion of learning which remained was ſtudiouſly confined within the walls of monaſteries by eccleſiaſtics, who found that the beſt way to preſerve the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their wealth and power, was to keep the laity ſtill more ignorant than themſelves. At the ſame time, the laity were, through ſuperſtitious credulity, not diſinclined, for the ſafety of their ſouls, to ſubmit their underſtandings to the direction of the prieſts; and were eaſily perſuaded, that learning and philoſophy were nothing more than handmaids to theology, and therefore could be of no uſe but to the clergy. And, indeed, how could the unlearned think otherwiſe, when they ſaw, that the learned themſelves made no other uſe of philoſophy, than to furniſh them with weapons, with which they fought againſt each other with as much violence, as the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens? Men employed in civil or military life would take little intereſt in theſe controverſies; they would freely leave the clergy in poſſeſſion of their philoſophy, whatever it might be, and be content to admire, without imitating, a kind of excellence which they did not fully comprehend, and which they ſaw productive of no good effects. Even among the clergy, moſt of thoſe who aſpired after ſome diſtinction were contented with making themſelves maſters of the principles and practice of muſic; an art which was at this time in ſuch high repute, that no one who was ignorant of it was judged qualified for any ſcholaſtic or theological office; and they who excelled in it were ranked among philoſophers of conſummate erudition. So violent was the paſſion for muſic, that even princes were

[a] Ed. Maſſon. Par. 1611. 4to. Fab. Bib. L. Med. t. iii. p. 827.

ambitious

ambitious of excelling in it. Robert, a king of France, was eminently ſkilled in this art, and acquired great credit by ſinging with his clergy [a]. Notwithſtanding all this, it does not appear that muſic was commonly ſtudied or taught upon mathematical principles. Some improvement, however, the art received from the monks of this period. Guido Aretine, a Benedictine, acquired great fame by expreſſing the muſical notes in a new ſcale, *ut, re, mi, fa, ſo, la,* in order to facilitate the learning of this art [b]. He is ſaid to have taken the words from a hymn of Paulus Diaconus on John Baptiſt [c].

UT *queant laxis* RE *ſonare fibris*
MI *ra geſtorum* FA *muli tuorum*
SO *lve pollutis* LA *biis reatum,*
Sancte Joannes.

He made this invention public in his *Micrologos*, or two books *De Muſica*. After all, this invention was no very material improvement upon the antients, for before Guido, the muſical ſcale had twenty notes; and the octaves were as well diſtinguiſhed among the Egyptians by ſeven vowels, or, by the method which Pope Gregory introduced, the uſe of the firſt ſeven letters of the alphabet [d].

Neverthele*ſ*s, the eleventh century was not without its learned men. Though ſcience and the arts met with little encouragement from the princes of this period, there were not wanting ſcholars, whoſe genius and induſtry enabled them in ſome meaſure to riſe above the difficulties of their ſituations, and whoſe literary and philoſophical labours caſt ſome rays of light upon this gloomy period. OLIVER OF MALMSBURY excelled his contemporaries in the knowledge of mathematical and natural philoſophy. INGULPHUS, ſecretary to William the Conqueror, devoted himſelf to ſtudy, in the univerſity of Oxford, and made Ariſtotle his guide in philoſophy, and Cicero in rhetoric [e]. FULBERT, a pupil of Gerbert, who enjoyed

[a] Trithem. c. 304. [b] Sigebert, c. 144. et in Chron. ad Ann. 1028.
[c] Weizius in Heortologio, p. 263.
[d] Voſſ. de Scient. Math. c. 22. § 7. Et de Viribus Rythmi, p. 91.
[e] Fab. t. iii. p. 89.

the patronage of Robert king of France, and of Canute king of England, was esteemed one of the most learned men of the age[a]. BERENGER, of Cologne[b], was a great master of the dialectic art, and displayed much courage as well as good sense by the opposition which he made against the doctrine of transubstantiation; an absurd dogma, which nothing but such a total neglect of philosophy as disgraced the Middle Age could have produced. BRUNO[c], of Cologne, a pupil of Berenger, and preceptor and counsellor to Pope Urban the Second, retired into monastic life, and founded the order of Carthusians. LANFRANC, archbishop of Canterbury, opposed the heresy of Berenger, and employed the weapons of dialectics with great ingenuity and address in defence of transubstantiation. His writings[d] are celebrated for the purity of their Latinity. ANSELM[e], who was also preferred to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, applied the subtlety of logic to theology. As an example of his refinement may be mentioned his arguments for the being of God, derived from the abstract idea of Deity, afterwards resumed by Des Cartes. His writings[f], On the Will of God; Free Will; Truth; The Consistency of the Doctrine of Divine Prescience, with that of predestination, and other points, which abound in logical and metaphysical abstractions, entitle him to the honour of having largely contributed towards preparing the way for the Scholastic system, which soon afterwards universally prevailed. To this list must be added HERMANNUS[g], a self-taught German, who wrote Latin corrections of some part of Aristotle's works, and who seems to have been the first writer in the West who translated Arabic books into Latin.

On the whole, though Gerbert, Anselm, and some others were versed in the subtleties of logic and metaphysics, they were so far from restoring true science, that they involved the study of philosophy in new embarrassments. The few who, by the help of superior genius and industry, raised themselves above the ordinary level of the

[a] Trithem. c. 315. Laun. c. 40.
[b] Laun. c. 5. W. Malmsb. Hist. Angl. l. iii. p. 113. Sigebert, c. 154.
[c] Laun. c. 4. [d] Ed. Par. 1646. fol. [e] Trithem. c. 351.
[f] Par. 1675. 1721.
[g] Trithem. Ann. Hers. t. i. p. 148. Fab. L. Med. t. iii. p. 705.

times,

times, loft themfelves in the clouds of metaphyfics. They were wholly employed in attempting to explain abftract notions of theology, by terms almoft without meaning; hereby accumulating frivolous controverfies, and obtruding upon the church new refinements in theological fpeculations, which foon grew up into that monftrous form, to be defcribed in the next book, the Scholaftic philofophy.

A circumftance which greatly increafed the confufion and obfcurity which prevailed in the fchools at this period was, that for want of an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, dialectics were not ftudied in the original writings of Ariftotle, but in the wretched Manual of Auguftine, which was generally ufed in the public fchools. The original works of Ariftotle, notwithftanding the pains which Nannus, Hermannus, and others, had taken to tranflate felect parts, lay neglected till the beginning of the twelfth century, when his logical and metaphyfical writings, lately brought from Conftantinople, were rendered into Latin, and read in the univerfity of Paris. From this and other caufes, the ftudy of dialectics produced nothing but frivolous difputes and fruitlefs logomachies; of which this century affords a memorable example in the controverfy which was raifed by Rofceline[a], whether the perfonal diftinctions in the Trinity be *real* or *nominal*; whence afterwards arofe the metaphyfical fects of the Realifts and Nominalifts *.

[a] H. Gandavenfis de Sc. Ec. c. 5. p. 118.

* Vidend. Fabric. Bibl. Eccl. Hamb. 1718. fol. Trithemius de Script. Eccl. Miræi Auctarium de Script. Eccl. J. Sarifber. Policrat. et Metalog. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1638. Laun. de Scholis celeb. Hamb. 1717. Conrin. Antiq. Acad. Diff. iii. Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Rechenberg. de Orig. Theol. Myft. ap. Exerc. in N. Teft.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

SECTION I.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL, FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS.

THE Dialectic philoſophy, loaded with metaphyſical ſubtleties, which had been ſtudied and profeſſed by ſeveral of the clergy towards the cloſe of the Eleventh century, began, at the opening of the Twelfth, to be publicly taught in the ſchools, and to take the lead of every other kind of learning. Abelard, who was a young man at this time, gave this account of the commencement of his ſtudies at Paris[a]: "Preferring the ſtudy of logic to all others, and the diſputations of the ſchools to the trophies of war, I entirely devoted myſelf to this purſuit, and, like a Peripatetic philoſopher, travelled through different countries, exerciſing myſelf, wherever an opportunity offered, in theſe conteſts. At length I came to Paris, where this kind of learning had for ſome time been cultivated, and put myſelf under the tuition of an eminent and able preceptor, William de Champeaux." He proceeds to relate ſeveral particulars concerning the diſputes which were carried on in this ſchool upon the ſubject of univerſals, which ſufficiently prove, that philoſophy was waſting its ſtrength

[a] Hiſt. Calam. ſuar. c. iii.

upon

upon trifles, and that it was now, perhaps, more than ever, the employment of the philosophical world, to dispute *de lana caprina*.

If it be asked, why dialectic philosophy was at this time in such high esteem, the obvious answer is, that it was supposed to be the key of theology, without which it would be impossible to unlock the mysteries of sacred wisdom. It was on account of this supposed alliance between logic and theology, that the former was made the principal object of study in all the schools, and that those who excelled in the dialectic art were regarded with the highest admiration, and attended by crowds of pupils. Besides this general cause for the universal prevalence of a taste for logical disputations, there were other collateral circumstances, which at this period contributed to produce the same effect.

The Aristotelian philosophy had now for several centuries been studied by the Saracens, and was at this time taught in their schools in Spain. These schools were visited by many of the Western Christians, who learned Arabic, that they might be able to read translations of Aristotle, and other philosophical writers, in that language, and who afterwards translated many Arabic books into the European tongues. The first person who undertook this task, seems to have been CONSTANTINE AFER[a], a monk of Cassino. He travelled into the East, and spent thirty years among the Arabians, Persians, Indians, and Egyptians, making himself master of the learning of each nation; after which he returned to the monastery of Cassino, and spent the rest of his days in translating books from various languages. He is said to have been master of Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Indian, Greek, Latin, and Italian. Others were inspired with the same desire of acquiring that learning among the Arabians, which their own country would not afford. DANIEL MORLEY[b], of Norfolk, a student in the universities of Oxford and Paris, visited Spain, and learned mathematics in the Arabic tongue at Toledo, and after his return wrote a book, *De inferiori et*

[a] Pet. Diacon. Auct. ad Leonis Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 35. Trithem. c. 286.
[b] Leland, c. 220. Pits. p. 254.

ſuperiori Parte Mundi, "On the lower and upper part of the World," which he dedicated to John Biſhop of Norwich, and another, *De Principiis Mathematicis*, "On the Principles of Mathematics." ROBERT RETIN [a], archdeacon of Pampelona, in Spain, after travelling among the Saracens both in Europe and Arabia, wrote a Latin tranſlation of the Koran. ADELARD [b], an Engliſh monk of the Benedictine monaſtery at Bath, in the reign of Henry the Firſt, went among the Saracens in ſearch of mathematical and phyſical ſcience, and, having learned Arabic, tranſlated from that language many Greek writings, among which were the Elements of Euclid. Other tranſlators appeared about the ſame time, by whoſe induſtry the logical and metaphyſical writings of Ariſtotle were diſperſed through France, Germany, and Italy [c].

Another cauſe which ſerved to eſtabliſh a general taſte for the Peripatetic philoſophy, and particularly for the Ariſtotelian logic, was, that about this period many Greek copies of the writings of Ariſtotle were brought from Conſtantinople into the Weſt. Before this time, though they had been read in the original by a few monks more learned than the reſt, the greater part had been contented with the tranſlations of Victorinus and Boethius. But, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the original writings of Ariſtotle were ſtudied in Paris; whence they were introduced among the Germans, by Otho of Freiſingen, in the time of Abelard [d].

The guardians of the church obſerved with an apprehenſive and jealous eye, the inundation of new opinions, which this fondneſs for logical diſputations introduced. ALMARIC, who taught theology at Paris, appeared to the ſecond Pariſian council, in the year one thouſand two hundred and nine, to have imbibed many errors from the ſtudy of Ariſtotle, and fell under their eccleſiaſtical cenſure. DAVID DE DINANTO, a diſciple of Almaric, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate: and the writings of both, which, after all, contained

a Huet. de clar. Int. p. 230. b W. Malmſb. l. ii. c. 10. Leland, c. 171.

c Trithem. c. 477. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 596.

d Gaſſend. Exerc. Parad. adv. Ariſt. Ex. iii. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 1. Helmold. de Slavis, l. ii. c. 9.

doctrines

doctrines rather Platonic than Peripatetic, were ſentenced to be publicly burned. This ſentence was followed by a general prohibition of the uſe of the phyſical and metaphyſical writings of Ariſtotle in the ſchools, by the Synod of Paris, and afterwards, under Pope Innocent the Third, by the Council of the Lateran[a].

Theſe violent meaſures, however, were ſo far from exterminating the evils againſt which they were directed, that they in fact increaſed them; for when thoſe who adopted this new method of philoſophiſing perceived the jealouſy and diſpleaſure which it raiſed among the heads of councils and ſynods, they became ſo much the more tenacious of the right which had been invaded, and zealous in the ſupport of their innovations. The fondneſs for the ſubtleties of Ariſtotelian logic and metaphyſics became ſo general, that the orthodox clergy complained, that ſcholars ſpent their whole time in diſputation[b]. Their complaints and their prohibitions were, however, alike ineffectual; and it was at length found neceſſary, by degrees, and under certain reſtrictions, to favour the ſtudy of Ariſtotle. His dialectics, phyſics, and metaphyſics, were by expreſs ſtatute received into the univerſity of Paris; but it was with this limitation[c], that no one ſhould be permitted to enter upon the ſtudy of them, who had not previouſly devoted ſix years to learning; a prudent precaution, by means of which the profeſſors in the antient ſchools ſecured to themſelves a ſucceſſion of ſcholars. It was further ordered[d], in the year one thouſand two hundred and thirty-one, by a bull of Pope Gregory the Ninth, that only ſuch books of Ariſtotle ſhould be uſed in the ſchools, as had been examined and purged from errors; and that ſtudents in theology ſhould not be ambitious of the reputation of philoſophers, but ſhould confine themſelves to ſuch ſubjects of diſputation, as might be determined by the theological writings of the fathers.

In ſeveral other countries, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy was received with leſs oppoſition. In England, the writings of the Stagyrite

[a] Laun. de Fort. Ar. l. c. Rigord. in Pithoei und. Script. p. 208.
[b] Gualter contr. Hæreſ. apud Laun. p. 187.
[c] Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. iv.
[d] L. c. c. vi.

were read with great avidity; and in Germany and Italy, the emperor Frederic the Second, a patron of letters, greatly encouraged the ſtudy of Ariſtotle, and other antient writers, by employing learned men to tranſlate their works into Latin; but for want of a competent knowledge of the Greek language, or through a ſcarcity of copies of the Greek text, tranſlations were chiefly made from the Arabic corrections. It was in this imperfect repreſentation of the original that Ariſtotle was commonly read, till the time of the taking of Conſtantinople, when many copies of his works were brought into the Weſt. Whence it is eaſy to perceive, that the philoſophers of this period muſt have had no very perfect knowledge of the doctrines of this obſcure and ſubtle writer, which, nevertheleſs, they acknowledged as of oracular authority. The truth is, that they received the Peripatetic philoſophy through the medium of the Saracenic, and were in reality as much indebted to Averroës as to Ariſtotle. The name of Ariſtotle, however, from the end of the twelfth century, obtained univerſal dominion; and ſo far were his writings, after this time, from falling under the cenſure of councils and popes, that the Ariſtotelian and Saracenic philoſophy became the main pillars of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. In the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſix[a], cardinals were appointed by pope Urban the Fifth to ſettle the manner in which the writings of Ariſtotle ſhould be ſtudied in the univerſity of Paris; and in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-two, Charles the Seventh ordered the works of Ariſtotle to be read and publicly explained in that univerſity. Thus the union between the Peripatetic philoſophy and the Chriſtian religion was confirmed, and Ariſtotle became not only the interpreter, but even the judge, of Saint Paul[b].

During the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, though multitudes profeſſed to philoſophiſe, true philoſophy and learning made little progreſs. Inſtead of uniting their endeavours to enlighten mankind, the Scholaſtics loſt themſelves in metaphyſical darkneſs. They carried on their diſputes with ſuch vehemence

[a] Laun. l. c. p. 202.
[b] Laun. c. ix. p. 210. Patric. Diſcuſſ. Perip. t. i. l. xii. p. 162. l. xiii. p. 613.

and

and acrimony, that many ludicrous, and many bloody, frays happened among them. Nominaliſts, Realiſts, Verbaliſts, Formaliſts, Thomiſts, Scotiſts and Occamiſts, were at open war among each other. The whole world was diſturbed with the idle conteſts of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy from the twelfth century to the Reformation; and ſo deeply did this philoſophy take root, that even to this day it has not been entirely extirpated.

The compilation of the canon law, in the twelfth century, by Gratian, in his *Diſcordantium Canonum Concordia*, "Harmony of diſcordant Canons," and the ſubſequent union of the canon law with that of theology and philoſophy, muſt alſo be mentioned among the cauſes which prevented the revival of knowledge[a]. This compilation, made without judgment, under the authority of the emperor Frederic the Firſt, became a body of eccleſiaſtical juriſprudence, which the clergy were required to ſtudy and obſerve. This code was even made an authoritative guide in moral doctrine and diſcipline, and prevented the ſtudy of ethics till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the morals of Ariſtotle were again permitted to be read. But the worſt evil was, that they who had framed this unnatural union of canon law, ſcholaſtic philoſophy and theology, finding it exceedingly conducive to their own emolument, reſolutely ſet their faces againſt all innovations, and proſcribed with their whole authority thoſe learned men, who had the boldneſs to attempt further improvements in philoſophy. Of this the hiſtory of the perſecution of Reuchlin will, in the ſequel, afford a memorable example.*

[a] Ziegler. de Orig. et Increm. Jur. Canon.

* Vidend. J. Sariſb. Metalog. l. ii. c. 7. l. iv. c. 24, 25. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. p. 2. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 123. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 29. t. v. p. 551. Jameſii Eclog. MSS. Ox. et Cantab. Lud. Vives de Cauſ. Corr. Art. l. v. Campanella de Gentiliſmo non retinendo, p. 19. Hottinger. Hiſt. Ecc. Sec. xii. Martene Anecd. t. iv. p. 163. Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. t. iii. p. 24. N. Alex. Hiſt. Ec. t. vii. p. 75. Buddeus de Hæreſ. ex Phil. Ariſt. Obſ. Hal. Lat. t. i. Obſ. 15. Thomas. de Exuſt. Mundi Stoic. Diſſ. xiv. Petri de Vineis l. iii. ep. 69.

SECT.

SECT. 2.

OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

THE Scholaſtics, whoſe hiſtory we now proceed to relate in detail, ſeem to have borrowed their name from thoſe profeſſors, who, in the public ſchools of cathedrals and monaſteries, taught philoſophy and the liberal arts. In the Colleges of Canons, which, in the times of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, were erected near the epiſcopal churches or cathedrals, and in the abbacies of monaſteries, it was cuſtomary to have preceptors, or ſcholaſtic doctors, to whom the charge of the education of youth was committed: and great care was at firſt taken, by thoſe who founded or ſupported theſe ſchools, that able and learned men ſhould be appointed to perform the offices of inſtruction[a]. The name, thus introduced, remained, when the care of the ſchools was no longer in the hands of ſcholaſtic doctors. For when emperors, princes, and biſhops, had, from a deſire of baniſhing ignorance and barbariſm, enriched this uſeful office with ample endowments, wealth produced indolence; the labour of teaching was transferred to thoſe who would undertake it for the ſmalleſt ſalary; and the ſcholaſtic doctors themſelves (for, that they might enjoy the profits of this eſtabliſhment, they ſtill retained the name) paid little attention to letters, and only vied with each other in luxury and debauchery. A lively picture of the infamous lives of theſe Scholaſtics is drawn in the *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ*, "Mirror of Human Life," written by Roderic biſhop of Zamora, in Spain, in which he complains[b], "that they were no longer learned themſelves, nor able to teach others;

[a] Conring. Ant. Ac. Supp. 39. Tribbechov. de Div. Scholaſt. c. i. p. 32.
[b] L. ii. c. 17.

that they never viſited the ſchools; that they united, with the moſt contemptible ignorance, the moſt ſhameful depravity of manners; and that, through fear leaſt their places ſhould be filled up by men more learned than themſelves, they gave no encouragement to erudition." In the ſchools of ſeveral monaſteries, this noble inſtitution was leſs abuſed; and ſome of the Scholaſtics were employed in inſtructing, not only thoſe young men who were devoted to a monaſtic life, but the ſons of noblemen, and others of the laity. And this was the chief means of preſerving alive the embers of ſcience and learning, in the dark period between the eighth and the twelfth century.

From the ſchools of monaſteries and cathedrals at length ſprung public ſchools and academies, in which the liberal arts and ſacred learning were taught; and the method of philoſophiſing, which had prevailed in the monaſteries, and among the eccleſiaſtics, was tranſferred to the profeſſors of philoſophy and literature in theſe public ſchools. What that method was, ſufficiently appears from the particulars, which have been already related concerning the philoſophy of the Middle Age. An opinion having commonly prevailed, that philoſophy was only to be conſidered as an handmaid to theology, and to be purſued merely to furniſh weapons for theological controverſy, the dialectical branch of philoſophy was chiefly ſtudied, firſt in the Inſtitutes of Auguſtine, a book written in the manner of the Stoics, and afterwards in the writings of Ariſtotle. The profeſſors of philoſophy, or the Scholaſtics, perceiving that eminence in the dialectic art was the ſure road to popularity and preferment, devoted their principal attention to this ſtudy; and the ſchools, now confided to men who placed their chief merit in the ſkill with which they handled the weapons of intellectual warfare, produced nothing but polemics. The ſpirit of diſputation, transferred from the old ſeminaries of learning to every new eſtabliſhment, was diſſeminated through Europe; and education was, every where, nothing elſe but a courſe of inſtruction in dialectics and in metaphyſics. The general introduction of the writings of Ariſtotle into the ſchools eſtabliſhed a taſte for this ſtudy. The whole body of the clergy

clergy employed themſelves in ſolving abſtruſe and ſubtle queſtions, which were always merely ſpeculative, and often merely verbal. In this manner, the Ariſtotelian dialectics became by degrees intimately connected with theology, and on this account obtained the zealous patronage of thoſe who preſided in the church; ſo that almoſt the whole Chriſtian church became Scholaſtics [a].

Under all this appearance of philoſophiſing, it muſt, however, be remarked, that nothing of the true ſpirit of philoſophy was to be found. The art of reaſoning was employed, not in the free inveſtigation of truth, but merely in ſupporting the doctrines of the Romiſh church, the canons of which denounced a perpetual anathema and excommunication upon all who ſhould attempt to corrupt the faith, and bound the clergy, in the form of a ſolemn oath, to defend the papal ſee, and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers, againſt all oppoſition [b]. Hence philoſophy became nothing more than an inſtrument in the hands of the pontiff, to confirm and extend his ſpiritual dominion. Some oppoſition, indeed, the ſpeculative philoſophy of the Scholaſtics met with, from that myſtical ſyſtem, derived from the enthuſiaſm of the Alexandrian ſchool, which Joannes Scotus Erigena, from the ſpurious books of Dionyſius, introduced into the Chriſtian church; a ſyſtem which profeſſed to raiſe the mind from the barren purſuit of ſcholaſtic controverſy, to the pure and ſublime contemplation of God and divine things. But the only conſequence of this oppoſition was, at firſt, to excite mutual jealouſies and animoſity between the Myſtics and Scholaſtics, and afterwards to produce a coalition between them highly injurious to the church.

Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the origin of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, which may eaſily be ſettled by a careful compariſon of the facts, which have been already related, concerning the ſtate of philoſophy in the Middle Age. The caſe was briefly this:

[a] Tribbechov. de Div. Scholaſticis, c. iii. p. 96. Ib. Præf. Humanni, p. 20.
[b] Decret. Diſt. 23. Decr. Greg. de Jur. p. 287.

The high reputation which St. Auguſtine obtained in the Chriſtian church, gave his treatiſe on dialectics univerſal authority, and led thoſe, who were inclined to philoſophiſe, implicitly to follow his method of applying the ſubtleties of Stoic reaſoning, and the myſteries of the Platonic doctrine, to the explanation of the ſacred doctrines of revelation. The dialectic art, thus introduced, was further encouraged by Latin verſions of ſome of the writings of Ariſtotle, and of Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories. The ſtudy of logical ſubtleties was purſued under theſe guides in the ſchools of the monaſteries, particularly in Ireland, whence many ſcholars from England and Scotland carried this kind of philoſophy into their own countries; and from Britain it afterwards paſſed into France, and other parts of Europe.

From this time, the eccleſiaſtics, who, during a long period of tumult and barbariſm, kept the ſmall remains of learning and philoſophy in their own hands, made no other uſe of them than as pillars to ſupport the hierarchy, or as weapons of defence againſt its adverſaries. The whole hiſtory of the church, from the eighth to the eleventh century, proves that Scholaſtic men, that is, the profeſſors of philoſophy and theology in the monaſtic ſchools, ſtudied and taught philoſophy only for this purpoſe; and there can be no doubt, that the violent eccleſiaſtical diſputes of theſe times foſtered that diſpoſition towards ſubtle refinement in ſpeculation, which at length brought the Scholaſtic philoſophy to maturity. Towards the cloſe of the eleventh century, this ſpirit ſo generally prevailed, that diſputation upon theology and philoſophy became the chief occupation and amuſement of the learned; and, in proceſs of time, various ſects ſprung up, in which queſtions purely logical were confounded with points of theology, and dialectics were applied to the explanation of the ſcriptures. This kind of philoſophy was taught, not only in the monaſtic ſchools, but in public academies; and Ariſtotle, at firſt imperfectly repreſented in Arabic and Latin verſions, and afterwards brought into full view in his own original writings, obtained ſovereign authority in the whole Chriſtian world. Thus the Scholaſtic philoſophy appears not to have been

the invention of any one man, but to have riſen up by almoſt imperceptible degrees from the fifth to the twelfth century, when it attained its maturity [a].

The Scholaſtics are commonly divided into three diſtinct ages; the firſt, from Lanfranc, or Abelard, and his diſciple Peter Lombard, to the middle of the thirteenth century, when Albert flouriſhed; the ſecond, from that time to the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty; and the third, from the laſt period to the reformation.

After Lanfranc, Anſelm, and Roſceline, who have been already mentioned, in the firſt age of the Scholaſtics aroſe WILLIAM DE CHAMPEAUX [b], appointed biſhop of Catalaun in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirteen, and afterwards archbiſhop of Paris. He taught dialectics in the univerſity of Paris with great applauſe. He maintained the doctrine of the Realiſts, who held that all individual things partake of the one eſſence of their ſpecies, and are only modified by accident. He had the appellation of the VENERABLE DOCTOR.

From the ſchool of William de Champeaux aroſe PETER ABELARD, born in Palais, in Bretagne, in the year one thouſand and ſeventy-nine. He early applied himſelf, with great ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of metaphyſics and logic, under Roſceline, who eſtabliſhed the ſect of the Nominaliſts, maintaining, in oppoſition to the Realiſts, that univerſals have no real exiſtence out of the mind, and are to be referred wholly to words or names. From nature and habit Abelard [c] poſſeſſed a wonderful ſubtlety of thought, a moſt retentive memory, and uncommon facility and fluency of ſpeech. After

[a] Budd. Iſag. Hiſt. Theol. l. ii. c. 1. § 7. Dupin. Meth. Stud. Theol. c. ii. p. 19. 21. Alſted. Encyclop. t. i. p. 105. Thomas, Orat. xii. p. 266. Heumann. Præf. p. 13. J. Sariſbur. Metalog. l. ii. c. 9. Thom. Hiſt. Sap. et Stult. p. iii. p. 226, 228. Mabillon. de Stud. Monaſt. p. ii.

[b] Abelard. Hiſt. Cal. ſuar. c. 2. Pagi ad Ann. 1121. Oudin. de Sc. E. t. ii. p. 964. Sammarthan. t. ii. p. 504. Martene Anecdot. t. v. p. 877.

[c] Hiſt. Calamitatum ſuarum, Par. 1616. 4to. cum Annot. Du Cheſne. Vit. P. Abelard, a Gervaſio, Par. 1720. Bayle.

travellin

travelling through ſeveral countries to improve himſelf in the arts of diſputation, he became a ſtudent of dialectics under William de Champeaux, in Paris. But he ſoon ventured to contradict the opinions of his maſter, and held diſputations with him, in which, in the judgment of many of his fellow ſtudents, he was frequently victorious. This circumſtance at length awakened the jealouſy of the preceptor, and inflamed the ambition of the pupil. The conſequence was, that Abelard ſoon left William de Champeaux, and opened a ſchool of his own, at Melun, in the vicinity of Paris, where the ſplendour of his ſuperior talents in diſputation attracted general admiration, and eclipſed the fame of Champeaux.

The violent exertions which were neceſſary to ſupport his riſing reputation, and maintain his ground againſt his numerous enemies (for Champeaux had many followers) brought Abelard into a ſtate of debility, which rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould for a while retire from his labours. After an abſence of two years, which he paſſed in his native country, he found, upon his return, that his preceptor had taken the monaſtic habit among the regular canons, but ſtill continued to teach rhetoric and logic in the ſchools of the monaſteries. In hope of regaining his popularity, Abelard again viſited his ſchool, and renewed his controverſy with Champeaux on the points then agitated between the Nominaliſts and Realiſts; and he argued with ſuch ſtrength and ſubtlety, that the pupils of Champeaux came over in crowds to Abelard. Even the profeſſor of the former ſchool of Champeaux reſigned his chair to the young philoſopher. This created a violent oppoſition on the part of Champeaux, who had intereſt ſufficient to obtain the appointment of a new profeſſor: upon which Abelard retired for a while to Melun; but as ſoon as he heard that Champeaux had withdrawn into the country, he went to Paris, and opened a ſchool upon Mount St. Genevieve, where he eaſily vanquiſhed his rival, the new profeſſor of the cathedral ſchool, who, through mortification, entered into a monaſtery. Champeaux now reſumed the conteſt; and it was continued with great violence, till the former was preferred to the ſee of Chalons, and the latter, probably through an envious

desire of attaining equal honours with his antagonist, removed to Laon, to study theology under Anselm. But finding his lectures, (as he himself says) like trees abounding with leaves but barren of fruit, he soon left him, and began himself to lecture in theology, after the manner of Anselm, by commenting upon some part of the sacred scriptures. To give the hearers of Anselm an unequivocal proof of his extensive learning and ready ability, he undertook to explain, on the shortest notice, any portion of the scriptures, and illustrate it by pertinent quotations from the fathers. The passage given him for this purpose was the beginning of the prophecy of Ezekiel, which he the next day explained, in a theological lecture, with so much success, that all his hearers expressed the highest admiration of his talents. Anselm, through jealousy, pretended that Abelard was too young a man to read theology, and obliged him to desist from his lectures. Abelard upon this, returned to Paris, where his explanations of the scriptures soon raised his reputation to such a height, that he had crowded auditories, and obtained great profit from his lectures.

In these philosophical and sacred labours, Abelard was interrupted by his celebrated amour with Heloise, the beautiful niece of an avaricious canon named Fulbert, who *prudently* employed this young man, upon easy terms, to become her private preceptor. The particulars of the story are well known, and might not perhaps perfectly comport with the gravity of philosophical history. Suffice it to say, that Abelard's fair pupil made a much more rapid progress in the lessons of love, than in those of philosophy; and that when Fulbert discovered that his niece's studies had taken a turn so contrary to his wishes, his indignation fell with such *cruel severity* upon the young preceptor, that in vexation and despair, rather than from devotion, he gave himself up to the monastic life in the abbey of St. Denys. Heloise, who had already retired into the convent of Argenteuil, gave the only proof that now remained of her unalienable attachment to Abelard, by taking the veil.

Abelard, in consequence of the freedom with which he censured the monks of St. Denys, became so obnoxious to them that he

was

was obliged to leave the monaſtery. He now withdrew to the monaſtery of Theobard, count of Champagne, where he reſumed his public lectures with a degree of popularity which rendered him an object of jealouſy to other profeſſors. Alberic and Lotulf, two preceptors in the ſchool at Rheims, apprehenſive for the reputation and ſucceſs of their ſeminary, became inveterate enemies of Abelard, and took occaſion, from a treatiſe which he wrote upon the Trinity, to charge him with hereſy. The archbiſhop of Rheims liſtened to this accuſation, and ſummoned a council at Soiſſons, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty, which convicted him of hereſy[a], without knowledge enough of his ſyſtem to underſtand wherein the hereſy conſiſted. The perſecution was carried on with unrelenting ſeverity; the book was ordered to be burned, and its author, after making his recantation by reciting the Athanaſian creed, to retire to the cloiſter of St. Medard. He was ſoon, indeed, by the command of the pope's legate, reſtored to the convent of St. Denys; but he here found himſelf ſtill ſurrounded with enemies. Happening in private converſation to maintain that St. Denys, the founder of the monaſtery, was not Dionyſius the Areopagite mentioned in ſcripture, but a Corinthian biſhop, the abbot threatened to complain to the king of the indignity which Abelard had caſt upon St. Denys. Abelard perceived the ſtorm which was gathering, and again fled into Champagne, where he was obliged to remain till the death of the abbot, which happened in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-two. His ſucceſſor permitted Abelard to lead a monaſtic life wherever he pleaſed, and he retired to a pleaſant retreat in the dioceſe of Troyes, near Nogent, where he built an oratory, which he conſecrated to the Paraclete. Here he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by pupils, and was again haraſſed by perſecution. Norbart and Bernard, two fanatic teachers, made grievous complaints of the heretical tenets of Abelard, and rendered his ſituation ſo

[a] Abelard illuſtrates the doctrine of the Trinity by comparing it to a ſyllogiſtic argument, in which the Major, the Minor, and the Concluſion, though Three Propoſitions, make One Syllogiſm.

uncomfortable and dangerous, that he had almost resolved to fly to some country where Christianity was not professed, when, through the interest of the duke of Bretagne, he was, in the forty-seventh year of his age, elected Superior of the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Gildas, in the diocese of Vannes.

At first, this monastery seemed to promise him a tranquil retreat: but the zeal, with which he reprobated the disorders of the monks, raised against him such a violent spirit of opposition, that several attempts were made upon his life.

The nuns of the convent of Argenteuil, over which Heloise presided, being expelled by the abbot of St. Denys, Abelard presented her with his oratory of the Paraclete, and she retired thither with some of the sisterhood. Pope Innocent the Second appointed her abbess of this convent, in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven.

It is probable, that about this time Abelard returned to Paris and resumed his former situation at Mount St. Genevieve, as preceptor of learning and philosophy, for John of Salisbury says [a], that he attended the Palatian Peripatetic (under which name he frequently speaks of Abelard) who preached in Mount St. Genevieve, the second year after the death of Henry the Second, that is, in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven. This may account for the renewed persecution which he suffered through the instigation of Bernard, who appeared as his accuser before the archbishop of Sens. In this trial, which happened in one thousand one hundred and forty, several propositions from the writings of Abelard were adjudged heretical, and he was condemned unheard. The sentence was confirmed by the Pope, who ordered the books to be burned, and pronounced *anathema* upon the writer. Through the solicitation of Peter Maurice, abbot of Clugni, Abelard was, however, absolved from the sentence, and permitted to pass his days in this monastery. Here he enjoyed great tranquillity, and consecrated his time to religion. On account of his infirmities, he was, in his last days, removed to the priory of St. Marcellus, a pleasant and healthful situation on the

[a] Metalog. l. ii. c. 10.

Saon,

Saon, near Chalons, where to the laſt he applied with great aſſiduity to his ſtudies, and ſeldom ſuffered a moment to paſs, in which he was not either praying, or reading, or writing, or dictating. Abelard died at the age of ſixty-three, in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-two [a]. After his death his body was ſent to Heloiſe, and interred in the convent of the Paraclete. Heloiſe ſurvived him twenty-two years. Abelard, a man of ready talents, extenſive erudition, and elegant taſte, who roſe ſuperior to the prejudices of his age, affords, in the hiſtory of his life, an inſtructive example of the danger of neglecting the dictates of prudence in the purſuit of diſtinction, or pleaſure. He wrote many philoſophical treatiſes, which have never been edited. His "Chriſtian Theology," epiſtles, and ſeveral other works, have been publiſhed in one volume [b].

From the ſchool of Abelard, beſides many other diſciples, of whom he had great numbers, was PETER LOMBARD [c], a celebrated theologian, born in Lombardy, and educated at Paris. He was advanced to the epiſcopal ſee of Paris, in the year one thouſand one hundred and fifty-nine. He wrote a theological ſyſtem, which he entitled, *Magiſter Sententiarum*, "The Maſter of Sentences," in which, after the method of Auguſtine, he illuſtrated the doctrines of the church by ſentences collected from the fathers, with ſelect queſtions for diſputation; a work which obtained univerſal authority in the theological ſchools, and upon which innumerable commentaries were written. He followed the track marked out by his preceptor Abelard. He died in the year one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four.

This age alſo produced ROBERT PULLEYN [d], who, in the time of the civil wars then raging in England, withdrew into France, where he enjoyed the friendſhip of Bernard. On his return to England, he

[a] Conf. Berengar. Apol. pro Abel. J. Sariſber. Met. l. ii. paſſim. Pet. Ven. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Otto Friſing. l. i. c. 47. Pet. Cluniac. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Abel. Op. p. 337. Berrington's Life of Abelard, 1789. [b] Paris, 1717.

[c] Hen. Gandav. c. xxxi. App. p. 123. Trithem. de Scrip. Eccl. c. 377. p. 96. Annal. Hirſaug. t. i. p. 435. Vinc. Bellovac. Spec. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. p. 182. 192.

[d] Cave. Hiſt. Lit. p. 582. J. Sariſb. Met. l. ii. c. 10.

revived the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and taught theology for five years in Oxford. His *Sententiarum Libri*[a], "Books of Sentences," differ in ſome meaſure from the general character of the times; preferring the ſimple authority of reaſon and ſcripture to the teſtimony of the fathers, or the ſubtlety of metaphyſics. He was admitted into the college of cardinals, in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-four.

Gilbert Porretan[b], biſhop of Poictiers, is memorable in the hiſtory of the Gallic church, for the introduction of new phraſes and ſubtle diſtinctions into theology, which brought upon him a ſuſpicion of hereſy in the doctrine of the Divine Nature. Bernard, the great champion for the orthodox faith, who was better qualified for invective than argument, bitterly complained of Gilbert to the Pope, for aſſerting, that the divine eſſence was not God himſelf; that the properties of a perſon are not the perſon himſelf; that the divine nature was not incarnate, and the like: aſſertions which aroſe entirely from the ſubtlety of logical and metaphyſical diſtinctions concerning the meaning of the terms, eſſence, perſon, and nature, and which afford a curious example of the cobweb refinements which metaphyſical philoſophy at this time introduced into religion. Gilbert conſented to acknowledge, before the Pope, that in theology there is no diſtinction between nature and perſon, and that the divine eſſence may not only be ſaid to belong to God, but to be God; and he was confirmed in his eccleſiaſtical dignities. This happened in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-ſeven. This moſt ſubtle philoſopher died in the year one thouſand one hundred and fifty-four.

In this firſt age of the Scholaſtics, another celebrated name is Peter Comestor[c], dean of Troyes. He wrote a Breviary of the hiſtorical books of the Old and New Teſtament, for the uſe of

[a] Paris, 1651. fol.

[b] Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 17. App. c. 7. p. 121. Trithem. de S. E. c. 368. p. 94. Otto Friſing. de Jeſtis Frid. l. i. c. 46.

[c] Henr. Andegav. c. 51. p. 123. Trithem. de S. E. c. 380. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 435.

of the schools, under the title of *Historia Scholastica*; a work, in the judgment of Father Simon, of great use in biblical learning.

One of the most learned and valuable men of this age was JOHN OF SALISBURY[a], surnamed The Little. He visited Paris in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven, and attended upon the lectures of Abelard, and other masters, with such industry and success, that he acquired an uncommon share of knowledge both in philosophy and letters. At an early period of life, his poverty obliged him to undertake the office of preceptor; notwithstanding which, he made such good use of his leisure, that he acquired a competent knowledge of dialectics, physics, and morals, as well as an acquaintance with the Greek, and (what was at that time a rare accomplishment) with the Hebrew, languages. He may justly be ranked among the first scholars of his age. After many years had elapsed, he resolved to revisit the companions of his early studies on Mount St. Genevieve, in order to confer with them on the topics on which they had formerly disputed. His account of this visit[b] affords a striking picture of the philosophical character of this age. "I found them," says he, "the same men, and in the same place; nor had they advanced a single step towards resolving our antient questions, nor added a single proposition, however small, to their stock of knowledge. Whence I inferred, what indeed it was easy to collect, that dialectic studies, however useful they may be when connected with other branches of learning, are in themselves barren and useless." Speaking in another place of the philosophers of his time, he complains, that they collected auditors solely for the ostentation of science, and designedly rendered their discourses obscure, that they might appear loaded with the mysteries of wisdom; and that though all professed to follow Aristotle, they were so ignorant of his true doctrine, that in attempting to explain his meaning, they often advanced a Platonic notion, or some erroneous tenet equally distant from the true system of Aristotle and of Plato. From these observations, and from many similar passages to be found in his writ-

[a] Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. t. ii. p. 750. Fab. Bib. L. M. t. iii. p. 3[illegible].
[b] Metal. l. i. c. 2. 3. l. ii. c. 17. 19.

ings, it appears, that John of Salisbury was aware of the trifling character both of the philosophy and the philosophers of his age; owing, probably, to the uncommon share of good sense which he possessed, as well as to the unusual extent and variety of his learning. Throughout his writings there are evident traces of a fruitful genius, of sound understanding, of various erudition, and, with due allowance for the age in which he lived, of correct taste. He was a strenuous advocate for Thomas Becket, and, in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-three, became a companion of his exile. He died about the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-two. His writings leave no room to doubt, that if he had lived in a more fortunate period, he would have shone in the class of learned men. His *Metalogicum*, or apology for grammar, philology, and the Aristotelian logic, his *Policraticum*, and his Letters, are his most valuable works.

Other Scholastics of some repute at this period are the following [a]: ALEXANDER HALES, of the order of Minors, who belonged to a monastery in the county of Gloucester. He was educated in Paris, and became a famous preceptor in philosophical theology. He wrote a commentary upon the sentences of Peter Lombard, and another upon Aristotle's Metaphysics. For his profound knowledge of philosophy and theology, he obtained the title of the IRREFRAGABLE DOCTOR.—STEPHEN LANGTON, who, in one thousand two hundred and seven, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He is said to have been inferior to none of his contemporaries in the knowledge of the Aristotelian dialectics, or in the application of them to the doctrines of scripture. The first division of the books of the Old and New Testament into chapters is ascribed to him [b].—VINCENT, a monk of Beavais, who, under the patronage of the king of France, about the year one thousand two hundred and forty-four, wrote a famous summary of knowledge, or Encyclopedia, under the title of *Speculum doctrinale, historiale, naturale, et morale*,

[a] Hen. Gandav. c. 46. p. 126. Trithem. de S. E. c. 457, 8. p. 111. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 451. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 170. Bayle.

[b] Pits. p. 304.

"A doctrinal,

"A doctrinal, historical, natural, and moral Mirror," which is chiefly valuable for quotations from authors whose writings are now lost.—ALFRED, who translated many of the physical writings of Aristotle.—And ROBERT GREATHEAD[a], bishop of Lincoln, whom Roger Bacon, for his learning and wisdom, ranked with Aristotle and Solomon; and whose name deserves particular honour, on account of the freedom with which he censured the avarice and tyranny of the court of Rome, in a letter to Pope Innocent the Fourth. He wrote a commentary upon the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, and many other pieces.

The SECOND AGE of the Scholastic philosophy, in which Aristotelian metaphysics, obscured by passing through the Arabian channel, were applied with wonderful subtlety to the elucidation of Christian doctrine, began with Albert, and ended with Durand.

ALBERT[b] was born at Lawingen, in Suabia, in the year one thousand one hundred and ninety-three, and became a Dominican friar in one thousand two hundred and twenty-one: from this time he was an instructor of youth, first at Cologne, where he acquired great reputation, and afterwards at Paris. In the year one thousand two hundred and sixty, he was appointed bishop of Ratisbon; but, finding the labours of the episcopal office inconsistent with his love of retirement and study, after three years he resigned this dignity, and returned to a monastic life. He remained in the monastery at Cologne till his death, which happened in the year one thousand two hundred and eighty, at the age of eighty-seven. In the subtleties of the times, and in the ingenious application of these to theology, Albert was excelled by none of his contemporaries; but it is more to his credit to add, that the age produced few men equally skilled in natural history, natural philosophy, and chemistry. He is said to have constructed a machine which sent forth distinct vocal sounds; at which Thomas Aquinas was so much terrified, that he struck it with his stick, and broke it, to the great mortification of Albert, who

[a] Bulæus, t. iii. p. 260. Godwin de Præsul. Ang. p. 348. Blount. Cens. p. 408.
[b] Vinc. Justin. in Vit. Alb. Trithem. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 592. Chron. Spanheim. Ann. 1254. Lang. Chron. 1258. Bayle.

had been thirty years in bringing this curious machine to perfection. In this age of profound ignorance with respect to the powers of nature and art, it is no wonder that a man who was capable of producing such a machine should commonly pass for a magician[a]. Albert is also said to have suddenly reproduced the flowers of spring in the midst of winter, for the entertainment of the emperor William, when he visited Cologne. What this ingenious philosopher really did, or how far he was indebted to the arts of deception, in this and other wonderful performances, it is difficult to determine; one thing is very certain, that had he lived in a more enlightened age, he would neither have had the honour, nor the discredit, of being thought to have performed his curious feats by the aid either of God, or of evil spirits. Albert wrote many works in logic, ethics, metaphysics, theology, and astronomy: the books ascribed to him were published in twenty-one volumes in folio, at Lyons, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifteen. His treatises on speculative science are written in the abstract and subtle manner of the age; those on natural subjects contain some gems, which would perhaps, even in the present age, repay the labour of searching for them. His Commentaries on Aristotle are of little value, on account of his ignorance of the Greek language and the antient philosophy. His style is gothic and barbarous.

Though ignorance and superstition gave Albert the surname of Great, he was not only rivalled, but far exceeded, in fame by his pupil THOMAS AQUINAS, commonly distinguished by the appellation of the ANGELICAL DOCTOR. Thomas Aquinas[b], of the illustrious family of Aquino, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy, was born in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-four. At five years of age he was sent for education to Mount Cassino, whence, after he had acquired the elements of learning, he was removed to the university of Naples. Here his fondness for a retired and studious life

[a] Naude Apol. Mag. Acc. c. 18. p. 370. Paschius de Inv. c. vii. § 43.

[b] G. de Thoco Vit. Aquin. in Act. S. T. iii. p. 655. Fabr. t. iii. p. 502. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 259. Laun. de Fort. Ar. c. x. p. 213. Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. p. 433.

induced him to enter himſelf, without the knowledge of his parents, among the Dominicans, in the order of the Preaching Friars. His mother was much offended at this ſtep, and took great pains to obtain an interview with him, in order, if poſſible, to diſengage him from this ſociety. The monks, who were loth to part with a youth of ſuch diſtinction and ability, that they might keep him from her ſight, removed him from one place to another. But at laſt, as they were conducting him to Paris, her other ſons ſeized him on his way, and conveyed him to her caſtle, where he was confined for two years. Still, however, he reſiſted the importunities and the threats of his mother; and perſiſting in his purpoſe of devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he let himſelf down from a window, in the night, and by the help of ſundry Dominican brethren, who were apprized of his deſign, he eſcaped to Naples. After changing his place of reſidence ſeveral times, he became a diſciple of Albert, at Cologne. Under this eminent preceptor, though not favoured by nature with ready talents, he was enabled, by patient aſſiduity, to make great attainments. Among his fellow ſtudents, his ſilence and apparent dullneſs procured him the contemptuous appellation of the Dumb Ox. Albert, however, who penetrated further into the mind of his pupil, ſaid, "This ox, if he begin to bellow, will fill the whole world with his roaring[a]." At length Thomas Aquinas, having made himſelf maſter of the dialectics, philoſophy, and theology of the age, became an eminent teacher at Paris, where he was created Doctor in Divinity, in the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſix. After a few years he returned to Italy, and ſpent the remainder of his days at Naples, where he continued his lectures in theology. A counſel being ſummoned at Lyons, by Gregory X. in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-two, for the purpoſe of uniting the Greek and Latin church, Thomas Aquinas was ſent thither, to preſent to the fathers in council a book, which he had written by order of Pope Urban IV. to refute the errors of the Greek church. On his way, he was ſeized with a violent diſorder, and died in the monaſtery

[a] R. Fulgoſus apud Horn. Hiſt. p. l. iv. c. 4.

of

of Fossa Nova, in Campania, in the year one thousand two hundred and seventy-four.

The whole Western world, after his decease, began to load the memory of Thomas Aquinas with honours. The Dominican fraternity removed his body to Thoulouse; Pope John XXII. canonized him; Pius V. gave him the title of the FIFTH DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH; the learned world honoured him with the appellation of THE UNIVERSAL AND THE ANGELIC DOCTOR; and the vulgar believed, that many miracles were wrought at his tomb, and said, that the soul of Augustine had passed into Thomas Aquinas [a].

Notwithstanding all the extravagant praises and honours which have been heaped upon Thomas Aquinas, it is however certain, that his learning was almost wholly confined to Scholastic theology, and that he was so little conversant with elegant and liberal studies, that he was not even able to read the Greek language. For all his knowledge of the Peripatetic philosophy, which he so liberally mixed with theology, he was indebted to the defective translations of Aristotle which were supplied by the Arabians, till he obtained, from some unknown hand, a more accurate version of his philosophical writings [b]. Adopting the general ideas of the age, that theology is best defended by the weapons of logic and metaphysics, he mixed the subtleties of Aristotle with the language of scripture and the Christian fathers; and, after the manner of the Arabians, framed abstruse questions, without end, upon various topics of speculative theology. His most celebrated writings are, his *Summa Theologiæ*, "Heads of Theology," of which the second section, which treats of morals, may be read with advantage; his Commentaries upon the Analytics, Metaphysics, and Ethics of Aristotle, and upon his book *De Interpretatione*.

[a] Ptolomæus Lucensis ap. Ouden. t. iii. p. 259. Sextus Senens. Bibl. S. l. iv.

[b] Trithem. c. 467. p. 117. Aventin. Ann. l. vi. p. 566. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 172. Op. Edit. Rom. 1570. Venet. 1594. Antwerp. 1612. Paris, 1640. tom. xvii.

Another

Another Scholastic of great celebrity in this age was Bonaventure[a], of Tuscany, born in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-one. Being early devoted by his mother to a religious life, he entered into the Franciscan order, in the year one thousand two hundred and forty-three. He studied philosophy and theology at Paris, where he acquired so much distinction in Scholastic learning, that he was appointed to read public lectures, was admitted Doctor, and soon after created Head of his Order. Pope Gregory X. having previously given him a seat among the cardinals, invited him to the general council at Lyons. In this assembly, Bonaventure greatly distinguished himself by his learning and erudition; but during the council he died suddenly, in the year one thousand two hundred and seventy-four. His funeral was attended by the Pope, the Latin emperor Baldwin the Second, in person; the emperor of the Greeks in his representatives, the Greek nobles; James king of Arragon; the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch; five hundred prelates, and many other persons of high rank, both ecclesiastics and laics. After his death, Bonaventure was distinguished by the high appellation of The Seraphic Doctor, and he was canonized by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in one thousand four hundred and eighty-two.

Though Bonaventure was well acquainted with the Scholastic philosophy, he chiefly addicted himself to mystic theology, and the enthusiastic worship of the Virgin Mary. His writings are almost entirely theological[b]. His treatise, *De reductione Artium ad Theologiam*[c], "On the Application of Learning to Theology," affords a curious specimen of the manner in which the mystical divines transferred the scholastic philosophy to theology. Human knowledge he divides into three branches, logical, physical, and moral. Each of these he considers as the effect of supernatural illumination, and as communicated to men through the medium of

[a] Hen. Gandav. c. 47. p. 126. Trithem. c. 464. p. 112. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 615. Acta S. t. iii. p. 811. Anton. Spec. Hist. p. iii. tit. 24. c. 8.

[b] Fabric. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 121.

[c] T. i. Opuscula, Lugd. 1647. fol. t. vi. Op. Ed. Rom.

the holy ſcriptures. The whole doctrine of ſcripture he reduces to three heads; that which reſpects the eternal generation and incarnation of Chriſt, the ſtudy of which is the peculiar province of the doctors of the church; that which concerns the conduct of life, which is the ſubject of preaching; and that which relates to the union of the ſoul with God, which is peculiar to the monaſtic and contemplative life. Phyſical knowledge he applies to the doctrine of ſcripture emblematically. For example, the production of the idea of any ſenſible object from its archetype, is a type of the generation of the *Logos*; the right exerciſe of the ſenſes typifies the virtuous conduct of life; and the pleaſure derived from the ſenſes repreſents the union of the ſoul with God. In like manner, logical philoſophy furniſhes an emblem of the eternal Generation and the Incarnation of Chriſt: A word conceived in the mind reſembling the Eternal Generation; its expreſſion in vocal ſounds, the Incarnation. Thus the multiform wiſdom of God, according to this myſtical writer, lies concealed through all nature; and all human knowledge may, by the help of allegory and analogy, be ſpiritualiſed and transferred to theology. How wide a door this method of philoſophiſing opens to every kind of abſurdity, the reader will eaſily perceive from this ſpecimen.

Of a very different and much higher character than Bonaventure, or any other mere Scholaſtic, was that great man, Roger Bacon[a], whoſe deep penetration into the myſteries of nature juſtly entitled him, in the ignorant age in which he lived, to the appellation of The Wonderful Doctor. He was born at Ilcheſter, in Somerſetſhire, in the year one thouſand two hundred and fourteen. At Oxford, he ſtudied grammar, rhetoric, and logic, under Richard Fiſacre, and under Edmund Rich, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; after which, according to the cuſtom of the times, he viſited Paris, to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated profeſſors of that univerſity. But it may be eaſily collected from the

[a] Wood Ant. Ox. p 136. Leland. c. 236. Balæi. Hiſt. Ac. Cent. iv. 55. Bayle. Cave Hiſt. Lit. p. 648. Oudin. t. iii. p. 190. Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 123.

particulars

particulars which are preserved concerning his early studies, that he was more indebted to his own genius than to any academical instruction: for he read history, learned the Oriental and Western languages, and studied jurisprudence and medicine; subjects little attended to at this period. The knowledge which he could not obtain from living preceptors, he dug, with indefatigable industry, out of the mines of Grecian and Arabian learning. After having been admitted to the degree of Doctor, Roger Bacon returned to England, and in the year one thousand two hundred and forty, that he might prosecute his studies without interruption, devoted himself to the monastic life in the order of St. Francis. He employed his time, not in the idle controversies of the age, but in useful researches into the properties of natural bodies. By the help of mathematical learning and experiment he acquired a degree of knowledge in physics, which astonished his ignorant contemporaries, and brought upon him the charge of practising magical arts. His writings discover an acquaintance with the laws of mechanics, statics, and optics, with the chemical properties of bodies, and other subjects of natural philosophy, which could only have been the result of a judicious and indefatigable exertion of wonderful powers. He was certainly acquainted with the composition of gunpowder long before it is commonly said to have been invented by Barthold Schwartz[a]. He speaks of a kind of unextinguishable fire prepared by art, which must have been a species of phosphorus. He was master of many other curious processes in chemistry, and would, doubtless, have produced still greater discoveries in this branch of science, had he not been drawn aside from the path of true science by the philosophical *ignis fatuus*, which led the philosophers of this time to attempt the transmutation of inferior metals into gold. He describes concave and convex lenses, and knew how to use the latter for telescopic and microscopic purposes. His mathematical and astronomical knowledge appeared in the discovery, which he made, of the error which occasioned the Gregorian reformation in the ca-

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. c. 38. § 3.

lendar, and in his attempt to ſquare the circle. Nor was this great man leſs diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge of theology, and his ſkill in the Hebrew and Greek languages, as appears from his epiſtle to Clement IV. in praiſe of the ſacred ſcriptures[a].

The aſtoniſhing power and performances of Roger Bacon, at the ſame time that they excited univerſal admiration, kindled a ſpirit of envy and jealouſy among the monks of his fraternity, who induſtriouſly circulated a report that he held converſe with evil ſpirits. This rumour at length reached the ears of the Pope; and he was obliged, in order to exculpate himſelf from the charge of necromancy, to ſend, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſix, his philoſophical writings and inſtruments to Rome, that it might appear to his holineſs by what means he had been able to accompliſh ſuch wonders. The ſtorm which was gathering around him was thus for a while diſperſed; but in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-eight, whilſt he was in France, the ſame charge was renewed by Jerom de Eſeul, the head of the order of Minors, who forbade his fraternity to read the works, and obtained from Pope Nicholas IV. an order that the author ſhould be impriſoned. During his confinement, Bacon wrote a treatiſe "On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of Old Age," which he addreſſed to the Pope. Through the interceſſion of ſome of his countrymen, he was at length releaſed from his confinement, and permitted to return to England. He paſſed the laſt days of his life at Oxford, and died in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-four, at the age of ſeventy-eight, leaving behind him many valuable writings, and an immortal reputation, as, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt man of his time. Several of his pieces were burnt in the Franciſcan library, during the tumults at the reformation. Among thoſe which remain, are ſome which reſpect metaphyſical and moral ſubjects; particularly the following; "On the Four Univerſal Cauſes of all Human Ignorance;" "On Perfect Wiſdom;" "Of Moral Philo-

[a] Ejus Epiſt. de Secret. Art. et Nat. Oper. Ed. Par. 1542. Baſil. 1593. Hamb. 1618. Hody de Bibl. Text. origin. p. 419.

ſophy;"

ſophy;" "On Divine Wiſdom;" "Of Being and Eſſence;" "Of the true Character, and the Hindrances of Wiſdom," &c. whence it appears that Bacon, even upon theſe ſubjects, went far beyond his contemporaries in enquiries directed towards the improvement of the mind.

After Friar Bacon, it may ſeem of little conſequence to mention, among the philoſophers of this age, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA [a], a Roman monk of the Auguſtine order, who was preceptor to the ſons of Philip III. of France, and who taught philoſophy and theology in the univerſity of Paris, with ſo much reputation, that he was honoured with the appellation of THE MOST PROFOUND DOCTOR. After being advanced to the archbiſhopric of Berri, he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixteen, leaving behind upon his monument, the character of *lux in lucem reducens dubia*, the luminary that brought dark things to light. Nevertheleſs, it appears from thoſe more faithful memorials, his writings, that he treated the abſtruſe queſtions of the Ariſtotelian and Scholaſtic philoſophy with ſuch profound obſcurity, that it is impoſſible to read his works without ſuſpecting, that he did not himſelf always underſtand his own meaning.

In the ſubtleties of Scholaſtic philoſophy no one acquired a more diſtinguiſhed name than JOHN DUNS SCOTUS [b]. The place of his birth is uncertain, but it is moſt probable that he was born at Dunſtan, near Alnwick, in Northumberland. He was educated at Merton Hall, in Oxford; and was admitted to the higheſt honours in the univerſity of Paris, in the year one thouſand three hundred and four. At firſt he was a follower of Thomas Aquinas; but differing from his maſter on the queſtion concerning the efficacy of divine grace, he formed a diſtinct ſect, and this ſeparation produced the denominations of the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, which ſtill ſubſiſt in ſome of the Roman-catholic ſchools. Some aſcribe to him the introduction

[a] Corn. Curtius Elog. Vir. Illuſt. p. 61. Sammarthan. in Gall. Chriſt. t. i. p. 179. Bulæi Hiſt. t. iii. p. 671.

[b] Trithem. l. c. c. 416. p. 136. Leland. c. 315. Bal. Scr. Ang. Cent. iv. c. 82. Pits. p. 390. Mackenzie de Vit. Scot. Scr. t. i. p. 215. Vit. Oper. Prœm. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iii. p. 509.

of the queſtion concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. In the year one thouſand three hundred and eight, Duns Scotus was ſent, by the head of the fraternity of Minors, of which he was a member, to teach theology at Cologne; and he was received there with the greateſt pomp, and with the higheſt expectations; but was ſoon cut off by a ſudden death. The exact time of his death, as well as of his birth, is unknown. On account of his acuteneſs in diſputation, he was called THE MOST SUBTLE DOCTOR; but his ingenuity was wholly employed in embarraſſing, with new fictions of abſtraction, and with other ſcholaſtic chimeras, ſubjects already ſufficiently perplexed. His works are publiſhed in twelve volumes [a].

To theſe more celebrated names, belonging to the ſecond period of the Scholaſtic age, we muſt add thoſe of SIMON of TOURNAY [b], who excelled in chemiſtry and natural philoſophy, and was accuſed by the monks of his fraternity of hereſy and impiety; PETER D'APONO [c], who was chiefly famous for his pretended ſkill in the arts of aſtrology; ROBERT DE SORBONNE, who about the middle of the thirteenth century founded the theological college of the Sorbonne in Paris; FRANCIS DE MAYRO [d], a French monk, wholly loſt in abſtractions, who wrote, *De Formalitatibus*, "On Formalities;" *De primo Principio*, "On the Firſt Principle;" *De Univocatione entis*, "On Identity;" and a work entitled *Conflatile*, or Various Queſtions concerning Diſtinctions, Relations, and Expreſſions; ARNAUD DE VILLE NEUF [e], who was devoted to the myſteries of aſtrology, and practiſed medicine with great reputation, whoſe books [f] were reprobated by the inquiſition; and PETER THE DANE [g], celebrated for his ſkill in aſtronomical calculations.

[a] Lugdun. 1639. fol. [b] Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 24.

[c] Trithem. l. c. c. 556. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. p. 715. Acta Phil. v. iii. p. 374. Naud. Apol. Mag. c. 14. p. 271.

[d] Wharton. App. to Cave p. 11.

[e] Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. p. 19. [f] Trithem. c. 523.

[g] Ed. Lugd. 1520. Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 128. Baſ. 1585. N. Anton. Bib. Hiſt. Vet. t. ii. p. 74.

In

In the third age of the Scholaſtic period, which commences with Durand, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and continues to the end of the fifteenth, the Scholaſtic philoſophy increaſed in the number of teachers and learners, in the affectation of ſubtleties, and in the multiplicity of intricate and trifling diſputes, but by no means in the celebrity of its profeſſors. Duns Scotus, and other preceptors of the ſame caſt, having filled the ſchools with vain ſubtleties, and eſtabliſhed a mode of philoſophiſing, in which important truth and good ſenſe were loſt in unprofitable diſputes concerning entities, hæcceities, formalities, relations, and other abſtractions, the edge of genius was gradually blunted, the way to knowledge was choaked up by thorns and briars, and the very name of philoſophy became to the young ſtudent an object of terror. There are not wanting, however, in this period, philoſophers of ſufficient diſtinction to merit particular notice.

Of theſe the firſt is WILLIAM DURAND[a], of Clermont; a preaching monk, who, for his attainments in philoſophical and theological ſtudies, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in the univerſity of Paris, in the year one thouſand three hundred and thirteen, and was afterwards made biſhop of Meaux, by Pope John the Twenty-ſecond. He purſued his way through the thorny paths of ſcholaſtic diſputation with ſuch indefatigable perſeverance, that he merited the title of the MOST RESOLUTE DOCTOR. He was at firſt a follower of Thomas Aquinas, but afterwards became a convert to the Scotiſts, and defended their cauſe with great acuteneſs and zeal; which gave ſo much offence to the Thomiſts, that one of them, after his death (which happened in the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-two) honoured him with this epitaph:

> Durus Durandus jacet hic ſub marmore duro,
> An ſit ſalvandus ego neſcio, nec quoque curo.

[a] Trithem. c. 567. p. 137. Anton. Sum. Hiſt. tit. 23. c. 11. § 2. t. iii. p. 681; Laun. de Cauſſa Durandi. Par. 1638. 8vo. Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 204.

As the author of another ſcholaſtic ſect, muſt be mentioned William Occam[a], an Engliſhman, born in the county of Surrey. He was a pupil of the moſt ſubtle doctor Duns Scotus, and was little inferior to his maſter in ſubtlety. The ſchool of the Scotiſts had, till his time, followed the popular opinion of the Realiſts; but Occam, probably from an ambition of becoming the head of a ſeparate body, revived the opinions of the Nominaliſts, and formed a ſect under the name of Occamiſts, which vehemently oppoſed the Scotiſts, upon the abſtract queſtions concerning univerſals, which had been formerly introduced by Roſceline. Whatever be thought of the ingenuity, or of the ſucceſs, of Occam in this diſpute, he deſerves praiſe for the courage with which he oppoſed the tyranny of the papal over the civil power, in a book which he wrote *De Poteſtate Eccleſiaſtica et Seculare*[b], "On the Eccleſiaſtic and Secular Power." The boldneſs with which he withſtood the encroachments of the Roman ſee, and cenſured the corruption of the monks, brought upon him the cenſure of the pontiff, and obliged him to retire into France till the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty-eight; when, under the protection of the Emperor, he again maintained the independency of the civil with reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical power. And though his oppoſition to the ſee of Rome brought upon him a ſentence of excommunication, he continued to live in ſecurity in the Emperor's court, where he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven. He wrote a Commentary upon the Predicables of Porphyry, and the Categories of Ariſtotle, and many treatiſes[c] in Scholaſtic theology and eccleſiaſtical law; which, if they be admired for their ingenuity, muſt at the ſame time be cenſured for their extreme ſubtlety and obſcurity. He obtained the appellation of The Invincible Doctor.

One of the moſt ſingular geniuſes of the fourteenth century was Richard of Swinshead, an Engliſhman, of the monaſtery of

[a] Leland. c. 326. Bal. Cent. v. c. 18. Pits. p. 457.
[b] Apud. Goldaſti Monarchia, t. i. p. 13.
[c] Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 466.

Swinſhead,

Swinshead, in Lincolnshire; who devoted himself chiefly to mathematical studies, in which he acquired great renown at the university of Oxford. Little is recorded of this mathematician; probably because few have read his works, which chiefly consist of profound and subtle applications of algebraic calculations to physics and metaphysics. He wrote a treatise "Of Astronomical Calculations;" and another entitled "The Calculator[a]," which is so exceedingly scarce, that it is neither mentioned by any of the writers of the literary history of this period, nor even by that eminent mathematician, Wallis, in his History of Algebra. He was certainly a great master of algebraic operations; but injudiciously applied them to subjects which do not admit of this method of investigation, particularly to questions in Scholastic philosophy. Probably, some valuable mathematical knowledge might be gathered up from his Calculator, by a reader who should be capable of extracting the pure gold from the heterogeneous mass in which it lies concealed.

Among other disciples of Scotus was WALTER BURLEY[b], preceptor to Edward the Third. He wrote many treatises in logic, metaphysics, physics, morals, and policy, with such clearness, that he justly obtained the appellation of the PERSPICUOUS DOCTOR. In a treatise *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*[c], "On the Life and Manners of Philosophers," he runs over the history of philosophy, in three hundred and thirty-one chapters, from Thales to Seneca; but for want of a more perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and with antient philosophy, the work is of little value.

The fifteenth century produced, among other Scholastics, JOHN HERMAN WESSEL[d], born at Groningen, in one thousand four hundred and nine, and educated in the monastery at Zevole. He not only studied the Greek language, by the help of the Dominican friars,

[a] Ed. Venet. 1520. Leibn. Ep. ad. Wallis in Op. t. iii. p. 678. Scaliger Exercit. 340. p. 1068.

[b] Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. ii. p. 515. Leland. c. 378. Pits. p. 435. Fabr. l. 5. t. i. p. 839.

[c] Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 283.

[d] Suffr. Petri de Scr. Fris. dec. viii. p. 46. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 21. Goez. Diss. Lub. 1719.

who

who about this time paſſed over to the Weſt from Conſtantinople, but obtained, from certain learned Jews, a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues. Having been early inſtructed in the Scholaſtic diſputes, and having acquired by his induſtry an uncommon ſhare of biblical learning, he taught philoſophy and philology with great applauſe at Groningen. But his chief claim to diſtinction in the hiſtory of philoſophy ariſes from the penetration which, in the midſt of the Scholaſtic phrenzy of his age, enabled him to diſcover the futility of the controverſies which agitated the ſchools of the Thomiſts, Scotiſts, and Occamiſts. To a young man who conſulted him concerning the beſt method of proſecuting his ſtudies, he ſaid, "You, young man, will live to ſee the day, when the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and other modern diſputants of the ſame ſtamp, will be exploded by all true Chriſtian divines, and when the Irrefragable Doctors themſelves will be little regarded." A prediction which diſcovers ſo much good ſenſe and liberality, that Weſſel ought to be immortalized under the appellation of the Wise Doctor. He died at Groningen in one thouſand four hundred and eighty-nine, about the æra of the Revival of Letters.*

* Vidend. Lambert. Danæus Proleg. Sentent. Genev. 1580. Binder. de Theol. Schol. Tub. 1624. Himmelius de Theol. Schol. Thomas Hiſt. Sap. et Stult. t. iii. p. 225. Barthold. Niemeir. Orat. de Scholaſt. Helmſt. 1675. Tribbechovius de D. Scholaſt. Jen. 1719. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 13. Roderici Specul. Hum. Vitæ. Rapin Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, Op. t. ii. p. 340. Oudin. de S. E. t. ii. p. 936. Launois de Schol. cel. c. 45. Gandavenſes, c. 30. Bulæi Hiſt. Univ. Par. Ann. 1101, 1111, 1116. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 737. t. v. p. 689. 753. 801. t. iii. p. 345. 499. 540. Pezii Anecdot. t. iii. p. ii. p. 627. Martene Anecd. t. v. p. 1156. Par. 1717. Labbei, Cavei, Pagi Annal. De Viſch. Bibl. Script. Ord. Ciſterc. Leyſer Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi, p. 765. Elſwich. de Fatis Ariſt. in Schol. Prot. Bayle. Wadding. Bibl. Ord. Men. Waræus de Script. Hiberniæ.

SECT.

SECT. 3.

OF THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING related the hiſtory of the Scholaſtics, who flouriſhed from the eleventh to the beginning of the ſixteenth century, it remains that we delineate the features of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, that the reader may be enabled to form an accurate idea of its nature and conſtitution. This enquiry is the more neceſſary, as the hiſtory of religion is ſo intimately interwoven with that of philoſophy, during this period, that the former cannot be underſtood without a knowledge of the latter.

We have already ſeen, in general, whence this philoſophy ſprung, and what cauſes concurred to promote its eſtabliſhment and extenſion. It has been ſhewn, that from the ſtudy of the Stoic and Peripatetic philoſophy, blended with theological ſpeculations, aroſe a vaſt and confuſed maſs of opinions and queſtions, which were for ages canvaſſed in ſubtle, but vain and fruitleſs diſputations; and that this polemic ſpirit was greatly encouraged by the example of the Arabians, and by the high repute, and general circulation, of their writings, particularly thoſe of Averroes, till, in proceſs of time, the evil roſe to ſo great an height, that ſober reaſon was loſt in ſubtlety, and the ſimple doctrine of religion buried in the refinements of falſe philoſophy[a].

To follow the Scholaſtics in detail, through the mazes of their ſubtle ſpeculations, would be to loſe the reader in a labyrinth of words. We muſt refer thoſe who wiſh for this kind of entertainment to the writings of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and Occam; where they will ſoon diſcover, that theſe wonderful doctors amuſed

[a] Conf. Thomas de Cauſ. Inept. Schol. Præfat. 82. p. 544. Hiſt. Sap. p. iii. p. 226. Tribbechov. de D. Scholaſt. cum Præf. Hermanni.

amuſed themſelves and their followers by raiſing up phantoms of abſtraction in the field of truth, the purſuit of which would be as fruitleſs a labour, as that of tracing elves and fairies in their midnight gambols. A brief review of their method of philoſophiſing is all that is practicable, and all that the intelligent reader will deſire, in this part of our work.

The leading character of the Scholaſtic philoſophy was, that it employed itſelf in an oſtentatious diſplay of ingenuity, in which axioms aſſumed without examination, diſtinctions without any real difference, and terms without any preciſe meaning, were made uſe of as weapons of aſſault and defence, in controverſies upon abſtruſe queſtions, which, after endleſs ſkirmiſhes, it was impoſſible to bring to any iſſue, and which, notwithſtanding all the violence of the conteſt, it was of no importance to determine. The Scholaſtic logic is not to be confounded with the genuine art of reaſoning, from which it differs, as much as droſs from pure gold. Theſe diſputants made uſe of dialectics, not to aſſiſt the human underſtanding in diſcovering truth conducive to the happineſs of man, but to ſecure to themſelves the honours of conqueſt in the field of controverſy. John of Saliſbury complains[a], that the ſcholars of his time conſumed, not ten or twenty years, but their whole lives, in theſe diſputes; and that when, through old age, they became incapable of any other amuſement or pleaſure, theſe dialectic queſtions ſtill dwelt upon their tongues, and dialectic books ſtill remained in their hands.

It is ſcarcely to be conceived with what ardour, approaching even to madneſs, the firſt geniuſes of the age applied to this kind of ſtudy. Loſing themſelves in a wood of abſtract conceptions and ſubtle diſtinctions, the further they proceeded the greater was the darkneſs and confuſion, till at length, what was commonly called philoſophy no longer deſerved the name. Ludovicus Vives, one of the moſt intelligent writers of the ſixteenth century, ſpeaking of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, ſays[b], "From the writings of Ariſtotle they have

[a] Metalog. l. ii. c. 10. p. 805. Conf. Lud. Vives de Corrupt. Art. l. iii. p. 112.
[b] L. c. l. v. p. 166.

ſelected,

ſelected, not the moſt uſeful, but the moſt intricate and unprofitable parts; not his Books of Natural Hiſtory, or his Problems, but his Phyſics, and thoſe treatiſes which moſt reſemble theirs in ſubtlety and obſcurity; for example, his Books upon the Firſt Philoſophy, upon Heaven, and upon Generation. For as to the treatiſe on Meteors, they are ſo entirely unacquainted with the ſubject, that it ſeems to have been admitted among the Scholaſtic books rather by accident than deſign. The truth is, that theſe philoſophers are leſs acquainted with nature than huſbandmen or mechanics; and ſo much offended are they with that Nature which they do not underſtand, that they have framed for themſelves another nature, which God never framed, conſiſting of formalities, hæcceities, realities, relations, Platonic ideas, and other ſubtleties, which they honour with the name of the *metaphyſical world*; and if any man has a turn of mind averſe to the ſtudy of real nature, but adapted to the purſuit of theſe viſionary fictions, they ſay, he is poſſeſſed of a ſublime genius.

The topics, upon which theſe philoſophers ſpent the whole force of their ingenuity, were of a kind at once the moſt difficult and abſtruſe, and the moſt trifling and uſeleſs. Intention and remiſſion, proportion and degree, infinity, formality, quiddity, individuality, and other abſtract ideas, furniſhed innumerable queſtions to exerciſe their ſubtlety. Not contented with conſidering properties and relations as they ſubſiſt, and are perceived, in natural objects, they ſeparated, in their conceptions, the former from the latter, and by this artifice transferred them into univerſal notions. Then forgetting that theſe notions are merely the offspring of the reaſoning mind, they conſidered them as real entities, and made uſe of them as ſubſtantial principles in explaining the nature of things. This they did, not only in metaphyſics but in phyſics, in which theſe imaginary entities confuſed and obſcured all their reaſonings. If theſe creatures of abſtraction be brought back to their natural connection with real objects, and with the terms which expreſs them, it will appear, that they had nothing more than an imaginary exiſtence, and the whole conteſt concerning them will vaniſh into a mere war of words.

 Whence

Whence some judgment may be formed concerning the value of this most profound, angelic, and seraphic philosophy.

The opinion of Vives upon this subject merits attention [a]. "Some maintain, that studies of this kind are useful to prepare the way for other kinds of learning, by sharpening the ingenuity of the student; and that those who understand these subtle questions, will the more easily acquire a knowledge of less difficult subjects: but neither of these assertions is true. One reason why questions of this kind are thought ingenious is, that they are not understood; for it is not uncommon for men to admire what they do not comprehend, and to think that most profound, which they are not able to fathom. In the opinion of many, however, these enigmatical subtleties are only to be ranked among the trifling amusements of children; being, in truth, not the produce of an understanding exercised and improved by erudition, but springing up in an unoccupied mind, from an ignorance of better things, like useless weeds in an uncultivated soil." To the same purpose Lord Bacon, with his usual strength of judgment, says [b]; "As many natural bodies, whilst they are still entire, are corrupted, and putrefy, so the solid knowledge of things often degenerates into subtle, vain, and silly speculations, which, although they may not seem altogether destitute of ingenuity, are insipid and useless. This kind of unsound learning, which preys upon itself, has often appeared, particularly among the Scholastics, who, having much leisure, quick parts, and little reading; being in mind as closely confined to the writings of a few authors, and especially of their dictator Aristotle, as they are in body to the cells of their monasteries; and being, moreover, in a great measure, ignorant of the history both of nature and of the world; out of very flimsy materials, but with the most rapid and violent motion of the shuttle of thought, they have woven those laborious webs which are preserved in their writings. The truth is, that the human mind, when it is employed upon external objects, is directed in its operations by the nature of the materials upon which its faculties are exercised; but if, like the

[a] L. c. l. iii. p. 129.   [b] De Aug. Scient. t. i. Op. l. i. c. 9.

ſpider, it draws its materials from within itſelf, it produces cobwebs of learning, wonderful indeed from the fineneſs of the threads, and the delicacy of the workmanſhip, but of no real value or uſe[a]."

The general prevalence of this taſte for ſubtle ſpeculations, among the Scholaſtics, is certainly to be accounted for, chiefly from the want of more important objects to occupy the leiſure of monaſtic life, and to furniſh occaſions of generous and uſeful emulation among thoſe who devoted their days to ſtudy. But the particular direction which this idle humour took was owing to the univerſal authority which, after Auguſtine, Ariſtotle, in the manner already explained, by degrees acquired in the Chriſtian ſchools. The reverence, almoſt religious, which the Scholaſtics paid to the Stagyrite, naturally led them to follow implicitly his method of philoſophiſing, and to embrace his opinions, as far as they were able to diſcover them. "There are," ſays Vives[b], "both philoſophers and divines, who not only ſay that Ariſtotle reached the utmoſt boundaries of ſcience, but that his ſyllogiſtic method of reaſoning is the moſt direct and certain path to knowledge; a preſumption which has led us to receive, upon the authority of Ariſtotle, many tenets as fully known and eſtabliſhed, which are by no means ſuch; for why ſhould we fatigue ourſelves with further enquiry, when it is agreed that nothing can be diſcovered beyond what may be found in his writings. Hence has ſprung up in the mind of men an incredible degree of indolence; ſo that every one thinks it ſafeſt and moſt pleaſant to ſee with another's eyes, and believe with another's faith, and to examine nothing for himſelf." There cannot be a clearer proof of the extravagant heighth to which this Ἀριςοτελομανία, rage for Ariſtotle, was carried, than the fact complained of by Melanchthon[c], that in ſacred aſſemblies the ethics of Ariſtotle were read to the people inſtead of the goſpel.

Notwithſtanding all the homage which was paid to the name of Ariſtotle, it is certain that the Scholaſtics were very imperfectly acquainted with the true ſenſe of his writings: for, not to inſiſt at preſent

[a] Conf. Lang. Chron. Ciz. t. i. p. 305. Piſtor. p. 836. Eraſmi Encom. Moriæ.
[b] L. c. l. v. p. 161. [c] Apol. A. C. p. 62.

ſent upon the difficulties which unavoidably attend the ſtudy of his works, ariſing from the abſtract nature of the ſubjects upon which he treats, from the ſtudied ambiguity with which he frequently writes, from the extreme conciſeneſs of his ſtyle, and from his obſcure and defective report of the opinions of preceding philoſophers, it muſt be recollected that theſe philoſophers engaged in the ſtudy of Ariſtotle without a previous acquaintance with hiſtory, or with the Greek philoſophy, and even without the knowledge of the Greek language, and ſaw the doctrines of their maſter through the obſcure medium of very imperfect tranſlations. Hence they never underſtood his whole ſyſtem in connection, and often created monſtrous forms, at which the Stagyrite himſelf would have been terrified.

The Scholaſtic philoſophy, thus introduced, and ſupported by the authority of Ariſtotle, derived its complete eſtabliſhment from the firm alliance into which it entered with theology, and the honours and emoluments which were, in conſequence of this alliance, beſtowed upon thoſe who excelled in this kind of learning. Dialectics having been found an uſeful inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the prevailing theological ſyſtem, eminence in this art became the ſure road to eccleſiaſtical preferment. Almoſt all the great men, who have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, roſe to diſtinction through their knowledge of ſubtle queſtions in metaphyſics, and through their adroitneſs in wielding the weapons of logic. Excellence in the Scholaſtic art of trifling was not only ſufficient to procure the high titles of Moſt Profound, Subtle, Reſolute, Wonderful, Angelic, or Seraphic Doctor, but to create profeſſors, abbots, biſhops, cardinals, and even pontiffs. What wonder, that the Scholaſtic philoſophy univerſally prevailed?

The effects of its prevalence were of the moſt ſerious nature. Beſides the extravagant waſte of time which theſe diſputes occaſioned, they introduced an abſurd kind of vanity, which perſuaded theſe Sublime Doctors to believe, that they had arrived at the ſummit of wiſdom, both human and divine, and gave occaſion to violent conteſts, which often terminated in ſomething worſe than a mere war of words. Theology, already ſufficiently clouded and corrupted by the

the ſpeculations and diſputes of former ages, by admitting into its ſervice Scholaſtic philoſophy involved itſelf in new obſcurity; ſo that at length, inſtead of the plain and ſimple doctrine of religion, little elſe was to be found in the writings of theologians, but vague notions, and verbal diſtinctions. As an example of the miſchief which aroſe to theology from this alliance, we may mention the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, which firſt ſprung up at this period, and concerning which the moſt violent diſputes aroſe between Berengar and his heretical partizans on the one ſide, and Lanfranc and his orthodox brethren on the other, till at length this abſurd dogma paſſed into an article of faith.

Another evil which aroſe from the Scholaſtic philoſophy was, that inſtead of attempting to diſtinguiſh the real differences of things, and to deduce clear concluſions from certain principles, in order to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, it employed all the powers of ingenuity, and all the arts of ſophiſtry, to obſcure the principles of ſcience, to mix truth with fallacy, and to open the door to univerſal ſcepticiſm. By the help of confuſed notions, unmeaning diſtinctions, barbarous terms, and a ſophiſtical method of reaſoning, men were prepared to advance and defend the moſt frivolous and abſurd poſitions; both theological and philoſophical diſputations degenerated into a mere trial of ſkill; and the honeſt enquirer after truth was left without any certain guide. The conſequences were, that tenets deſtructive of all religion were often publicly maintained in the ſchools; a corrupt ſyſtem of moral philoſophy, which left open many avenues to diſhoneſty and debauchery, was taught; and great depravity of manners prevailed.

This corruption of opinions and manners was accompanied with barbariſm of language. Little attention was now paid to the ſtudy of grammar, or rhetoric; a vaſt maſs of terms, wholly unknown in the Auguſtine age, were introduced into the Latin tongue, to expreſs the abſtract notions of dialectics and metaphyſics; and a verboſe, puerile, and inelegant mode of writing generally prevailed. John of Saliſbury, who took much pains to revive an attention to literature, complained

complained[a], that, in his time, thoſe who profeſſed to be acquainted with all arts, both liberal and mechanic, and to teach them in a ſhort time, neglected the ſtudy of Grammar; whence they were ignorant of the firſt art, without which it is in vain that any one attempts to become maſter of the reſt. Even the beſt writers of this period were not wholly free from literary barbariſm[b].

After this general view of the nature, cauſes, and effects of the Scholaſtic philoſophy[c], the reader may perceive, that it would be a moſt irkſome and unprofitable labour to attend theſe ſubtle doctors through all the winding paths, in which they wandered from the ſtrait road of ſimple truth and common ſenſe. The immenſe variety of their queſtions, the incomprehenſible ſubtlety of their diſtinctions, and the uncertainty and obſcurity of their mode of reaſoning, render it an impracticable taſk to give a clear and connected view of the doctrines of the Scholaſtic philoſophy. Or if it were poſſible to pour the light of order upon this chaos, the reſult would be nothing more than the repetition of Ariſtotle's dialectics and metaphyſics, clothed in barbarous terms and phraſes, and encumbered with a vaſt addition of puerile trifles, and viſionary fictions, which it would be an unpardonable abuſe of the reader's patience to retail. A few words concerning the manner in which the Scholaſtics taught logic and metaphyſics, phyſics, politics, and morals, and concerning their ſects, ſhall conclude this part of our work.

Although Logic and Metaphyſics were the peculiar province of the Scholaſtics, their labours in theſe branches of learning were of little uſe. Their logic[d] was rather the art of ſophiſtry than that of reaſoning; for it was applied to ſubjects which they did not underſtand, and employed upon principles which were not aſcertained. Their whole buſineſs being diſputation, they ſought out for ſuch thorny queſtions as were likely to afford them ſufficient exerciſe for their ingenuity. Their whole care was to conduct themſelves in the conteſt by the rules of art, and their whole ambition to obtain the

[a] Metal. l. i. c. 24. [b] Lud. Viv. l. c. l. ii. p. 78.

[c] Conf. Laun. de Fort. Ariſ. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 921. Matt. Paris, ad Ann. 1201.

[d] Lud. Viv. l. c. l. iii. p. 111. 128. l. v. p. 177.

victory.

victory. For want of clear principles, and accurate definitions, their metaphyſical ſyſtem was a chaos of abſtract notions, and obſcure terms. They profeſſed, indeed, to follow the metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, but for want of underſtanding the antient doctrines of phyſics and mathematics, or even the language of Ariſtotle, they frequently ſubſtitute the fictions of their own imaginations in the room of the true Ariſtotelian principles.

Of this the manner in which they handled the ſubject of Firſt Matter affords a clear example. The Stagyrite, in his metaphyſics, had called Matter, that of which, conſidered in itſelf, neither quantity nor quality can be predicated, and in which being terminates. In this definition Ariſtotle had a reference to the antient doctrine, that bodies are compoſed of corpuſcles; and, by mental abſtraction, ſeparated from theſe that which is the firſt formal cauſe of their exiſtence, and called it Firſt Matter. But the Scholaſtics, being ignorant of the antient notion of body, and confounding the purely metaphyſical conception of matter with an extended ſubject endued with form and quantity, fell into trifling diſputes, and deviſed innumerable ſubtleties, by which the original obſcurity of the doctrine of Ariſtotle concerning the firſt matter was greatly increaſed. The firſt matter, according to the followers of Thomas Aquinas, was ſimple power without actual energy. Others, who perceived that this was a mere phantom of the imagination, defended the real exiſtence of matter, though they confeſſed themſelves ignorant of its nature. Whilſt others, concluding that the attributes aſcribed to matter could belong only to God, contended that God was the firſt matter. Nor did theſe ſubtle reaſoners trifle leſs on the ſubject of divine and ſpiritual natures. Bonaventure, in his Compendium of Theology, treats of angels, their ſubſtance, orders, offices, language, and the like, as if he himſelf had been an inhabitant of the angelic world.

In Natural Philoſophy, inſtead of attending to the real properties of bodies, and inveſtigating the laws of nature by experiment and obſervation, they reaſoned with ſubtlety upon vague and obſcure principles, and always confounded phyſics with metaphyſics. Many reaſonings

reaſonings of this kind may be met with in thoſe parts of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, where he treats of the principles of nature, of the nature of matter, of the occult operations of nature, and the like[a]. Among other profound obſervations, he derives the occult operations of nature from the forms of things, which exiſt in their reſpective bodies, and ſuppoſes the formal principles of ſuch bodies to be celeſtial bodies, which by their acceſſion or receſſion cauſe the production or corruption of the inferior body. Whence he concludes, that there is in theſe occult forms a capacity of being reſtored to higher principles, namely, celeſtial bodies, or to powers ſtill higher than theſe, that is, to ſeparate intellectual ſubſtances, which in their reſpective operations leave traces of themſelves. If the reader will apply the myſterious operations of theſe occult forms to the explanation of magnetic attractions, he will ſoon perceive how much the ſcience of phyſics is indebted to this angelic doctor. Bonaventure[b], and others, laboured in this field with equal ſucceſs. Roger Bacon, indeed, Albert, and a few more, in their enquiries into nature, left the clouds of metaphyſics, and deſcended into the humble vale of experience; but the world was not prepared to receive the information they were able to communicate, and imputed their operations to the power of magic. Boniface, the patron of ignorance and barbariſm, ſummoned Polydore Virgil, biſhop of Saliſbury, to the court of Inquiſition, for maintaining the exiſtence of Antipodes; for this profound theologian wiſely concluded, that ſuch a race of men would be a new world for which Chriſt had not died[c].

Upon the ſubject of Ethics, we find among the Scholaſtics ſurpriſing proofs of ignorance and weakneſs. Till the twelfth century, the only books of morals which obtained any authority were that wretched compilation, the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory, and ſome other injudicious collections of ſentences from the ſcriptures and the writings of the Fathers. When the Ethics of Ariſtotle were intro-

[a] Opuſc. p. 213.

[b] Opuſc. t. ii. p. 728. ed. Lugd. Conf. Viv. l. v. p. 176.

[c] Aventin. Ann. l. iii. Welſer. Ann. Boic. l. v. Bayle, Art. Virg.

duced, and moral doctrine began to be confidered as a part of philofophy, we indeed find the Scholaftics treating concerning virtues and vices, but always in the dialectic method; fubftituting ufelefs queftions concerning cafes which are never likely to happen in real life, in the room of practical enquiries,

Quid fit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non*.

If they difcourfed upon thefe topics, they either implicitly followed the definition and arrangement of Ariftotle, or injudicioufly combined with his moral doctrine the precepts of piety and fanctity which the church had prefcribed. The correction and improvement of ethics was indeed attempted by John Scotus Erigena, and other followers of the fuppofed Dionyfius; but thefe enthufiafts having abandoned the humble path of common fenfe to foar into the regions of myfticifm, the remedy proved fcarcely lefs mifchievous than the difeafe to which it was applied; and the fimple doctrine of pure morality, taught by Chrift and his apoftles, which had hitherto been debafed by fuperftition, was now loft in the extravagancies of enthufiafm.

The fpirit of difputation which fo eminently diftinguifhed the Scholaftics, gave birth to many fects, which contended againft each other with bitter animofity. The difciples of Albert, called Albertifts, who mixed the doctrines of religion with the tenets of the Ariftotelian philofophy, were vehemently oppofed by Peter Lombard and his followers. The diffentions between Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus laid the foundation of the fects of the Thomifts and Scotifts, who difputed with great warmth on the doctrines of grace and free will, and other theological topics. From the fchool of Duns Scotus arofe Occam, the inventor of new fubtleties, who became the father of the fect of Occamifts. But, among all the fects of the Scholaftics, the moft memorable, on account of the extent, the violence, and the duration of their contefts, are thofe of the Nominalifts and Realifts.

To underftand the ground of the difpute which gave rife to thefe

* What fair or bafe, what good or ill, to man,
And what his wifeft, fafeft, happieft plan.

ſects, it will be neceſſary to recollect the different tenets of the antient ſchools of Plato, Ariſtotle, and Zeno, concerning Ideas, or the univerſal forms of things. Ideas, according to Plato, are not the univerſal notions or conceptions of the mind, ariſing from the contemplation of external objects, but Intelligible Natures, having a certain and ſtable exiſtence, whoſe origin and ſeat is the divine mind, and which are the immediate objects of contemplation to the human underſtanding. Univerſal eſſences of this kind, external to matter, Ariſtotle thought to be the mere fictions of the imagination of Plato, or rather of Pythagoras; but, not daring to deny the exiſtence of eſſential forms, he affirmed that ideas, or forms, were eternally united to matter, and that from this union of matter and form aroſe exiſting bodies. Zeno and the Stoic ſchool acknowledged primary principles of material things, but denied their eſſentiality, and ridiculed thoſe who aſſerted the ſubſtantial exiſtence of ideas or univerſals, as diſtinguiſhed from the conceptions of the mind and the words by which they are expreſſed. This ſubtle queſtion was purſued by the Eclectic philoſophers, who endeavoured to reconcile the Academic, Peripatetic, and Stoic notions concerning it, by ſuppoſing, that ideas have a real eſſentiality, but only in the divine underſtanding, where they ſubſiſt as models, by means of which, in framing individual bodies, eſſential characters of things are impreſſed upon matter, as by one ſeal ſimilar impreſſions are made upon innumerable portions of wax; and that theſe ideas may be contemplated by the human mind, and may be expreſſed by univerſal terms. Others left it undetermined whether the univerſals thus contemplated have a real phyſical exiſtence. Porphyry, in his introduction to the Ariſtotelian logic, ſays [a], "Concerning *genera* and *ſpecies*, whether they have a real eſſence, or are barely conceptions of the mind, and if they ſubſiſt whether corporeally or incorporeally, whether ſpiritually or only in the objects of ſenſe, I give no opinion, becauſe the ſubject is abſtruſe, and requires a larger diſcuſſion." This point, which Porphyry left undetermined, was reſumed in the ſchools, and the opinion of

[a] § 2. p. 2. Ed. Jul. Pacii.

Ariſtotle, that univerſals ſubſiſt not prior to individual bodies, nor after them, but within them, and are the forms eternally united to matter, which make bodies to be ſuch as they are, univerſally prevailed, till, in the eleventh century, Roſceline, before mentioned, adopted the Stoic opinion, that Univerſals have no real exiſtence either before or in individuals, but are mere names and words by which the kinds of individuals are expreſſed: a tenet which was afterwards propagated by Abelard, and produced the ſect of the Nominaliſts [a].

This new opinion gave great offence to the philoſophers and divines of the eleventh century, perhaps, chiefly becauſe Roſceline, by applying it to the doctrine of the Trinity, brought upon himſelf a ſuſpicion of hereſy. Many young perſons, however, ſtrenuouſly adhered to the ſide of the Nominaliſts, and the ſect, through the ingenuity and ability of Abelard and others, obtained many followers [b]. Some of theſe, to avoid cenſure, changed their ground ſo far as to maintain, that univerſals conſiſt in notions and conceptions of the mind, formed by abſtraction, whence they were called Conceptualiſts. The Realiſts, too, were of different opinions, ſome leaning towards the doctrine of Plato, and others towards that of Ariſtotle.

In the twelfth century, the controverſy ſtill continued; but the doctrine of the Realiſts found ſuch able ſupporters in Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, that it almoſt became triumphant. But Occam, in the fourteenth century, revived the dying cauſe of the Nominaliſts, and gave it ſuch a degree of credit, that after his time it was zealouſly maintained by Suiſſet, Buridan, Marſilius ab Inghen, Weſſel, and many others. The ſect of the Nominaliſts, enjoying the countenance and favour of Louis the Eleventh, almoſt univerſally flouriſhed in Germany; whilſt that of the Realiſts, being patronized by Pope John XXIII. was prevalent in Italy, and other countries; till at length the Pope's faction became predominant, and haraſſed

[a] Otto Friſing. de Geſt. Frid. l. i. c. 42. J. Sariſb. Met. l. ii. c. 17. p. 814. Aventin. Ann. Bor. l. vi. p. 396.

[b] Du Cheſne Scr. Hiſt. Fr. t. iv. p. 632. Hiſt. Crit. Phil. t. iii. p. 906. Abelard. Hiſt. Cal. c. 3.

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the Nominaliſts with ſevere perſecutions. Louis XI. king of France, publiſhed an edict which, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-four, ſilenced and baniſhed the Nominaliſts; ordered their books to be faſtened up in the libraries with iron chains, that they might not be read by ſtudents; and required the academic youth to renounce their doctrines. Upon this the leaders of the ſect fled into Germany and England, where, at the beginning of the reformation, they met with a ſtrong reinforcement in Luther, Melancthon, and others[a].

Nothing could exceed the violence with which theſe diſputes were conducted. Vives, who himſelf ſaw theſe conteſts, ſays[b], "that when the contending parties had exhauſted their ſtock of verbal abuſe, they often came to blows; and it was not uncommon, in theſe quarrels about univerſals, to ſee the combatants engaging, not only with their fiſts, but with clubs and ſwords, ſo that many have been wounded, and ſome killed." Such were the bleſſed fruits of Scholaſtic philoſophy! We cannot more properly take leave of this period of our hiſtory, than in the words of Martial[c]:

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus labor eſt ineptiarum[c]. *

[a] Pleſſis d'Argen. Collect. t. i. p. 202. 255. 302. Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. t. v. p. 678. 739. 747. Baluz. Miſc. t. iv. p. 531. Naud. Add. Hiſt. Ludov. xi. p. 203. Launois Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. t. iv. p. 201.

[b] L. c. l. i. Conf. Eraſm. præf. Enchir. Camer. Vit. Melancth. p. 213. Wood. Ant. Oxon. ad Ann. 1343. Patric. Diſc. Perip. t. i. c. 13.

[c] 'Tis a folly to ſweat o'er a difficult trifle,
And for ſilly devices invention to rifle.

* Vidend. Hottinger Hiſt. Ecc. Sec. xiii. Leyſer. Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi. Marnix. Apiar. Rom. Ecc. p. i. c. 10. Flacii Carm. de Corrupt. Eccl. Statu. Mabillon de Stud. Monaſt. p. ii. c. 7. Dupin Meth. Stud. l. iv. Salabert. Phil. Nomin. vind. Par. 1651, 8°. Ars Rationis ad Mentem Nomin. Ox. 1673, 12°. Mabillon Analect. t. iv. p. 369.

BOOK VIII.

OF THE REVIVAL OF PHILOSOPHY.

CHAP. I.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS UPON PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING at length, not without difficulty, cleared our way through the thorns and briars of the Middle Age, we are now arrived at a more open and pleaſant country, where we ſhall ſee learning and philoſophy recovering their antient honours. This great effect was not produced inſtantaneouſly; but, as the twilight precedes the riſing ſun, ſo the dawning of literature prepared the way for the revival of ſcience, till, at length, genius was awakened, rational enquiry was reſumed, and the night of the Scholaſtic age was ſucceeded by a bright day of learning and true philoſophy.

In the thirteenth century, a ſingular but fanciful attempt was made to introduce a new method of philoſophiſing by RAYMUND LULLY [a], long famous for an invention which is called his Great

[a] Bovilli Vit. Lullii. Danat. Hiſt. Balear.

Art.

Art. Lully was born in the iſland of Majorca, in the year one thouſand two hundred and thirty-four. After paſſing his younger days in pleaſure, he was on a ſudden induced, by a diſappointment in love, to give himſelf up to retirement and devotion. In his retreat he boaſted of viſions and revelations. Forming a romantic deſign of converting the Mahometans to the Chriſtian faith, about the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſeven, he viſited Pope Honorius the Fourth, and the eccleſiaſtics in Rome, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to aſſiſt him in his enterprize, and for this purpoſe to inſtitute ſchools for teaching the Oriental languages. Finding his propoſal, however, treated with contempt, he carried it to the courts of Paris, Genoa, and other ſtates; but met with no better ſucceſs. At laſt he determined to attempt the execution of his project, with no other reſources than thoſe which his own ingenuity and zeal ſupplied; and undertook a journey into Aſia and Africa, where he viſited the principal cities, in hope of making converts. After many diſappointments and hazards, he returned home; but the ardour of his enthuſiaſm remained unabated, and he renewed his application to ſeveral European princes. Finding no one, however, who was inclined to favour his deſign, he entered into the fraternity of Franciſcan monks, and, inflamed with an invincible thirſt after the glory of martyrdom, he went a ſecond time into Africa, whence he had before been permitted to depart only upon condition that he would never return thither. This proved a moſt unfortunate adventure; for upon his being again found in this country, he was thrown into priſon, where he ſuffered great torture, and whence he barely eſcaped with life, through the intereſt of certain Genoeſe traders, who took him on board their ſhip to convey him home. On his paſſage, when he was juſt within ſight of his native country, he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and fifteen. He had the appellation of THE MOST ENLIGHTENED DOCTOR.

Wonderful things are related of Lully's chemical and medical ſkill[a]; but he is chiefly celebrated for an invention, by which he pretended

[a] Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 129. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 864. N. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. Vet. t. ii. p. 84. Blount. Cenſ. p. 420.

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to enable any one mechanically to invent arguments and illuſtrations upon any ſubject, and thus to reach the ſummit of ſcience at a ſmall expence of time and labour. This GREAT ART profeſſes to furniſh a general inſtrument for aſſiſting invention in the ſtudy of every kind of ſcience. For this purpoſe certain general terms, which are common to all the ſciences, but principally thoſe of logic, metaphyſics, ethics, and theology, are collected and arranged; not however according to any natural diviſion, but merely according to the caprice of the inventor. An alphabetical table of ſuch terms was provided; and ſubjects and predicates taken from theſe, were reſpectively inſcribed, in angular ſpaces, upon circular papers. The eſſences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of ſubjects were fixed in a frame, and thoſe of predicates were ſo placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of ſubjects and predicates; whence would ariſe definitions, axioms, and propoſitions, varying infinitely, according to the different application of general terms to particular ſubjects. Such is the general idea of Lully's mechanical logic; the particulars of which it would be wholly unintereſting to detail, ſince it is very evident, that the invention is perfectly futile; ſuppoſing that knowledge of the nature of things, which nevertheleſs it profeſſes to teach; deriving its rules, not from reaſon, but from the arbitrary play of the imagination; and furniſhing certain repoſitories of univerſal notions, without providing any criterion for diſtinguiſhing truth from falſhood, or any method of diſcovering the real properties of things. The great Lullian art, though ſpoken of by certain writers of this period in the higheſt terms of panegyric, may therefore ſafely be pronounced an unprofitable and ridiculous invention, wholly unworthy of notice, except as a ſpecimen of the artifice with which men, who have more ingenuity than honeſty, frequently impoſe upon vulgar weakneſs and credulity [a].

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. c. 5. p. 352. Verulam. Aug. Scient. l. vi. c. 2. Alſted: Clavis Artis Lull. Arg. 1608. Ars magna, Ed. Argent. 1598. 8vo. cum Comment. Agrippæ. Brunon. Lampad. Combin. p. 685. Leibnitz de Arte Combinat. p. 33.

To the fanciful and enthusiastic Lully the philosophical world has few obligations. But other more cultivated and liberal spirits arose about this period, who rendered essential service to mankind, by reviving a taste for learning and science.

In the meritorious design of banishing barbarism, and reviving a taste for polite literature, the Italian poet, DANTE ALLIGHIERI [a], appears to have led the way. He was born at Florence, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixty-five. In his youth he not only applied himself to the study of poetry, and other branches of elegant learning, but, considering the period in which he lived, acquired a correct acquaintance with philosophy. According to his biographers, he was inferior to none of his age as a philosopher and a poet; in genius he was sublime, in language brilliant, and in reasoning accurate and profound. He studied physics and mathematics at Paris, and wrote a philosophical piece, entitled, *Quæstio de Natura duorum Elementorum Aquæ et Terræ* [b], "An Enquiry into the Nature of the Two Elements, Water and Earth." But his chief work is his dramatic satire, "On Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell." On account of the happy influence which his example had upon the taste and studies of the age in which he lived, he may justly be ranked among the first revivers of learning, and reformers of philosophy.

From the school of Dante arose FRANCIS PETRARCH [c], a star of the first magnitude in the Italian hemisphere, who greatly contributed to dissipate the darkness of the fourteenth century. Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in the year one thousand three hundred and four. His father, with many other Italians, who were discontented with their fortune, removed from Florence to the neighbourhood of Avignon, in France, where a Gascon pope had fixed the Roman see. After the example of his master, Petrarch devoted himself chiefly to polite literature. His father in vain endeavoured to draw his attention from these pursuits to the more profitable, but

[a] Hank. de Rom. Scrip. p. ii. c. 42. p. 194.

[b] Fabr. Bib. L. Med. t. v. p. 675. Pref. Ed. Volpi, 1720.

[c] Trithem. de S. E. c. 622. Squarzafich Vit. Pet. Op. præm. Ep. Petr.

leſs elegant, ſtudy of the law. After various occurrences in life (of which his amour with Laura was an intereſting, and his poetical coronation at Rome was a ſplendid, part) he reſided during the later period of his life, ſometimes in the celebrated vale of Vaucluſe, near Avignon, and ſometimes at Argua, near Padua, where, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four, he died, univerſally known, eſteemed, and regretted. To Petrarch the Latin tongue is chiefly indebted for the reſtoration of its purity; Italian poetry for its perfection; and even philoſophy for a conſiderable ſhare of improvement. The ſcience of ethics he ſtudied with attention, and clothed many excellent precepts of morality with all the graces of pure and claſſical language. His treatiſes, *De Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ*; *de vera Sapientia*; *de Contemptu Mundi*; *de Republica optime adminiſtranda*; *de Avaritia*; "On the Remedies of Fortune; True Wiſdom; the Contempt of the World; Government; Avarice;" and above all the reſt, *De ſua ipſius et aliorum Ignorantia*, "On his own Ignorance of himſelf and others," are exceedingly valuable. In reading the moral writings of Petrarch, we viſit, not a barren deſert of dry diſputation, but a fruitful garden of elegant obſervations, full of the choiceſt flowers of literature.

Several other Italian writers followed the footſteps of Petrarch, and may be deſervedly mentioned among the revivers of learning and philoſophy; particularly his pupil and friend JOHN BOCCACE [a], born at Certaldi, in Tuſcany, in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirteen, who, beſides his celebrated *Decameron*, wrote a book *De Genealogia Deorum*, "On the Genealogy of the Gods," in which he treats of the fabulous philoſophy of the Greeks with greater ſucceſs than was to be expected in the age in which he lived.

About this period an event occurred, which greatly promoted the revival of letters in Italy, and other Weſtern parts of Europe. The oppreſſion which all liberal arts and ſciences ſuffered in the Eaſt under

[a] Erythræus Pinacoth. iii. p. 219. Blount. Cen. p. 437. Bayle. Trithem. c. 647. Fab. Bib. L. Med. t. i. p. 682.

the conqueſt of the Turks, obliged many eminent Greeks to forſake their native country, and take refuge in Italy. EMANUEL CHRYSOLORAS[a], a Conſtantinopolitan of Roman extraction, having been ſent, in the year one thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſeven, by John Palæologus, the ſon of the younger Andronicus, to ſolicit the ſupport and protection of the Chriſtian princes in Europe againſt the Turks, viſited firſt Venice, and afterwards Florence, Rome, and other Italian cities. He remained in the Weſt till his death, which happened in one thouſand four hundred and fourteen. Other Greeks, driven from their native country by the hoſtilities of the Turks, followed the example of Chryſoloras, and found an hoſpitable aſylum in Italy. Theſe brought with them many Greek books, and ſome portion of antient learning. The conſequence was, that Grecian literature, which had lain dormant in the Weſt for ſeven hundred years, was revived, and antient books, which had been for ages neglected, were brought to light, and with great avidity read and tranſlated. Dante and Petrarch, and other learned men, having introduced a taſte for literature, the princes of Italy entered into a laudable competition with each other, in affording countenance and protection to learning. Learned men from every quarter found a welcome reception at Rome, under the patronage of Pope Nicholas V. who was particularly diſpoſed to encourage tranſlations of Ariſtotle's works. The Medicean family at Florence expended their wealth, with great liberality, in providing a comfortable aſylum for the learned refugees of the Eaſt. One of this family, Lorenzo di Medici, ſent John Laſcaris into Greece to purchaſe at any expence the moſt valuable Greek manuſcripts[b]. The effect of this judicious exertion of public ſpirit upon the ſtate of learning was ſoon experienced; learned men, both Greeks and Italians, induſtriouſly devoted themſelves to the neceſſary labour of multiplying copies, and furniſh-

[a] Jovius Elog. c. 23. Bullart Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 265. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 123. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 392.

[b] Nic. Reuſner in Icon. Lit. F. 6.

ing verſions of the antient Greek writings; and the knowledge of the Greek language was every where diſſeminated [a].

JOHN ARGYROPULUS, a Conſtantinopolitan, who was taken under the patronage of Coſmo di Medici, at the requeſt of his patron, undertook to tranſlate Ariſtotle's phyſics and ethics. The natural jealouſy and reſerve of his temper prevented him from freely communicating his learning to the Italians; and he affected to deſpiſe Cicero, whom he maintained to have been ignorant of philoſophy and Greek learning. His tranſlations, however, are valuable; and beſides theſe he wrote a commentary upon the Ethics of Ariſtotle, and Solutions of Queſtions propoſed to him by certain philoſophers and phyſicians in the iſland of Cyprus. He taught the Ariſtotelian philoſophy in Rome, with a ſtipend granted him by the pope; and died in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix [b].

Among the learned Latins of the fifteenth century, were POLITIAN [c] of Tuſcany, born in one thouſand four hundred and fifty-four, who tranſlated from the Greek, Alexander Aphrodiſæus's "Solution of certain Phyſical Queſtions," Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, and Plato's *Charmis*; HERMOLAUS BARBARUS [d], who tranſlated the medical writings of Dioſcorides, the Rhetoric and other pieces of Ariſtotle, and is ſaid to have ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of a divinity in explaining the ſignification of Ariſtotle's εντελεχεια; FRANCISCUS PHILELPHUS [e], who wrote a treatiſe *De Morali Diſciplina*, "On Moral Diſcipline;" and two books, *De Conviviis*, "Of Banquets," which diſcover an extenſive knowledge of hiſtory and philoſophy; PETER VERGER [f], whoſe work *De Ingenuis Moribus*, "On Liberal Manners," affords a pleaſing ſpecimen of the ſobriety with which philoſophy now began to be purſued; MANETTUS [g], a Florentine, who tranſlated Ariſtotle's Categories, with Porphyry's Introduction, and

[a] Ficin. Præf. in Plat. Beſſario Dedic. Verſ. Metaph. Ariſt. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 172.

[b] Bullart Ac. Sc. t. i. p. 269. Jov. Elog. c. 37. Bayle. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 278.

[c] Bayle.

[d] Trithem. c. 878.

[e] Jov. Elog. c. 17. Trithem. c. 855.

[f] Trithem. c. 856. Bayle.

[g] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 7.

wrote the Lives of Socrates and Seneca, and treatiſes on wiſdom, truth, poſſibility, the nature of the univerſe, the nature of the mind, &c. which diſcover an unuſual ſhare of philoſophical knowledge; Donatus Acciailus [a], a pupil of Argyropulus, who wrote a commentary on Ariſtotle's ethics and politics; Apollinaris Offred [b], whoſe commentary on Ariſtotle, *De Anima*, and *Analytica poſteriore*, obtained him great authority in the ſchools; and Laurentius Valla [c], born at Rome, in one thouſand four hundred and fifteen, who freely cenſured the dialectics of Ariſtotle, and the philoſophy of his own time, but diſcovered more ſkill in pulling down antient edifices, than in erecting new ones; and of whom Eraſmus ſays [d], that with great induſtry and perſeverance he refuted the abſurdities of barbarians, raiſed learning from the grave, reſtored Italy to its antient ſplendour of eloquence, and rendered this ſervice to learned men, that he obliged them from that time to ſpeak and write with greater accuracy.

The exertions which theſe learned men made towards the revival of learning and philoſophy, are chiefly to be imputed to the example and influence of Chryſoloras, Argyropulus, and other Greeks, who, as we have ſeen, became reſident about this time in Italy. And it is to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe, that the firſt innovations upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy were made by two different claſſes of adverſaries, thoſe who were attached to the pure Peripatetic ſyſtem, and thoſe who embraced the doctrine of Plato. The Greeks had, in their own country, followed, ſome the Platonic or Alexandrian, others the Ariſtotelian, philoſophy, and the Latins, through their example and influence, naturally fell into the ſame claſſes. Thoſe of the Greek refugees who followed the Stagyrite, finding the Latins in general addicted to a ſpurious kind of Ariſtotelianiſm, endeavoured to perſuade them to uſe their own eyes, and rather to follow Ariſtotle himſelf, than to yield an implicit deference to the judgment of the Arabian and Scholaſtic philoſophers. Thoſe,

[a] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 8.
[b] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 11.
[c] Trithem, c. 750.
[d] Ep. l. vii. 7. Viv. l. c. l. iii. p. 130.

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on the contrary, who were admirers of Platonifm, ftrenuoufly recommended this fyftem as moft favourable to religion, and eafily drew over to their intereft fuch as were offended with the impiety of the reigning doctrine of Averroifm. In this manner it came to pafs, that befides the body of Scholaftics, who ftill continued, after their ufual manner, to difpute and to trifle, two philofophical families fprung up in Italy, one of whom followed the fyftem of Plato as new modelled in the Alexandrian fchools, and the other profeffed to adhere to the genuine doctrine of Ariftotle.

The firft Greek who gave occafion to the revival of Platonifm in Italy was George Gemift, alfo called PLETHO [a], a native of Conftantinople, who was born in one thoufand three hundred and ninety, and lived one hundred years. He was a zealous advocate for Platonifm, and maintained a violent controverfy with the Ariftotelians. His heretical and philofophical writings afford unqueftionable proofs of his learning, and particularly of his intimate knowledge of the Alexandrian philofophy. In his *Expofitio Oraculorum Magicorum Zoroaftris*, "Explanation of the Magic Oracles of Zoroafter," he exhibits twelve fundamental articles of the Platonic religion, and gives an elegant compendium of the whole Platonic philofophy. Other philofophical writings of Pletho are, *De Virtutibus*, "On the Virtues;" *De Differentia Platonicæ et Ariftotelicæ Philofophiæ*, "On the Difference between the Platonic and Ariftotelian philofophy;" *Demonftrationes naturales de Deo*, "Natural arguments concerning God."

A more moderate adherent to Plato, who maintained his fyftem, without defpifing the philofophy of Ariftotle or trefpaffing upon the doctrine of Chriftianity, was BESSARIO [b], a learned bifhop of Nice, whom the emperor Manuel Palæologus, about the year one thoufand four hundred and forty, appointed, with other Greek divines, to treat with the Latin church concerning an union. Upon his return, he was nominated by the emperor to the patriarchate of Conftantinople; but the zeal which he had fhewn to reunite the Greek and Latin

[a] Allatius de claris Georg. p. 741. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 740.

[b] Bullart Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 9. Fabr. l. c. p. 401. Trithem. c. 459. Dupin Nouv. Bib. Ec. t. xii. p. 122.

Latin churches, was fo difpleafing to the Greeks, that he was obliged, for his fafety, to return into Italy, where he was admitted to the Conclave by Pope Eugenius IV. Many fubfequent honours were conferred upon him. He died at Ravenna in one thoufand four hundred and feventy-two. His houfe was the general refort of men of letters, whether Grecians or Latins; and he allowed them the free ufe of his large and valuable library, which he left, by will, to the Senate of Venice. A friend to moderation, he made ufe of all his influence and authority to bring the violent difputes of the times to an amicable termination. He wrote a defence of the Platonic fyftem againft George Trebizond, and tranflated, but with great obfcurity, Xenophon's Memorabilia, the Metaphyfic of Ariftotle, and that falfely afcribed to Theophraftus.

Under the patronage of Cofmo di Medici, MARSILIUS FICINUS [a], a Florentine, born in one thoufand four hundred and thirty-three, was educated by Pletho for the exprefs purpofe of tranflating the writings, and reviving the philofophy, of Plato. He was provided with every kind of inftruction neceffary to qualify him for this undertaking, and applied himfelf with great induftry and fuccefs to his ftudies. At the fame time he enjoyed the benefit of converfation with many able and learned men, who frequented the houfe of his patron, for the moft part followers of Plato. Notwithftanding this advantage, it appears from the manner in which he executed his tafk, and from his other writings, that he was deficient in ftrength of judgment, and correctnefs of tafte. His Latin ftyle wants that richnefs and dignity, which are requifite in a verfion of Plato. Many proofs may be found in his writings of a degree of weak fuperftition, wholly inconfiftent with the character of a philofopher. He was of a timid and fervile fpirit, which would naturally lead him to accommodate his verfion to the judgment of his patron. And he entertained the notion which prevailed among the Chriftian Fathers, that the doctrine of Plato was, in fome fort, of divine origin, and might be fairly conftrued into a perfect agreement with that of

[a] Præf. in Platonis Verf. Shelhorn. Amœnitat. Liter. t. i. p. 18.

divine revelation. From theſe cauſes, Ficinus is very far from adhering with ſtrictneſs to his author's meaning; in many inſtances he rather expreſſes his own conceptions than thoſe of Plato, and often gives his interpretation a bias towards the Alexandrian or Chriſtian doctrine, for which he had no ſufficient authority in the original. On the whole, Ficinus was rather an induſtrious than a judicious tranſlator, and his verſion of Plato ſhould be read with caution. He died in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine.

A fellow labourer with Ficinus, in the taſk of editing and tranſlating the writings of Plato and his followers, was JOANNES PICUS, of Mirandola[a], born in one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three, who, for his ſucceſs in reviving the Platonic philoſophy, was honoured with the title of the phœnix of his age. Before he was twenty-four years of age, he had acquired ſuch a knowledge of ſcience and of languages, that he went to Rome, and propoſed for diſputation nine hundred queſtions in dialectics, mathematics, philoſophy, and theology, which he alſo hung up in all the open ſchools in Europe, challenging their profeſſors to public diſputation, and promiſing to defray the travelling expences of any one who would undertake a journey to Rome for this purpoſe. The iſſue of the challenge did not correſpond with the expectations of this ambitious youth; he became an object of univerſal jealouſy and envy, and was ſuſpected of magic, and charged with hereſy. A few years afterwards, probably through diſappointment and mortification, he gave himſelf up to ſolitude and devotion, and formed a reſolution to diſtribute all his property among the poor, and to travel, bare-footed, through the world, in order to propagate the goſpel. But death put an end to this extravagant project, in the thirty ſecond year of his age. He was a zealous ſupporter of Platoniſm, after the model of the Alexandrian ſchool; but not without blending with its doctrine a large portion of Cabbaliſtic myſtery, and confounding with both theſe the doctrine of divine revelation.

Another body of Greek ſcholars were at this time advocates for the

[a] Jo. Moller. Homonym. p. 883. Vit. a J. Fr. Pico in Bates Vet. Select. Politian. Miſc. Cent. i. c. 100.

the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and employed their time and learning in editing and tranſlating the writings of the Stagyrite. Before the revival of letters, though the name of Ariſtotle was idolized, his writings were, as we have ſeen, read only in imperfect Latin tranſlations. But after many learned Greeks had ſettled in Italy, and introduced a taſte for Greek literature, his works were ſtudied in the original; and, whilſt Plato's writings were tranſlated and commented upon by many learned men, under the patronage of the Medicean family, others, under the direction and authority of Pope Nicholas V. rendered the ſame ſervice to literature with reſpect to the works of Ariſtotle. This taſk, though of uncommon difficulty, on account of the obſcurity of the author, and the defective ſtate of the manuſcripts, was executed with tolerable ſucceſs. Of thoſe who laboured in this undertaking, the principal were Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Georgius Scholarius.

Theodore Gaza[a], a native of Theſſalonica, came over into Italy under the protection of the Cardinal Beſſarion, and Coſmo di Medici, and applied himſelf ſo diligently and ſucceſsfully to the ſtudy of the Latin tongue, under Victorinus, that, according to Jovius, it was not eaſy to ſay, whether he tranſlated more correctly from Latin into Greek, or from Greek into Latin. He particularly admired and imitated the ſtyle of Pliny the Elder. Through the bounty of his patron, he lived for ſeveral years in plenty; but, for want of œconomy, he involved himſelf in debt, and was reduced to poverty. To extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, he ſet about a tranſlation of Ariſtotle, "On the Hiſtory of Animals," and, when he had finiſhed the work, dedicated it to Pope Sextus IV. in hopes of receiving from his Holineſs a liberal recompence. The Pope, however, only made him a ſmall preſent; upon which Gaza, through vexation and reſentment, immediately went and threw the money into the Tiber. From that time he withdrew from Rome, and paſſed his days in Calabria, till diſappointment preyed upon his conſtitution, and put an end to his life. He died in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-eight.

[a] Jov. Elog. c. 26. Trithem. c. 848. Volater. Anthr. l. xxi. p. 775.

GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS, or GEORGE OF TREBIZOND [a], born in the year one thouſand three hundred and ninety-ſix, came into Italy at the time of the celebrated council of Florence, held for the purpoſe of uniting the Greek and Latin churches. He taught rhetoric and philoſophy, firſt at Venice, and afterwards at Rome. Pope Nicholas V. honoured him with his particular friendſhip. He defended the Peripatetic philoſophy againſt the Platoniſts with great vehemence and acrimony; nor did even his fellow-labourers in the taſk of tranſlating Ariſtotle eſcape the effects of his haughtineſs and ill temper. A violent quarrel aroſe between him and Gaza, in their joint undertaking of tranſlating Ariſtotle "On Animals;" each claiming to himſelf the excluſive merit of having overcome the difficulties which aroſe from the great number of names of animals, which are found in that work. He wrote, "A Compariſon of Ariſtotle and Plato," full of bitter invective. He tranſlated Plato's dialogue *de Legibus*, and Ariſtotle's treatiſe *de Animalibus*, but he muſt not be allowed the credit either of accuracy or fidelity. He frequently violated the duty of a tranſlator by unpardonable variations, omiſſions, or additions. Trapezuntius died in one thouſand four hundred and eighty-four.

Georgius Scholarius [b], a learned Greek, ſtudied letters, philoſophy, theology, and juriſprudence in his native city, Conſtantinople. In the council of Florence, he oppoſed the union of the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches, and hereby diſpleaſed the Emperor. Upon his return home, he retired into a monaſtery near Conſtantinople, and took the name of Gennadius. At the taking of Conſtantinople, he fled into Italy, and ſpent his laſt days in the monaſtery of John Baptiſt, at Monaco, where he died, about the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-four. He wrote an introduction to Porphyry on Univerſals, and a Commentary on the Categories of Ariſtotle, and on the book *de Interpretatione*.

[a] Jov. c. 25. Allat. de Georg. § 50. Niceron. Mem. t. xiv. p. 322. Wharton App. Cave, p. 97.

[b] Allat. l. c. p. 760. T. Smith. Miſc. p. 4. Renaudot. Diſſ. de Vit. et Op. Gennadii. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 343.

Between these two bodies of philosophers, those on the one part who followed Plato, and those who on the other followed Aristotle, a dispute arose concerning the merit and authority of their respective masters, which was carried to a most ridiculous and extravagant height. It was begun by Pletho, whose veneration for Plato led him to oppose with great violence the unrivalled dominion, which Aristotle had for ages possessed in the schools. Georgius Scholarius took up the pen so zealously in defence of Aristotle, that he maintained, after Marcus Eugenius, bishop of Ephesus, that the opinions of Aristotle are consonant to the truest and best doctrines of the Christian religion, and are *even more true*; and that the tenets of Plato differ from those of Aristotle, and are *therefore* false. George of Trebizond supported Scholarius with extreme virulence of temper, and rudeness of language. On the other side, Pletho was ably and strenuously seconded by Gaza. Other combatants of inferior note engaged in the contest; but the dispute produced no better effect, than that of exposing the contending parties to ridicule; and, therefore, only deserves to be mentioned, as an example of the power of prejudice to pervert the judgment, and inflame the passions, of men[a]. *

[a] Diff. Boivin. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. ii. p. 775. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 537.

* Vidend. Paul. Jov. Elog. Wharton ad Cave. Oudin de Scrip. Eccl. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. Reusner in Iconibus Lit. Clar. Vir. Gundling. Hist. Erud. Wadding. Ann. Ord. Men. Soleri Acta S. t. v. Dupin Nouv. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. xi. Borrich. de Orig. et Prog. Chemiæ. Nich. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. Blount Cens. cel. Auct. Bzovii Annal. Als. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. vi. Niger de Script. Florent. Pocciantius de Script. Flor. Niceron. Memoires. Papadopoli Hist. Gymn. Patav. Trithemii Cat. S. E. Annal. Hirsaug. Theissier Eloges. Ghilini Theat. Vir. Erud. Morhoff. Polyhistor. Huet. de claris Interpret. Adami Vit. Phil. Miræus in Auct. Bayle.

CHAP. II.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION UPON THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

IF, at this period, philoſophy was much indebted to the revival of letters, it was not leſs benefited by the Reformation of Religion. For, no ſooner did the friends of truth and virtue apply themſelves to the correction of religious errors, and endeavour to free mankind from the yoke of eccleſiaſtical domination, to which the whole Weſtern world had for many ages tamely ſubmitted, than Philoſophy, which had been loaded with the ſame chains with Religion, began to lift up her head, and to breathe a freer air. Determined no longer to yield implicit obedience to human authority, but to exerciſe their own underſtandings, and follow their own judgments, theſe bold reformers proſecuted religious and philoſophical enquiries with an independent ſpirit, which ſoon led them to diſcover the futility and abſurdity of the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing, and enabled them at the ſame time, in a great meaſure, to correct the errors of philoſophy, and to reform the corruptions of religion.

The ſtudy of antient languages being now revived, and the arts of eloquence and criticiſm having now reſumed their antient ſtation, the reformers were ſoon convinced, that ignorance and barbariſm had been among the principal cauſes of the corruption of doctrine and diſcipline in the church. Hence, whilſt theſe honeſt and zealous friends of truth ardently longed for the reformation of religion, they were earneſtly deſirous to ſee philoſophy reſtored to its former purity; and their bold attempts to ſubdue religious error and prejudice indirectly contributed to the correction of philoſophy, and the advancement of learning[a].

[a] Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. l. i. § 69. Ep. ad Reuchlin. p. 13.

So

So extenſively powerful was the operation of this reforming ſpirit, that it diffuſed its influence beyond the reformers themſelves, to thoſe who ſtill choſe to remain within the verge of the Romiſh church. Many of theſe ſecretly approved of the deſign in which the reformers were engaged; but, either becauſe they were diſſatisfied with the manner in which it was conducted, or becauſe they were afraid to encounter the hazards which attended the undertaking, contented themſelves with admiring the courage of the reformers, and lending them concealed and indirect aſſiſtance. Perceiving that the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing had been the chief cauſe of the evils which had ariſen in the church, theſe men, ſeveral of whom were eminently diſtinguiſhed for genius and learning, judiciouſly endeavoured to correct religion, by firſt correcting philoſophy. Some inveighed ſeriouſly againſt the prevailing corruptions of ſcience and learning, and painted, in ſtrong colours, the diſtorted features of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, and the miſchiefs which it had produced in the learned world. Others, calling in the aid of wit and ſatire, held up its deformities to public ridicule. Theſe attacks upon the eſtabliſhed inſtitutions and practices of the ſchools, raiſed a violent ferment among thoſe who were intereſted in their ſupport, and brought upon the heads of their opponents a load of calumny, reproach, and perſecution. But this violence ſerved no other purpoſe, than to expoſe the weakneſs of the cauſe of the aſſailants, and to bring Scholaſtic philoſophy into general contempt. The intereſts of learning and religion were ſo much indebted to theſe Caſtigators of the Scholaſtics, that it would be injuſtice to their memory, not to give the principal of them a place in this work [a].

The learning and ability of that great man, Erasmus [b] of Rotterdam, and the ſervices which he rendered to learning and religion, are well known. But his ſerious labours having been chiefly of the philo-

[a] Conf. Adam. Vit. Phil. p. 336. Thuan. ad Ann. 1547. Teiſſier Eloges, t. i. p. 7. Blount. Cenſ. p. 595. Eraſmi Encom. Moriæ. Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum.

[b] Adami Vit. p. 98. Le Clerc. Bibl. t. vii. p. 215. Bayle. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus.

logical kind, he appears as a philoſopher in no other light than as a keen obſerver, and humorous cenſor, of falſe philoſophy, in his incomparable treatiſe intituled "The Praiſe of Folly," and in other parts of his writings. His penetrating genius, extenſive reading, and elegant taſte, gave him great weight among his contemporaries, and added much efficacy to his uſeful labours. The ſevere ſarcaſms which he caſt upon the Scholaſtics, created him enemies, and ſubjected him to hardſhips; but he never ceaſed to chaſtiſe folly, and to approve himſelf a true friend to ſolid learning and ſound philoſophy. Eraſmus was born in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-ſeven, and died in one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix. His numerous works were publiſhed in ten volumes folio, at Leyden, 1706.

The footſteps of Eraſmus were cloſely followed by LUDOVICUS VIVES[a], a native of Valentia, in Spain, who, though well trained in all the ſubtleties of the Scholaſtic philoſophy at Paris, had the good ſenſe to diſcover its futility, and diligently applied himſelf to more uſeful ſtudies. At Louvain, he undertook the office of a preceptor, and exerted himſelf with great ability and ſucceſs in correcting barbariſm, chaſtiſing the corrupters of learning, and reviving a taſte for true ſcience and elegant letters. Eraſmus, with whom he lived upon the footing of intimate friendſhip, ſpeaking of Vives when he was only twenty-ſix years of age, ſays[b], that there was no part of philoſophy in which he did not excel; and that he had made ſuch proficiency in learning, and in the arts of ſpeaking and writing, that he ſcarcely knew his equal. He wrote a commentary upon Auguſtine's treatiſe *De Civitate Dei,* which diſcovers an extenſive acquaintance with antient philoſophy. Henry VIII. of England, to whom he dedicated this work, was ſo pleaſed with it, that he invited the author to his court, and made him preceptor to his daughter Mary. Though he diſcharged his office with great fidelity, yet in conſequence of his oppoſition to the king's divorce, he fell under his diſpleaſure; and it was not without difficulty that he eſcaped to

[a] Blount. l. c. p. 519. Tieſſer Elog. t. i. 266. Nic. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. N t. i. p. 109. Colomeſ. Hiſp. Orient. p. 223.

[b] Ep. xix. 101.

Bruges,

Bruges, where he devoted the remainder of his days to ſtudy. He died in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, or, according to Thuanus, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-one. With Eraſmus and Buddæus, he formed a triumvirate of literature, which did honour to the age. He wrote *De Prima Philoſophia*, "On the Firſt Philoſophy;" *De Explanatione Eſſentiarum*, "On the Explanation of Eſſences;" *De Cenſura Veri*, "On the Teſt of Truth;" *De Initiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philoſophiæ*, "On the Origin, Sects, and Praiſes of Philoſophy;" and *De Corruptis Artibus et Tradendis Diſciplinis*[a], "On the Corruption of Science, and on Education." Theſe writings, of which the two laſt are the moſt valuable, diſcover great ſtrength of judgment, an extenſive knowledge of philoſophy, much enlargement of conception, uncommon ſagacity in detecting the errors of antient and modern philoſophers, particularly of Ariſtotle and his followers, and, in fine, a mind capable of attempting things beyond the ſtandard of the age in which he lived. To all this he added great perſpicuity and elegance of ſtyle, not unworthy of the friend of Eraſmus. Morhoff[b] calls the writings of Vives, Golden Remains, which are worthy to be carefully peruſed by all learned men.

A third ſcourge of Scholaſtic barbariſm was JAMES FABER, or LE FEVRE[c], a native of Picardy. He was educated at Paris, but not contented with the learning he acquired there, he travelled through various parts of the world, to converſe with the learned. On his return to France, he declared open war againſt the Scholaſtic philoſophy, and attempted to introduce the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and to diſſeminate a taſte for mathematical learning. Beſides theological works, he wrote commentaries upon the dialectics, phyſics, politics, and œconomics of Ariſtotle. One of his contemporaries, ſpeaking of theſe commentaries, ſays[d], "Faber has rendered the Peripatetic doctrine ſo clear, that we have no longer

[a] Ed. Lugd. 1551, 8°. [b] Polyhiſt. t. i. l. ii. c. 2. § 34.
[c] Jovius. c. 121. Bayle. Art. Le Fevre. Blount, p. 521.
[d] Rhenan Ep. ad Reuchlin, p. 52.

any

any occaſion for Ammonius, Simplicius, or Philoponus." Another ſays [a], "Faber was the firſt among the French, as Cicero among the Romans, who united philoſophy and eloquence." The boldneſs with which he oppoſed the corruption of philoſophy brought upon him a ſuſpicion of hereſy, and the perſecution of the doctors of the Sorbonne; but he found a ſecure aſylum in the court of Margaret Queen of Navarre, where he is ſaid to have lived to the age of a hundred years.

About the ſame time aroſe MARIUS NIZOLIUS [b], of Bruſſels, a ſevere caſtigator of barbariſm. He was an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the purity and eloquence of the ſtyle of Tully; and, to promote a taſte for correct and elegant literature, he wrote his *Theſaurus Ciceronianus*, "Ciceronian Treaſury." By a natural aſſociation, he extended his attachment to Cicero from his language to his philoſophy; and maintained a ſtrenuous conteſt in favour of Cicero with ſeveral learned men. In the courſe of the diſpute he wrote a treatiſe *De veris Principiis et vera Ratione Philoſophandi* [c], "On the true Principles and Method of Philoſophiſing," in which he vehemently cenſured the followers of the Stagyrite, and particularly the Scholaſtics, chiefly for the corruptions they had introduced into the Latin language.

But the moſt direct and ſucceſsful attack upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy was made by the Reformers. Perceiving that the human underſtanding was clouded, and the freedom of enquiry reſtrained, by the forms of the ſchools, and that nothing contributed ſo much to perpetuate ſuperſtition and error in the church, as falſe philoſophy, theſe great and able men concluded, that the diſeaſe admitted of no palliative; that, in order to produce any great and laſting effect, it was not ſufficient barely to lop off the heads of the tares which had ſprung up in the church, but that it was become neceſſary to tear them up by the roots. They therefore, with a degree of magnanimity which entitles them to immortal honour, made a bold and open

[a] Wimpheling, c. 15. p. 236. [b] Morhoff. t. i. l. i. c. 25. § 26.
[c] Ed. 1553. Leibnibz. 1670. Ep. Leibn. t. ii. p. 63.

attack at once upon the corruption of philoſophy and theology; laying open the numerous evils which the Scholaſtic mode of philoſophiſing had introduced into religion; ſhewing by what puerile arts, and with how much injury to truth, both natural and divine, it had maintained its authority; and exhorting young men to leave ſuch faithleſs guides, and give themſelves up wholly to the direction of Reaſon and Revelation.

The leader in this arduous and meritorious undertaking was the great reformer MARTIN LUTHER [a], born at Eiſlaben, in Saxony, in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-three. He was early initiated in the Peripatetic philoſophy, but ſoon opened his eyes to diſcover its defects. During his reſidence at Wittemburg, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixteen, he wrote to Jodocus, a zealous Ariſtotelian, who had been his preceptor in the univerſity at Erford, ſtating his doubts both reſpecting the doctrines of Ariſtotle and of Porphyry. Jodocus was ſo much offended with the freedom of his remarks, that, upon his next viſit to Erford, he refuſed to ſee him. Luther, far from being intimidated by this mark of diſpleaſure, afterwards wrote him a ſecond letter, in which he boldly gave it as his opinion, that it would be impoſſible to reform the church, without entirely aboliſhing the canons and decretals, and with them the Scholaſtic theology, philoſophy, and logic, and inſtituting others in their ſtead [b].

In the early part of his life, Luther had ſtudied the writings of Auguſtine, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, and in the diſpute concerning univerſals, attached himſelf to the party of the Nominaliſts; but maturer age and reflection inſtructed him to treat the whole controverſy, and indeed all the ſubtleties of the Scholaſtics, with contempt. This was probably in part owing to his early acquaintance with the antients, but chiefly to that peculiar ſtrength and ardor of mind, which led him eaſily to diſcover the weakneſs and abſurdity of the prevailing modes of reaſoning and judging upon

[a] Melancthon. Vit. Luth. ap. Op. L. recuſ. cum Ann. Heumann. Gotting. 1741. 4to. Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. p. 103. 121. Fabric. Centifol. Luth. p. i. p. 367.

[b] Lutheri Epiſt. i. 10.

theological

theological and philoſophical ſubjects, and to obſerve, with regret and indignation, the fatal effects of corrupt philoſophy united with eccleſiaſtical tyranny. He ſaw much reaſon to conſider the Scholaſtic philoſophy as the foundation of the principal errors which had been introduced into theology, and the chief ſupport of that oppreſſive dominion which the ſee of Rome exerciſed over the conſciences of men; and he regarded the logical and metaphyſical parts of Ariſtotle as the immediate grounds of thoſe diſputes, which had given riſe to the factions of the Thomiſts, Scotiſts, Occamiſts, and others. He therefore rejected both the Scholaſtic and Ariſtotelian philoſophy, as not only irreconcileable with the Chriſtian ſyſtem, but the cauſe of endleſs controverſies in the Chriſtian church. In various parts of his writings he expreſſes great contempt for Ariſtotle and his followers. He aſſerts, that the ſtudy of Ariſtotle was wholly uſeleſs, not only in theology and ſacred learning, but in natural philoſophy [a]. "What doth it contribute," ſays he, "towards the knowledge of things, to be perpetually trifling and cavilling, in language conceived and preſcribed by Ariſtotle, concerning matter, form, motion, and time." And again [b], "I am perſuaded that neither Thomas, nor all the Thomiſts together, ever underſtood a ſingle chapter of Ariſtotle." On ſome occaſions, perhaps, the heat of controverſy might lead Luther to make uſe of language too contemptuous and indignant, in ſpeaking of Ariſtotle and his writings. His indignation, however, was chiefly directed againſt that falſe philoſophy which had been built upon his doctrine, ill underſtood; and his great object was to free the world from the yoke of authority in philoſophy and religion. It is ſufficiently manifeſt from the life and writings of Luther, that he was no enemy to ſound philoſophy.

Melancthon, though he differed in judgment, on many topics, from Luther, and though he ſo far eſpouſed the doctrine of Ariſtotle as to attempt the revival of the pure Peripatetic philoſophy in the ſchools (on which account we ſhall afterwards give him a place

[a] Declarationes ad Heidelbergenſes apud Werenſdorf. Diſſ. de Progreſſu emendatæ per Luth. Relig. p. 20. [b] T. i. Ep. 45.

among the Peripatetics of this period) neverthelefs perfectly agreed with the Father of the Reformation in his judgment concerning the nature and effects of the Scholaftic philofophy. In his writings, we find him frequently complaining of the mifchiefs, which thefe fubtle fpeculations had occafioned [a]: "Ever fince this method of philofophifing has been introduced, antient learning has been defpifed, mathematics deferted, and facred ftudies more negligently cultivated. Among the variety of opinions which prevail in the different Scholaftic factions, you will fcarcely find one that is confiftent with itfelf. Truth is every where confounded with error, and every doctor is more concerned to gather crowds by his noify difputations, than to difcover and eftablifh found philofophy. In the mean time diffentions every where arife; enmities are cherifhed; rancour fupplies the place of that candid fpirit which ought ever to accompany learning; and the antient union between the Mufes and Graces is diffolved." Many other followers of Luther, and friends of the reformation, oppofed the Scholaftic mode of philofophifing, and exerted themfelves to introduce a fpirit of liberal enquiry.

The cultivation of polite learning, which had revived in Italy, and was now fpread ftill further, promoted the fame good defign. Though few of thofe who engaged in critical ftudies addicted themfelves to any particular fect of philofophy, they ferved the caufe of fcience, as well as of literature, by editing and interpreting the philofophical writings of the antients. In the fixteenth century, JAMES SADOLET [b], a great admirer of Ciceronian eloquence, wrote an elegant treatife *De Laudibus Philofophiæ*, "On the Praifes of Philofophy;" HIERONYMUS FRACASTORIUS [c] ftudied nature, and was well acquainted with mathematics and aftronomy; CAMERARIUS [d] edited, with valuable notes, many antient Greek authors, and among the reft, Archytas *De Decem Prædicamentis*, "On the Ten Predicaments," Nicomachus *De Theologia Arithmetica*, "On Arithmetical Theology," and Ariftotle's Ethics; GRYNÆUS [e], whofe tranflations from Plato, Ariftotle, and

[a] De Stud. corrigend. t. i. p. 489. Conf. Orat. adv. Rhadin. t. iii. p. 38.
[b] Blount, p. 573. Teiffer, t. i. 29.
[c] Thuan. ap. Adam. Vit. Med. p. 77.
[d] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 493.
[e] Adami, p. 118.

 Plutarch,

Plutarch, ranked him among the learned men of his age, and of whom Erafmus fpeaks [a], as a man who with an accurate knowledge of the Grecian and Latin tongues, and an extenfive acquaintance with philofophical and mathematical fcience, united an uncommon fhare of modefty. Through the aid of fuch men as thefe, with which the age abounded, philofophy, as well as literature, revived.

In this manner, and from thefe caufes, it happened, that the reformation of religion was accompanied with the correction and enlargement of philofophy; fo that from this time to the prefent, the ftudy of fcience in all its branches has been cultivated with great induftry and fuccefs, and it may be truly afferted, that fince the commencement of the fixteenth century, more has been done towards the advancement of knowledge, than was done in all the preceding ages of the world*.

[a] L. xxvi. ep. 39.

* Vidend. Diff. de Relig. Erafmi, Hamb. 1717. Warton ad Cave. Chaffanæi Catal. Glor. Mundi. l. x. p. 204. Beyfchlagius Syll. ii. opufc. p. 263. Rexinger. et Edzard. Diff. de Lutheri Ref. Hamb. 1717. Wucherer. de Increm. Phyf. a Reform. Temp. Jen. 1717. Lehman. de Utilitate Morali Difcip. Ref. ib. Stockii de bon. Lit. renov. poft Ref. ib. Elfwich de Fort. Arift. in Ac. Prot. Halbauer. Diff. de Luth. polit. Lit. Werenfdorf de Prog. emend. Rel. Crenius de Sing. Script. Struvii Bibl. Phil.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE ANTIENT SECTARIAN PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. I.

OF THE REMAINS OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

WITH what aſſiduity the Scholaſtic philoſophy was oppoſed, with what clearneſs its futility and pernicious tendency were laid open, from the time of the revival of letters to the completion of the reformation in the ſixteenth century, we have already ſeen. And how ſucceſsful theſe attempts were, with men of ſound underſtandings and honeſt minds, who preferred truth to every other conſideration, the whole hiſtory of the revival and improvement of philoſophy will ſhew. But, ſince nothing in human affairs is brought to perfection at once, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome predilection for Scholaſtic ſubtleties ſtill remained. In the midſt of the general ſpirit of reformation and improvement which diſtinguiſhed this period, there were not wanting men, who, from their zealous attachment to antient ſyſtems, and the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, judged it inexpedient to diſmiſs an ally, to which they had been ſo much indebted. In order therefore to retain this Palladium of the church of Rome, the advocates for eſtabliſhed forms pleaded, that the evils ſo violently complained of, had originated, not from the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing, but from the abuſe of it; and that nothing more was

neceſſary to render this philoſophy a uſeful auxiliary to religion, than to chaſtiſe its ſubtleties, and moderate the ſpirit of vain curioſity, and idle diſputation, which had prevailed in the ſchools. Under this futile pretence, the friends of the Romiſh hierarchy retained in their hands an inſtrument, which had been found ſo uſeful in eſtabliſhing and perpetuating the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. Hence, whilſt a better method of philoſophiſing was every where elſe adopted, the Scholaſtic philoſophy, ſomewhat corrected by the introduction of Ariſtotle's logic and metaphyſics, was ſtill ſtudied and profeſſed in the colleges and monaſteries belonging to the church of Rome. Even into theſe ſchools indeed ſome rays of light penetrated. A few men of ſuperior genius, and a more liberal ſpirit, even this unfavourable ſoil produced, who ſaw the weakneſs of the pleas upon which the Scholaſtic philoſophy was retained, and who ventured, though with little ſucceſs, to recommend ſalutary innovations.

TOLETUS[a], of Cordova, a Jeſuit, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and is celebrated for his learning and the perſpicuity of his writings, philoſophiſed after the genuine manner of the Peripatetic ſchool. RICCIOLUS[b], an Italian Jeſuit, who, in the ſeventeenth century, taught at Bologna and at Parma, ſtudied with great ſucceſs the ſciences of mathematics and aſtronomy. CARAMUEL DE LOBKOWITZ[c], a native of Madrid, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, obtained a great name for the extent and variety of his learning, and for a ſurpriſing fertility of genius. He pretended to introduce wonderful improvements into every branch of ſcience; but the luxuriancy of his imagination obſtructed the growth of the ſubſtantial fruits of ſound judgment, and his voluminous writings, notwithſtanding all their originality, were ſoon forgotten. HONORATUS FABER[d], born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix, and profeſſor of mathematics and philoſophy at Lyons, wrote upon philoſophy, logic, and phyſics. He implicitly

[a] Pinacothec. i. p. 136. [b] Bibl. Soc. Jeſ. p. 416.
[c] N. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. n. t. i. [d] Bibl. Soc. Jeſ. p. 350.

followed

followed neither the Scholaſtics nor the Ariſtotelians, but borrowed light from modern philoſophers, particularly the Carteſians. His innovations, however, brought him under a ſtrong ſuſpicion of hereſy, and produced little effect.

The generality of the Romiſh clergy ſtill retained ſo much of the Scholaſtic ſpirit, that inſtead of promoting, they only retarded the progreſs of true philoſoph . It would therefore be a tedious and fruitleſs taſk to detail their hiſtory. Their writings chiefly conſiſt of ſyſtems of philoſophy, ſummaries of logic, theſes upon Scholaſtic topics, and commentaries upon the works of Ariſtotle and Thomas Aquinas.

The bigotted attachment to antient ſyſtems, which has prevailed in the Romiſh church with reſpect to religion, has always extended itſelf to philoſophy, and has given a permanent eſtabliſhment to the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing*; which all the wiſdom of modern times has not been able to overturn. It is, however, a happy omen of the entire exorciſm of the dæmons which have ſo long haunted the ſchools, that in many univerſities a better and more extenſive plan of inſtruction has been adopted, which has in a great meaſure precluded the idle dreams of dialectic ſubtlety. In an age in which a rational plan of philoſophiſing was generally followed; in which vague conceptions, unmeaning terms, and uncertain principles were commonly exploded; in which the accurate method of mathematical reaſoning was applied with ſucceſs to other ſciences; in which experimental philoſophy was every where ſtudied and encouraged; and in which the correct uſe of language was an object of attention, it could not but happen that the empty ſhadow of abſtraction would be thrown out of the philoſophical world, to make room for more ſubſtantial and profitable ſtudies.

* Vidend. Melchior. Camus. L. Theol. l. viii. ix. Præf. ad Mabillon. de Stud. Monaſt. Le Cerf Bibl. des Auteurs de la Cong. de S. Maur. N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. N. Jac. Echard. de Sc. Domin. Wadding Annal. Ord. Min. Carol. de Viſh. Bibl. Scrip. Ord. Ciſterc. F. Rothfiſher. Ep. ad Cardin. Lettres Provinciales de Montalte. Vaſor Op. p. 240.

SECT.

SECT. 2.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE GENUINE ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY.

ALTHOUGH, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the Scholaſtic philoſophy began to fall into general contempt, Ariſtotle ſtill retained, in a great degree, his authority. It required more enlargement of thought than the age afforded to diſcard at once a ſyſtem of philoſophy, which had been received with almoſt univerſal approbation, and been ſupported by the united labours of the learned for ſo many centuries; nor was it merely the power of preſcription which eſtabliſhed the dominion of Ariſtotle, ſeveral other cauſes concurred to produce this effect.

The partizans of the Platonic ſyſtem, who, under the patronage of the Medicean family, for a long time maintained their ground againſt the Ariſtotelians, declining with the fortunes of their patrons, the advocates for the Peripatetic philoſophy proportionally increaſed, and, after a violent ſtruggle, eſtabliſhed a victory. It greatly contributed towards this iſſue, that men began at this time to extend their enquiries beyond the region of metaphyſics and theology, into the ſubjects of natural hiſtory and philoſophy. Finding little aſſiſtance in their reſearches into nature in the writings of Plato, they had recourſe to the Stagyrite, who was at this time univerſally allowed to be the beſt guide in the ſtudy of phyſics. And, though in his treatiſes upon this branch of ſcience they met with much obſcurity, and many difficulties, the perſuaſion that they were a rich mine of knowledge, which would amply repay the labour beſtowed upon it, induced them to ſpare no pains to come at his true meaning.

Among the followers of the church of Rome, the Peripatetic philoſophy continued to be zealouſly maintained, on account of the

 aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance which its dialectics afforded them in the defence of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem; and becauſe many of the doctrines of this ſyſtem coincided with thoſe of the ſchool of Ariſtotle.

The deference which had been long paid to the deciſions of Ariſtotle, even whilſt his works were only read in very imperfect tranſlations, induced the firſt reſtorers of learning to make his writings a principal object of their attention, and to reſt much of their reputation, as editors, tranſlators, and commentators, upon the manner in which they executed this part of their office. And the brevity and obſcurity of Ariſtotle's ſtyle, his frequent reference to preceding writers, and the injuries which his works had ſuſtained from time, and from the ignorance, negligence, or diſhoneſty of tranſcribers, furniſhed thoſe who were deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves as philologiſts, with an ample field for the diſplay of learning and ingenuity. The firſt race of critics upon Ariſtotle, after the revival of letters, and the invention of printing, employed themſelves in verbal rather than philoſophical criticiſm, and took more pains to fix the true reading, and explain the grammatical conſtruction of their author, than to inveſtigate or illuſtrate his philoſophical tenets. But it was ſoon found that a knowledge of philoſophy, as well as an attention to the rules of criticiſm, was neceſſary in writing notes upon Ariſtotle; and the ſecond race of commentators, from Pomponatius to the middle of the ſeventeenth century, were chiefly employed in aſcertaining and reſtoring the true Ariſtotelian philoſophy.

Even among the reformers, though Luther was a profeſſed enemy to Ariſtotle, his philoſophy had many admirers. Melancthon, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, approved of and encouraged the ſtudy of his dialectics and metaphyſics, as a uſeful exerciſe of the underſtanding, and only objected to the miſapplication of them in theological queſtions. It is to be regretted, that a man of ſuch ſuperior abilities, and in every other reſpect of ſo independent a ſpirit, ſhould addict himſelf to any ſect, and chuſe rather to be an interpreter of Ariſtotle, than to follow the courſe of his own ideas, and philoſophiſe for himſelf. The conſequence was, that Ariſtotle, who, in the zeal of

reformation, had been driven out of the church, was again ſuffered to ſteal in; and that, after the thorns which Scholaſtic philoſophy and ſubtlety had planted were extirpated, the ground was again encumbered with barren weeds. This was the only reaſon why, among Proteſtants, to whom the authority of Ariſtotle could be of little uſe, and who ought to have exerciſed the ſame freedom of thinking in philoſophy as in religion, the doctrine of Ariſtotle prevailed even till the time of Bacon, Grotius, and Des Cartes.

It would be an endleſs undertaking to enumerate all the learned men, who, in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, attached themſelves to the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem. We ſhall ſelect a few of the more celebrated names.

Among the Roman Catholics, NICHOLAS LEONICUS THOMÆUS[a], a Venetian, born in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven, ſeems to have been among the firſt who attempted to reſtore the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy. His preceptor in Grecian learning, and other branches of literature, was Demetrius Chalcondylas, of Florence. He derived his knowledge both of the Platonic and Ariſtotelian philoſophy from their pureſt fountains; and preferring the latter, opened a Peripatetic ſchool in Padua, and wrote commentaries upon Ariſtotle's phyſics. Eraſmus[b] ſpeaks of him as an excellent philoſopher, a profound ſcholar, and a good man. He died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one.

At this period flouriſhed POMPONATIUS[c], of Mantua, who was born in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two, and died in one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five. He taught the doctrines of Ariſtotle and Averroës in the ſchools of Padua and Bologna. Though much addicted to ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, and a zealous advocate for judicial aſtrology, as appears from his book

[a] Jovius, l. c. c. 91. Fabr. Bib. L. M. t. iv. p. 788. Patricii Diſq. Perip. l. iii. p. 149. Bayle. [b] In Ciceroniano.

[c] Jovius, l. c. c. 71. Niceron. Memoires, t. xxv. Bayle. J. Olearius de Pomponatio. Jenæ, 1709.

De Incantationibus, "On Enchantments," he had an underſtanding capable of penetrating into the depths of the Peripatetic ſyſtem, in the ſtudy of which he chiefly followed the commentaries of Aphrodiſæus. His writings, though barbarous and inelegant in ſtyle, diſcover great acuteneſs and ſubtlety of thought. He publicly taught the natural mortality of the ſoul, and maintained that the whole proof of a future exiſtence depends upon revelation. His doctrine upon this ſubject became ſo popular, that pope Leo X. thought it neceſſary to iſſue a bull to ſuppreſs it. His book *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," was publicly burnt at Venice, and it was only through the intereſt of cardinal Bembo, that the author eſcaped the flames. He alſo wrote a treatiſe "On Fate and Free-will." Notwithſtanding all his pretended reverence for the doctrines of the church, there can be little doubt, that Pomponatius had more reſpect for the authority of Ariſtotle, than for that of Jeſus Chriſt[a].

Pomponatius had many followers of great celebrity; among whom were, SIMON PORTA[b], a Neapolitan, who wrote a treatiſe upon the Peripatetic ſyſtem, *De rerum Naturalium Principiis*, "On the Principles of Nature;" and another *De Anima et Mente Humana*, "On the Human Soul and Mind," in which he followed the doctrine of his maſter; JULIUS CÆSAR SCALIGER[c], a celebrated philologiſt; and LAZARUS BONAMICUS[d], who rivalled Eraſmus in elegant Latinity. VANINI the Atheiſt, who wrote two treatiſes, *De Natura Regina Deaque Mortalium*, "On Nature, the Queen and Goddeſs of Mortals; and *Amphitheatrum* "The Amphitheatre," is ſaid by ſome to have been his pupil; but this is impoſſible, for Pomponatius died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five, and Vanini was not born till the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix.

[a] Reimann. Hiſt. Ath. ſ. iii. c. 4. § 8.
[b] Thuan. l. xiii. p. 276. Teiſſer. Elog. t. i. p. 197.
[c] Epiſt. 90. [d] Tieſſer. p. 126.

Pomponatius

Pomponatius found an able opponent in AUGUSTINE NIPHUS[a], a native of Calabria, who, like many other learned men of this age, practised medicine, at the same time that he taught philosophy. He wrote his treatise *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," by order of pope Leo X. in which he undertook to prove that this doctrine is not contrary to the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy. Niphus, like many other learned men of this period, affected in his writings a gross kind of wit, which was not very consistent either with the dignity of philosophy, or with purity of morals: an unquestionable proof of great corruption of principle, as well as depravity of taste.

MAJORAGIUS, of Milan; SEPULVEDA, of Cordova; PETER VICTOR, of Florence; ZABARELLA, of Padua; STROZZA, of Florence; with many others, whose names are preserved in the literary histories of these times, are chiefly known as commentators upon Aristotle[b]. CÆSALPINUS[c], an Italian, born in the year one thousand five hundred and nine, was an eminent physician, who made a considerable progress in the discovery of the circulation of the blood, afterwards completed by Harvey. He wrote *Questiones Peripateticæ*[d], "Peripatetic Questions." He adopted opinions similar to those which were afterwards held by Spinoza. CÆSAR CREMONINUS[e], of Modena, born in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty, was a zealous follower of Aristotle, and privately maintained opinions contrary to the Christian faith.

Among the Protestants, especially in Germany, philosophy was at this period diligently studied; and in their public schools we find many learned men, who, as far as their superior reverence for Jesus Christ would permit, were followers of Aristotle. At the commencement of the reformation indeed, both the Scholastic philo-

[a] Niceron. Mem. t. xviii. Bayle.

[b] Conf. Tiesser. N. Anton. Imp. Mus. Hist. Huet. de clar. Interp. Bayle. Eurithr. Pinacoth.

[c] Vit. Select. Uratisl. 1711. Ep. Richter. p. 23.

[d] Ed. Franckf. 1597.

[e] Imp. Mus. p. 173. Crass. Elog. t. ii. p. 124. Bayle.

sophy,

ſophy, and the dogmas of Ariſtotle, were rejected with great indignation, particularly, as we have ſeen, by Martin Luther. But afterwards, when men of the ſoundeſt judgment and beſt erudition perceived the value of philoſophy as a guard againſt fanaticiſm, much pains was taken to promote learning, and encourage a love of ſcience[a].

The firſt place in this claſs of reformers is unqueſtionably due to PHILIP MELANCHTHON[b], who was born at Bretten, in Upper Saxony, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-ſeven. At twelve years of age he was ſent to Heidelberg, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent abilities, ſweetneſs of temper, and urbanity of manners, and obtained the confidence and friendſhip of many learned men. Before he was fourteen years old, he ſtudied the Greek language with ſuch attention that he wrote rudiments of that language, which were afterwards publiſhed. From Heidelberg he was removed to Tubingen, where he attended upon profeſſors in various branches of ſcience, and acquired a large ſtore of erudition. Having early formed a taſte for perſpicuity and correctneſs in writing, and being concerned that every literary and ſcientific purſuit is valuable, only in proportion as it admits of ſome uſeful application, he was much diſſatisfied with the ſubtle and unintereſting ſpeculations which ſtill occupied the ſchools, and frequently amuſed himſelf with expoſing them to ridicule. He ſpent the greater part of his time in the ſtudy of the antients and the holy ſcriptures. At ſeventeen years of age, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirteen, he received the degree of Maſter of Philoſophy, and immediately undertook the office of preceptor. His firſt inſtructions were confined to the Latin tongue, which he was even at that time well qualified to teach. He was then requeſted to give lectures upon oratory, which he did, by commenting upon Cicero and Livy, as the beſt models. In the Scholaſtic controverſy between the

[a] Elſwich de Fort. Ariſt. in Acad. Proteſt. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. Flacius Clav. Script. p. i.

[b] Vit. Mel. a Camerario, Winſhemio, Adamo. Seckendorf. Hiſt. Luth.

Realifts and Nominalifts, in which he ranked among the latter, he diftinguifhed himfelf by his mildnefs and moderation, no lefs than by the ftrength and clearnefs with which he maintained his opinions.

From Tubingen, Melanchthon was removed by the favour of Frederic Elector of Saxony, in the year one thoufand five hundred and eighteen, to a new college eftablifhed by that prince at Wittenburg, in which he was appointed profeffor of the Greek language. Through the zeal of Martin Luther, the reformation had at this time made a confiderable progrefs; but the clouds of barbarifm were not yet difperfed from the philofophical and literary world. This was a matter of infinite regret to Luther, whofe active mind was impatient to diffipate the darknefs which furrounded it. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity, which the refidence of Melanchthon in Wittenburg gave him, of entering into friendfhip with a man fo well inclined to fecond his views, and fo able to affift him in accomplifhing his defigns. Literature, philofophy, and theology foon experienced the happy effects of this alliance. The profound learning, found judgment, and cultivated tafte of Melanchthon enabled him to correct many errors and abufes which had crept into the public fchools. The honeft zeal and the independent fpirit of Martin Luther fupported him in the profecution of his great undertaking, the reformation of the church. Both adopted the fame leading views; both were infpired with the fame love of truth, the fame integrity, and the fame defire of refcuing mankind from the dominion of ignorance and bigotry. Yet their natural tempers were different, the one having perhaps too much gentlenefs of difpofition, whilft the other poffeffed a degree of ardour, which required fome reftraint. The beft effects were therefore to be expected from the ftrict friendfhip, which, at this time, took place between Luther and Melanchthon; and the fubfequent hiftory of this period correfponds to this expectation.

Philofophy, however, was chiefly indebted to Melanchthon. The deep intereft which he took in the reformation of religion, did not prevent his attention to the improvement of literature and fcience.

In order to excite a ſpirit of emulation in the public ſchools, and ſuggeſt hints of improvement, he frequently delivered public diſcourſes on the beſt method of proſecuting the ſtudy of philoſophy, which abounded with good ſenſe and ſound learning. With the ſame deſign he wrote, for the uſe of ſtudents, compendiums of Dialectics, Ethics, and Phyſics, and a treatiſe " On the Soul," the deſign of which was[a], to free the ſchools from the nugatory ſubtleties and idle labours of the Scholaſtics, and to confine the attention of young men to uſeful ſtudies. He induſtriouſly ranſacked the writings of the antients, to collect from them, in every branch of learning, whatever was moſt deſerving of attention. Mathematical ſtudies he held in high eſtimation, as appears from his Declamation[b] *De Mathematicis Diſciplinis*, " On Mathematical Learning," which will very well repay the trouble of peruſal. In philoſophy he followed Ariſtotle as, in his judgment, the moſt ſcientific and methodical guide, but always in due ſubordination to Revelation, and only ſo far as was likely to anſwer ſome valuable purpoſe. " I would have no one," ſays he, " trifle in philoſophiſing, leſt he ſhould at length even loſe ſight of common ſenſe; rather let him be careful both in the ſtudy of phyſics and morals, to ſelect the beſt things from the beſt ſources[c].

If the particular caſt of Melanchthon's mind be conſidered, it will not be thought ſurpriſing, that in philoſophy he preferred a moderate attachment to a particular ſect, to any bold attempt at perfect innovation. Though he poſſeſſed a ſound underſtanding and amiable temper, he wanted that ſtrength and hardineſs of ſpirit, which might have enabled him to have done in philoſophy, what Luther did in religion. He therefore choſe rather to correct the eſtabliſhed mode of philoſophiſing, than to introduce a method entirely new. If it be a juſt occaſion of regret, that in conſequence of the natural gentleneſs, and perhaps timidity, of his temper, he proceeded no further, it ought not to be forgotten, that while religion was much indebted to his cool and temperate, but honeſt, exertions, philoſophy was not

[a] Ep. l. i. p. 350. [c] Op. t. iii. p. 239.
[b] De Stud. Corrig. t. i. Decl. p. 506.

without

without obligation to him, for the pains which he took to correct its excentricities, and to adorn it with the graces of eloquence.

After a life, in which temperance had enabled him to maintain a long ſtruggle with infirmity, and in which integrity, moderation, candour, and meekneſs, had given him a juſt title to the character of a Chriſtian philoſopher, Melancthon died, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty, leaving behind him a name immortalized by learning and piety.

Melancthon made uſe of the extenſive influence, which his high reputation, and the favour of the reigning elector of Saxony, gave him in the German ſchools, in which he was conſidered as a kind of common preceptor, to unite the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy with that of antient learning in general. And he was much aſſiſted in the execution of this deſign, by the labours of many learned proteſtants of the Germanic ſchools from Italy and Great Britain, who brought with them an attachment to the Peripatetic ſyſtem, and, wherever they were appointed public preceptors, made that ſyſtem the baſis of their philoſophical inſtructions. From Wittenburg, Tubingen, Leipſic, and other ſeminaries, conducted after the manner which was introduced by Melancthon, many learned men aroſe, who, becoming themſelves preceptors, adopted the ſame plan of inſtruction, which from Melancthon was called the Philippic Method; and thus diſſeminated the Peripatetic doctrine, till at length it was almoſt every where taught in the German Proteſtants ſchools, under the ſanction of civil and eccleſiaſtical authority [a].

At Leipſic, SIMON SIMON, of Lucca, left his native country to join the reformers at Geneva. Here, after having, through the injudicious zeal of Beza and other Genevan divines, fallen under eccleſiaſtical cenſure, and ſuffered impriſonment for holding antitrinitarian tenets, he was admitted to the profeſſorſhip of philoſophy. He for ſome time enjoyed the patronage and confidence of Auguſtus, elector of Saxony; but his colleagues, through bigotry or envy, ſoon found means to bring againſt him new accuſations of hereſy, and

[a] Melanch. Declam. t. i. p. 334. 353. 506. t. ii. p. 360. 370. t. iii. p. 371. Mayer. de nimia Lenitate Phil. Melanch. [b] Bayle.

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obliged him to resign his station. He withdrew to Poland, where he practised physic, and lived several years, under the protection of the reigning prince. Besides several medical works, he wrote a treatise *De Sensuum Instrumentis*, "On the Instruments of the Senses;" and another *De vera Nobilitate*, "On True Nobility;" and Commentaries upon Aristotle *de Memoria*, and upon his books *To Nichomachus*.

In the Academy at Tubingen, flourished JACOBUS SCHEGKIUS[a], and in that of Altdorf, PHILIP SCHERBIUS[b]. Both acquired great reputation as preceptors of the pure doctrine of Aristotle, and both defended the Peripatetic philosophy against the followers of Ramus.

Contemporary with Scherbius, and of the same school, was NICHOLAS TAURELLUS[c], who, though he for the most part followed Aristotle in logic, physics, and metaphysics, corrected his doctrines with great freedom, and ventured to reject them wherever he judged them to be contrary to reason and revelation. His professed maxim was, in matters of philosophy, to submit implicitly to the authority of no master. His freedom subjected him to much obloquy.

ERNESTUS SONERUS[d], a native of Nuremberg, and a pupil of Scherbius, taught medicine and the Aristotelian philosophy at Altdorf. He travelled with two young men of noble rank through Italy, France, Holland, and Great Britain, and formed an extensive acquaintance with men of learning. After his return home, he became a popular preceptor in physics and medicine, in which he chiefly followed Aristotle and Galen. He was a zealous and able advocate for the doctrines of Socinus, which had at this time many defenders in Poland and Lithuania. Besides his Socinian tracts, a treatise against the eternity of future punishment, and other theological works (which are exceedingly scarce) he wrote, in philosophy, a paraphrase on Aristotle *de Interpretatione*, and *Disputationes Philosophicæ*, "Philosophical Disputations." He was born in one thou-

[a] Adami Vit. Medic. German. p. 200. [b] Baier. Vit. Medic. Altdorf. p. 15.
[c] Adami Vit. Med. p. 403. Bayle. Baier. l. c. p. 16. Feuerlin. Apol. pro Taurello.
[d] Richter Vit. Son. Nuremb. 1614. Zeltner Hist. Crypto-Socin. Altdorf. § 17. Baier. p. 26.

ſand five hundred and ſeventy-two, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve.

Beſides theſe, there were many other celebrated Germanic philoſophers of this period, whom, for the ſake of brevity, we omit. We muſt not, however, paſs over without notice the eminent ſcholar HERMANNUS CONRINGIUS[a], one of the moſt illuſtrious ornaments of the Germanic ſchools. He was born at Embden, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, and was educated at Leyden, where he made himſelf acquainted with the whole circle of ſciences, but chiefly applied to the ſtudy of theology and medicine. His eminent attainments ſoon procured him diſtinction in the ſchools, and he was appointed profeſſor, firſt of natural philoſophy, and afterwards of medicine, in the univerſity of Brunſwick. Turning his attention to the ſtudy of hiſtory and policy, he became ſo famous in theſe branches of knowledge as to attract the attention of princes. Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, who was a general patroneſs of learned men, invited Conringius to her court, and upon his arrival received him with the higheſt marks of reſpect. The offer of a liberal appointment could not, however, induce him to relinquiſh the academic life, and after a ſhort time he returned to Juliers. But his uncommon talents for deciding intricate queſtions on policy were not long ſuffered to lie dormant. The Elector Palatine, the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Brunſwick, the Emperor of Germany, and Louis the Fourteenth of France, all conſulted this great man, and conferred upon him honours and rewards. And, if univerſal learning, ſound judgment, and indefatigable application can entitle a man to reſpect, Conringius merited all the diſtinction he obtained. The great extent of his abilities and learning appears from the number and variety of his literary productions. His polemic writings prove him to have been deeply read in theology. His medical knowledge appears from his "Introduction to the Medical Art," and his "Compariſon of the Medical Practice of the antient Egyptians and the modern Paracelſians." The numerous treatiſes which he has

[a] Corberi Vit. Conring. Præf. Synt. Ep. Conring.

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left on the Germanic Inftitution, and other fubjects of policy and law, evince the depth and accuracy of his juridical learning. His book, *De Hermetica Medicina*, "On Hermetic Medicine," and his *Antiquitates Academicæ*, "Academic Antiquities," difcover a correct acquaintance with the hiftory of philofophy. It is to be regretted, that this great man was never able wholly to difengage himfelf from the prepoffeffion in favour of the Ariftotelian philofophy, which he imbibed in his youth. Although he had the good fenfe to correct the more barren parts of his philofophy, and was not ignorant that his fyftem was in fome particulars defective, he ftill looked up to the Stagyrite as the beft guide in the purfuit of truth. It was owing to his partiality for antient philofophy, particularly for that of Ariftotle, that Conringius was a violent opponent of the Cartefian fyftem. The term of his life, which was induftrioufly occupied in ftudy, was feventy-fix years. His works are publifhed entire in fix volumes folio [a].

To the lift of the learned men of this period, who favoured the Peripatetic doctrine, we fhall add CHRISTIANUS DRIERUS [b], a native of Stetin, in Pomerania, the author of a treatife entitled *Philofophia prima*, "The Firft Philofophy," and of feveral differtations, which caft much light upon the hiftory and genius of the Peripatetic philofophy: MELCHIOR ZEIDLER [c], of the fame place, the author of "An Introduction to Ariftotle," and "A Differtation on the various Methods of Reafoning made ufe of by the Antients:" and JACOBUS THOMASIUS [d], of Leipfic, who wrote feveral metaphyfical treatifes, but is chiefly memorable as the preceptor of the illuftrious Leibnitz.

The preceding particulars refpecting the more eminent adherents to the Peripatetic fyftem, from the revival of letters to the eighteenth century, compared with the view, given in a former part of this work, of the Ariftotelian philofophy, may enable the reader to form a judgment concerning the manner in which this philofophy was taught and profeffed, after it had been in fome meafure freed from

[a] Ed. Brunfuig. 1730. [b] Reiman. Hift. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 33.
[c] Vit. ap. Op. Helmft. 1689. [d] Hagen. Mem. Phil. Renov. p. 273.

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the quibbles and ſubtleties of the Scholaſtics. A few general remarks on modern Peripatetic philoſophy ſhall therefore cloſe this ſection.

Whatever praiſe may be due to thoſe learned men who endeavoured to reſtore the dogmas of the Stagyrite to their purity, it is to be lamented, that they retained ſo much reverence for his authority, as to think it neceſſary to follow him as their guide. That this was the prevailing opinion of the learned in Italy, France, Germany, and England, from the reſtoration of learning to the end of the ſeventeenth century, appears from the whole hiſtory of philoſophy during this period. Though they had ſeen the deformed aſpect which philoſophy had for ſeveral ages borne, they imputed this rather to the infelicity of the times, than to any defect in the nature of the Sectarian philoſophy; and concluded, that if they could reſtore this philoſophy to its original purity, they ſhould accompliſh every thing that could be wiſhed. Wholly unaccuſtomed to ſteer their courſe without a pilot, they diſtruſted their ability to direct themſelves, and thought it ſafer, as well as more modeſt, to commit themſelves to the direction of ſo celebrated a guide as Ariſtotle. Entering upon the ſtudy of ſcience with ſo ſtrong a prejudice in favour of their preceptor, few thought of examining his doctrines, fewer doubted of their truth, and ſtill fewer ventured to forſake them. Learned men were, almoſt univerſally, more ſolicitous to know what Ariſtotle taught, than to diſcover what reaſon dictates. Hence, inſtead of becoming philoſophers they became mere interpreters of Ariſtotle; their labour was employed, not in inveſtigating truth, but in endeavouring to remove the difficulties and obſcurities which hung upon the doctrines and writings of their inſtructor.

The cauſes which, even after the revival of learning, perpetuated this blind reſpect for the name and authority of Ariſtotle, will be eaſily diſcovered by any one who attentively obſerves the circumſtances of the times. The prejudice in favour of antiquity had now taken deep root; and it was univerſally believed, that the antient Grecians had attained the ſummit of ſcience, and that nothing could be added to the ſtores of wiſdom which they had tranſmitted to

poſterity.

posterity. Among the Greek philosophers Aristotle was almost universally allowed the first place, for depth of erudition, solidity of judgment, and accuracy of reasoning. His empire had now been so long established, that even those who gave the preference to Plato were afraid wholly to reject the Stagyrite, and were willing that these two princes of philosophy should possess united authority. Nor could it possibly be otherwise, so long as the name of Aristotle was held forth to young persons as an object of reverence, by parents, preceptors, and heads of colleges, and his writings continued to be zealously recommended by the general body of the learned. The authority of Aristotle was further confirmed, by the intimate alliance which had, long before this time, been formed between the dogmas of the Peripatetic philosophy and the religious creed of the church. From the metaphysical parts of this philosophy several tenets had been blended with the Christian system, and the whole course of sacred instruction had been formed upon the model of Aristotle's dialectics; whence this philosophy was now so interwoven with the ecclesiastical establishment, that to attempt a separation would be to hazard the whole fabric on which its benefits, powers, honours, and emoluments depended. To these may be added a third cause, immediately arising from the revival of letters. This happy event was, as we have seen, chiefly owing to the arrival of learned Greeks in Italy, at the time of the dissolution of the Eastern empire. By means of their instruction and example, a general taste for antient learning was introduced, and the Greek writers of every class were read and admired. Among the rest, the philosophers, who were held up by the Grecians as oracles of wisdom, were eagerly studied; particularly Plato, on account of the supposed divine origin of his theological doctrine; and Aristotle, on account of his strict method of reasoning, and the scientific accuracy of his writings.

The general prepossession in favour of the Aristotelian system, which from these and other causes prevailed for several centuries after the revival of letters, was attended with much inconvenience and mischief. The reformers of philosophy, observing that the Scholastics, in order to harmonize the Aristotelian system with the doctrines

doctrines of Chriſtianity, had repreſented the Stagyrite under fictitious colours, determined to embrace his real tenets as they are found in his writings. Whence they imbibed opinions from the Peripatetic philoſophy wholly inconſiſtent with the principles of true religion; ſuch as, for example, that God, the firſt mover, wholly intent upon the contemplation of his own intellect, diſregards the affairs of the world; that the Intelligence, which preſides over the lower ſphere, is the Univerſal Soul of the world, of which all men partake; and conſequently, that the ſoul of man has no diſtinct exiſtence, and will no longer ſubſiſt as ſuch, than whilſt the body continues to live. Theſe, and other ſimilar tenets, were commonly embraced by the modern Peripatetics, eſpecially in Italy, who thought that they paid ſufficient reſpect to religion, if they pretended, as Chriſtians, to embrace a different creed, though they were not able to reconcile it with the dogmas which they were taught by reaſon and philoſophy. In this manner, Pomponatius, Cæſalpinus, Cremoninus, and others, caſt the thin veil of religious profeſſion over real infidelity. This miſchief proceeded to ſuch an extreme, that the minds of the multitude, both eccleſiaſtics and laity, were at this time deeply tinctured with atheiſm; and this fatal relaxation of principle produced an uncommon depravity of manners. A regard to the providence and authority of God, and the fear of future puniſhment, having almoſt wholly loſt their influence upon the minds of thoſe who ſtill called themſelves, not only philoſophers, but Chriſtians, ſobriety and decency were abandoned in their converſation, and the groſſeſt impiety and obſcenity diſgraced their writings.

This ſwelling torrent of profaneneſs, the fathers of the Lateran council in vain endeavoured to ſtem, by a bull which, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ten, was iſſued againſt the Ariſtotelian corruptions. The Peripatetics ridiculed this idle fulmination; for they were not ignorant, that the Pontiff himſelf, Leo X. and the Cardinal, Peter Bembo, by whom the bull was iſſued, lay under a ſtrong ſuſpicion of being themſelves infidels. Subſequent eccleſiaſtical decrees lopped off ſome of the branches of this ſpreading impiety, but no one ſaw the neceſſity, or had the courage

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to root up the tree. The public guardians of religion were, or ſeemed to be, ignorant that the errors of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy lay at the foundation of this corruption. Themſelves infected with the diſeaſe which they undertook to cure, if the Chriſtian faith was profeſſed in words, they thought it of little conſequence what tenets were in reality believed. In order to throw duſt into the eyes of the people, the eccleſiaſtics profeſſed to yield ſuch implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of the church, as to embrace its decrees, though they were wholly irreconcileable with the invincible reaſonings of the Peripatetic ſchools. Under this maſk they did not ſcruple publicly to defend any kind of impiety, only adding this caution, that they propoſed poſitions of this kind merely in the way of ſpeculation, and though they might be true according to Ariſtotle, they were falſe according to the deciſions of the church, to which they humbly ſubmitted, though they were not able to diſcover the reaſons upon which they were founded. Such pitiful evaſions, though they might ſuffice to ſecure the credit of the church among an ignorant populace, proved highly injurious to good morals, by encouraging fraud and hypocriſy. The motto of Cremoninus ſeems to have expreſſed the general ſenſe of the Peripatetic clergy of this period, *Intus ut libet, foris ut moris eſt*: "Abroad, with the people; at home, as you pleaſe."

The Stagyrite having, for many centuries, poſſeſſed authority in the ſchools little inferior to that of Jeſus Chriſt in the church, and his dogmas being intimately interwoven with thoſe of religion, it was thought exceedingly hazardous to whiſper any thing to the diſcredit of his philoſophy. The learned Berigard, who was ſenſible of many errors in this ſyſtem, declares[a], "that in lecturing upon Ariſtotle he did not think himſelf at liberty to give his own opinion, leſt he ſhould be thought to treat his maſter with contempt[b], and to trample upon the aſhes of the antients." This reverence for Ariſtotle was ſtill ſupported, in popiſh univerſities, by ſtatutes, which required the profeſſors to promiſe upon oath, that in their public lec-

[a] Præf. Circul. Piſan.

[b] Ne in magiſtrum deſpuere, et apolactizare, ut ait Plautus, velle videar.

tures

tures on philoſophy they would follow no other guide. It is eaſy to perceive, that, if freedom of ſpeech, even at the very fountain head of inſtruction, was thus reſtricted, there could be little ſcope for freedom of enquiry, and little probability of the advancement of knowledge.

Among Proteſtants, the errors and corruptions of the Peripatetic philoſophy met with oppoſition; but it was attended with little ſucceſs. Luther, whoſe independent ſpirit roſe ſuperior to all human authority in matters of opinion, and who was fully ſenſible of the miſchiefs which an injudicious reſpect for philoſophy had introduced into religion, was for the entire rejection of Ariſtotle. But the general prejudice in favour of the Stagyrite retained ſuch firm poſſeſſion of the mind of Melancthon, that he judged it the wiſer and ſafer way to adhere to his ſyſtem, except in thoſe particulars in which it directly militated againſt revelation, and thought, that the beſt ſervice he could render to the learned world, was to give a perſpicuous explanation of the Peripatetic philoſophy. His Philippics, which, as we have ſeen, were founded upon Peripatetic principles, obtained an extenſive and laſting authority in the ſchools. And when this ceaſed, the preceptors of philoſophy returned to their antient guide, and Scholaſtic barbariſm was in ſome meaſure revived. The freedom of enquiry, which at this time prevailed among proteſtants, would not, it is true, ſuffer the defects and errors of antient philoſophy to remain unnoticed. Several eminent men even ventured to inveigh againſt Ariſtotle himſelf, as the author of many pernicious errors. But ſtill, his ſyſtem, for the moſt part, retained its authority, and even thoſe who forſook this maſter, thought it neceſſary to make choice of ſome other antient guide; ſo that, after all, the queſtion was, what Ariſtotle, Plato, or Pythagoras had taught, rather than what was truth *.

* Vidend. Adami Vit. Theol. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iv. v. Apini Vit. Prof. Phil. Altdorf. Zeltner. Vit. Theol. Altdorf. Mattheſii Vit. Luther. Budd. Iſag. l. i. c. 4. Philoſophia Altdorfina, Norimb. 1614. Crenii Animadv. Phil. p. 13. Mayer Diſſ. de nimia lenitate, 1707. Arnold Hiſt. Eccl. p. ii. l. xvi. c. 10. Vogtii Catal. Lib. rar. p. 539, 562, &c. Sandii Bibl. Antitrinit. Boecler. Bibl. Crit. c. 40. Morhoff. Polyhiſt. t. ii. l. i. Bayle.

SECT. 3.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, MIXED WITH THE PYTHAGOREAN AND CABBALISTIC.

THE doctrines of the later Platonifts having been revived, as we have already related, by the Greek exiles in Italy, their further fpread is chiefly to be imputed to the averfion, which many good men entertained againft the Peripatetic philofophy, on account of the fhameful impieties to which it had given birth. Perceiving that they could not commit themfelves to the direction of Ariftotle, without hazarding their religious principles, and not having ftrength of mind fufficient to form a fyftem of opinions for themfelves, they adopted the philofophy of Plato, in the corrupted ftate in which it had been tranfmitted, through the Alexandrian and Chriftian fchools, to modern times. This philofophy was the more readily embraced, becaufe it was believed, that the myfteries of Pythagoras, than which none appeared to approach nearer to thofe of true religion, had been long fince united with the wifdom of Plato. Men hoped to find in this fchool much divine inftruction; and they were confirmed in this expectation by the perfuafion, that its doctrines had been, immediately or remotely, derived from divine revelation. And, as one error naturally produces another, thefe learned men united with this fyftem the fecret or cabbaliftic philofophy of the Jews, which, for want of a thorough examination, they conceived to have been the pure doctrine of the antient Hebrews. Hence a new compound of tenets arofe, fufficiently myfterious and paradoxical, which was received by this clafs of philofophers as the fum of antient wifdom.

After Pletho, who, as we have related, made ufe of the Jewifh Cabbala as a key to unlock the Pythagorean myfteries, flourifhed JOHN

JOHN REUCHLIN [a], a native of Pforzheim, in Suabia, born in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-five. In his youth, when he was a student at Paris, and afterwards when he was a preceptor of languages, first at Basil, and afterwards at Orleans, he was a follower of Aristotle. But upon a tour through Italy, which he made with Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, he became acquainted with Ficinus, Politian, Picus, and other Platonists, who resided at Florence, and embraced their opinions. At Rome, a friend who was offended with the harshness of the German name Reuchlin, prevailed upon him to exchange it, after the common practice of the age, into CAPNIO, a Greek name of the same signification; whence he was chiefly known among foreigners by that name. Capnio, at Vienna, during an embassy to the emperor Frederic III. upon which he was sent by Count Eberhard, and afterwards at Rome while he was upon an embassy to the Pope from the Elector Palatine, prosecuted the study of the Hebrew language under the direction of certain learned Jews, chiefly that he might have access to the Jewish Cabbalistic writings, whence he hoped to cast new light upon the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines. His knowledge of the Hebrew language unfortunately brought him into great trouble and hazard.

A certain Jewish convert, John Pfefferkorn, of Cologne, to shew his zeal for Christianity, advised the guardians of the Christian faith to burn all the Jewish Books, except the Bible, as full of blasphemy against Christ; and, through the influence of the monks and theologians of Cologne, obtained from the emperor an edict for this purpose. Pfefferkorn himself was employed to collect them, and they were brought to Frankfort, to be publicly committed to the flames. The Jews, who justly considered this proceeding as a grievous persecution, earnestly intreated the emperor to suspend the execution of the order, till the books had passed under the examination of the learned. The emperor consented; and Capnio, who

[a] Melancthon Vit. Reuch. Declam. t. iii. p. 280. Reuchl. Dedic. libr. de Accentibus. Mai Vit. Reuch. Fr. 1687. 8vo. Reuch. Epist. Ed. Tigur. 1558. 8vo. Trithem. c. 920.

was univerſally acknowledged to excel in this kind of learning, was appointed by the elector of Mentz, under the authority of the emperor, to paſs a judgment upon theſe writings. Capnio, though he had not the liberality, or more probably the courage, to oppoſe the whole project, as a violation of an important natural right, and as a diſgrace to Chriſtianity, had, nevertheleſs, too much good ſenſe to adopt, in its full extent, the wretched policy of the authors and promoters of this deſign. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that no other books ſhould be deſtroyed, but thoſe which were found to be written expreſsly againſt Jeſus Chriſt, leſt, with the Jewiſh books on liberal arts and ſciences, their language itſelf, ſo important to the church, ſhould periſh. This opinion was approved by the emperor, and the books were by his authority reſtored to the Jews. Pfefferkorn and his ſupporters were exceedingly enraged againſt Capnio, and purſued him with invectives and accuſations even to the court of Rome. His high reputation in the learned world, however, protected him; and bigotry met with a moſt mortifying defeat in his honourable acquittal.

The ſpleen of the eccleſiaſtics againſt Capnio was ſtill further increaſed by a comedy abounding with keen ſatire, which this writer, whoſe genius was not inferior to his learning, produced; the chief deſign of which was to expoſe the ignorance of the monks. It was at firſt only circulated in manuſcript, but afterwards found its way into the preſs[a].

In the latter part of his life, the adverſaries of Capnio had too much reaſon to exult over him; for notwithſtanding all his learning and celebrity, he was ſcarcely able, by teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages (which he did in ſeveral different ſchools) to preſerve himſelf from abſolute want. He ſpent his laſt days at Trebingen, where he died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two. His faculties, which were naturally vigorous, were cultivated with great induſtry. His mind was richly ſtored with

[a] Pforzhem, 1507.

various erudition, and his character was eminently diſtinguiſhed by probity and urbanity [a].

Whilſt Ficinus was reviving the Platonic philoſophy in Italy, and Faber the Ariſtotelian in France, Capnio profeſſed and taught a myſtical ſyſtem, compounded of Platonic, Pythagoric, and Cabbaliſtic doctrines. He wrote ſeveral profound treatiſes on philoſophy, of which the principal are theſe; *De Verbo Mirifico*, "On the Wonderful Word," and *De Arte Cabbaliſtica*, "On the Cabbaliſtic Art." On the whole, Reuchlin, or Capnio, is certainly to be ranked in the claſs of Myſtics, and deſerves more praiſe for his aſſiduous and ſucceſsful attempts towards the revival of learning, than for any ſervice which he rendered to ſcience. His epiſtles are full of valuable information concerning the literary hiſtory of this period.

A ſimilar track was purſued by GEORGE VENET [b], an obſcure and enthuſiaſtic writer, who mixed ſundry Peripatetic notions with the Platonic and Cabbaliſtic ſyſtems. He was of opinion that Pythagoras and Plato, Orpheus and Zoroaſter, Job and Solomon, St. John and St. Paul, Origen and Dionyſius, all derived their wiſdom from one common ſource, the divine Logos. His chief works are, *Harmonia Mundi*, "The Harmony of the World;" and *Problemata in Scripturam ſacram*, "Problems upon the Sacred Scriptures."

The Myſtic ſyſtem of Cabbaliſtic Platoniſm was ſupported with great ability, and not without a vaſt diſplay of erudition, by HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA [c], a man of wonderful genius, whoſe life was diſtinguiſhed by much viciſſitude of fortune. Agrippa was born at Netteſheym, in Cologne, in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix. Whilſt young, he was employed for ſeven years in the ſervice of the emperor Maximilian, firſt as his ſecretary, and after-

[a] Op. Reuchlin. ed. Hag. 1519. Tigur. 1558.

[b] Wadding. Scr. Ord. Min. p. 119. Wharton App. Cave p. 151. Olear. de S. E. p. 259. Sext. Senens Bib. S. p. 287. Index Exp. Hiſp. p. 406. 421.

[c] Adami Vit. Med. p. 16. Niceron. t. xix. xx. Amœnit. Liter. t. ii. p. 553. Bayle.

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wards in a military capacity: notwithſtanding which, he found leiſure to learn ſeveral languages, and to gain an extenſive knowledge of ſcience. He very early engaged in the ſtudy and practice of medicine, and formed a romantic expectation of recommending himſelf to the patronage of princes, by pretending to an intimate acquaintance with the ſecrets of nature, and particularly to the power of converting inferior metals into gold. Full of this wild project, he viſited Spain, France, and ſeveral other countries, every where paſſing himſelf upon the world as a wonderful maſter of occult arts, that is, acting the part of an impoſtor. His pretenſions obtained ſuch a degree of credit, that at twenty-three years of age he obtained a profeſſorſhip at Dole, in Burgundy, where he read lectures on the myſtical work of Reuchlin, *De Verbo mirifico*. But the novelty and boldneſs of his doctrine, at the ſame time that it brought him many hearers, ſubjected him to ſevere perſecutions from the monks; ſo that he found it neceſſary to leave Dole, and paſs over into England.

After a ſhort ſtay in London, he returned, in compliance with the intreaties of his friends, to Cologne, and began to read lectures; but his reſtleſs ſpirit, which would not ſuffer him to remain long in the ſame place, ſoon carried him into Italy. Here he reſumed for a while the military character in the emperor's army, and at the ſame time taught the myſtical philoſophy at Pavia, not without pretenſions to divine inſpiration. From ſome cauſe, of which we are not informed, he loſt his property, and lived for a while in great poverty, till, in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, his friends procured for him a civil office in the city of Mentz. But his unreſtrained freedom of ſpeech, and the ſeverity with which he ſtill continued his attacks upon monkiſh ſuperſtition, ſoon created him enemies in this city, and obliged him to return to Cologne; whence, after a ſhort interval of time, he removed to Geneva, then to Friberg, where he practiſed phyſic, and afterwards to Lyons. In this city he was appointed phyſician to the mother of Francis the Firſt, and obtained great influence with her by means of his pretended ſkill in aſtrology; but upon her departure from Lyons he was diſmiſſed

from his office, and it was with great difficulty that he obtained his ſtipulated ſalary.

Agrippa next removed to Antwerp, and put himſelf under the patronage of Margaret of Auſtria, who appointed him hiſtoriographer to the emperor Charles V. But his reſtleſs and cynical humour would not ſuffer him to enjoy the tranquillity, which this ſituation might have afforded him. He continued to ſatirize men of every deſcription, particularly eccleſiaſtics; and he wrote a treatiſe "On the Vanity of the Sciences," and another "On Occult Philoſophy;" which brought upon him the diſpleaſure of the clerical body, and alienated the affections of the emperor, ſo that he was diſmiſſed from his office, was reduced to poverty, and at Bruſſels, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-one, was thrown into priſon for debt. Regaining his liberty through the interpoſition of his friends, he viſited the archbiſhop of Cologne, to whom he had dedicated his treatiſe on the occult philoſophy, and republiſhed the work with numerous corrections and additions. This, together with his "Apology for himſelf to the Senate of Cologne," which was full of ſpleen and invective, rekindled ſuch a general ſpirit of hoſtility againſt him, that he found it neceſſary once more to withdraw into France. When he arrived at Lyons, he was impriſoned for ſome ſatirical papers, which he had formerly written againſt the king's mother, and it was not without much importunity, that his friends obtained his releaſe from this confinement. He ſpent his laſt days with a friend at Grenoble, where he died in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five.

From the whole hiſtory of Agrippa it appears, that he was a man of eccentric genius, and reſtleſs ſpirit. In the midſt of ſuch numerous changes of ſituation and fortune, it is ſurpriſing that he was able to acquire ſuch extenſive erudition, and to leave behind him ſo many proofs of literary induſtry. There can be no doubt that he poſſeſſed a vigorous underſtanding, which roſe ſuperior to vulgar ſuperſtitions, and which prompted him to maintain a conſtant warfare with prieſtcraft. Though he did not chuſe to offend thoſe princes to whom he looked up for patronage, by deſerting the church

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of Rome, he ſaw with great ſatisfaction the bold attack made upon its corruptions by Martin Luther; and he himſelf, like Eraſmus, Faber, and others, perpetually harraſſed the monks by ſatirical writings[a]. His cynical ſeverity, and above all the diſpoſition which he diſcovered to make his fortune by practiſing upon vulgar credulity, muſt not paſs without cenſure. His occult philoſophy is rather a ſketch of the Alexandrian, mixed with the Cabbaliſtic, theology, than a treatiſe on magic. It explains the harmony of nature, and the connection of the elementary, celeſtial, and intellectual worlds, on the principles of the Emanative Syſtem. His treatiſe "On the Vanity of the Sciences," is not ſo much intended to traduce ſcience itſelf, as to ridicule the follies of the learned, and expoſe the numerous abſurdities of the eſtabliſhed modes of education[b].

Very different was the method of reſtoring the Platonic philoſophy which was purſued by FRANCISCUS PATRICIUS[c], born at Cliſſa, in Illyricum, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine. In the ſchools of Italy he profeſſed to unite the doctrines of Ariſtotle and Plato, but in reality undermined the authority of the former. He wholly deſerted the obſcurity of the Jewiſh Cabbala, and in teaching philoſophy cloſely followed the antient Greek writers. He was appointed by Pope Clement VIII. a preceptor in philoſophy at Rome; after which he more openly diſcovered his averſion to the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem, and adviſed the pope to prohibit the teaching of this philoſophy in the ſchools, and to introduce the doctrine of Plato, as more conſonant to the Chriſtian faith. His *Diſcuſſiones Peripateticæ*, "Peripatetic Diſquiſitions," a learned, perſpicuous, and elegant work, fully explains the reaſon on which his diſapprobation of the Peripatetic philoſophy was founded. Patricius alſo wrote ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, which have been much admired.

[a] Fabr. Hiſt. Bib. ſuæ, t. vi. p. 270. Ed. Lugdun. ſine ann.

[b] Naud. Apol. p. 285. Webſter de Magia.

[c] Erythr. Pinacoth. i. p. 203. Bayle. Tieſſer. Elog. t. iv. p. 218. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 14. p. 281. Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. § 1.

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In the ſeventeenth century, Platoniſm found many advocates in Great Britain, owing, in a great meaſure, to the deſire which many learned and able divines at this time entertained of refuting the tenets of Hobbes, whoſe doctrine will be afterwards noticed. For, although they were aware that the writings of Plato afforded little information on ſubjects of natural philoſophy, in which phyſical experiment now began to take the place of metaphyſical ſpeculations, they thought that in theology and morals he had written ſublimely, and not without ſome rays of divine illumination; and hence concluded, that they could not more effectually oppoſe the Hobbeſian impieties, than by reviving an attention to the doctrine of Plato, both in his own works, and in thoſe of his followers. A numerous band of learned advocates for religion at this time ranged themſelves under the banners of Plato, among whom the moſt celebrated are Gale, Cudworth, and More .

Theophilus Gale [b], a non-conformiſt of the Preſbyterian ſect, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight, a writer of great erudition, was induced to become a zealous advocate for Platoniſm through a violent antipathy to the Carteſian ſyſtem, which he thought unfriendly to morals, and contradictory to the doctrine of revelation. He undertook to trace back philoſophy to its origin, and maintained, that there was a wonderful agreement between the antient Barbaric philoſophy, and the Jewiſh and Chriſtian theology. He brought every philoſophical tenet to the teſt of the ſcriptures, and thought that it would not be a difficult undertaking, to ſeparate from the Pagan philoſophy thoſe doctrines which originated in divine revelation, and had been tranſmitted by tradition from the Hebrews to the Gentiles. Having perſuaded himſelf that theſe doctrines had paſſed in a direct line, and without material corruption, from the Hebrew fountain to Plato, he recommended his philoſophical writings as, next to the ſcriptures, the moſt valuable remains

a Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, v. ii. p. 187. Parker on the Platonic Philoſophy, Oxon. 1664.

b Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 793.

of antient wiſdom. The chief point which he labours to maintain in his treatiſe "On Philoſophy[a]," is, that Plato received his knowledge of theology from the Hebrews, and that the doctrine on this ſubject taught by him and his followers, for the moſt part, agrees with that of the holy ſcriptures. This opinion he implicitly adopts from the antient fathers, whoſe authority, with reſpect to this matter, we have had frequent occaſion to call in queſtion. His account of other philoſophers is given, without much appearance of accurate diſcrimination, chiefly from Laertius. He divides the Ariſtotelian philoſophy into *pure* and *impure*, and ſuppoſes, gratuitouſly enough, that the former paſſed from Moſes to the Stagyrite through the channel of Plato's inſtruction. His favourite notion frequently occurs in his other learned work, "The Court of the Gentiles[b]."

The Platonic philoſophy was, with greater accuracy and ſounder judgment, applied to the refutation of impiety by RALPH CUDWORTH[c], the learned author of a valuable work, entitled, "The True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe." He was born in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, at Aller, in Somerſetſhire, and educated at Cambridge, in Emanuel college, where he took the degree of maſter of arts in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine: he was afterwards choſen maſter of Clare Hall, and Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew. In one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-four, having taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he was choſen maſter of Chriſt's College. Cudworth, for thirty years, diſcharged with great ability and fidelity the office of Hebrew profeſſor in Cambridge; and continued his reſidence in that univerſity till his death, which happened in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight. The deſign of his "Intellectual Syſtem" is to refute the principles of atheiſm. In this important undertaking, he very ſucceſsfully employed a vaſt fund of erudition. But his partiality for the Platonic philoſophy, in judging of which, after the

[a] Ed. Lond. 1676. 8vo. [b] Lond. 1672.
[c] Moſheim. Præf. et Annot. ad Syſt. Int.

example

example of his contemporaries, he paid too much reſpect to the writings of the modern Alexandrian Platoniſts, led him into frequent miſtakes. In phyſics he adopted the Atomic ſyſtem, but abandoning Democritus and Epicurus as the firſt patrons of impiety, he added to the doctrine of Atoms that of a certain middle ſubſtance between matter and ſpirit, to which he gave the appellation of Plaſtic Nature, which he ſuppoſed to be the immediate inſtrument of the divine operation. This hypotheſis gave riſe to a famous controverſy between Bayle and Le Clerc. The "Intellectual Syſtem" was firſt publiſhed in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight, and, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, was tranſlated into Latin by Moſheim, with many learned and judicious notes.

But no one defended the Platonic doctrine, combined with the Pythagorean and Cabbaliſtic, with greater learning and ſubtlety than Cudworth's friend and colleague, HENRY MORE[a], born in one thouſand ſix hundred and fourteen, and educated in Chriſt's College, Cambridge. After having laid a good foundation of claſſical learning at Eton, he diligently applied, at the univerſity, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. He early made himſelf perfect maſter of the doctrines of Ariſtotle and the Scholaſtics; but he met with ſo little ſatisfaction in their reſpective ſyſtems, that he determined to ſearch for better guides; and he perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould find them among the Platoniſts. Wholly occupied with the deſire of attaining that purity of mind, and divine illumination, which might raiſe him to a union with God, he devoted his life to the ſublime ſpeculation of myſtical philoſophy, and to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. He ſpent his days in the univerſity of Cambridge, where, after having long enjoyed the higheſt academical honours, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, he died, leaving behind him a name highly celebrated among theologians and philoſophers. His principal writings are, "The Myſtery of Iniquity;" "A Key to the Revelations;" *Enchiridion Ethicum*, "A Manual of Ethics;" *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*, "A Manual of Metaphyſics;" "An Apology

[a] Præf. Op. Phil. Lond. 1676. Conf. Knorri Cabb. denud. t. i. p. ii. p. 14.

for Des Cartes," and " A Collection of Philosophical Treatises, chiefly on the Jewish Cabbala."

More was strongly under the bias of the opinion so common among his contemporaries, that the wisdom of the Hebrews had been transmitted to Pythagoras, and from him to Plato; and consequently, that the true principles of divine philosophy were to be found in the writings of the Platonists. At the same time, he was persuaded that the antient Cabbalistic philosophy sprang from the same fountain; and therefore endeavoured to lay open the mystery of this philosophy, by shewing its agreement with the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and pointing out the corruptions which had been introduced by the modern Cabbalists. The Cartesian system, which sprang up at this time, was embraced by More, as on the whole consonant to his ideas of nature; and he took much pains to prove that it was not inconsistent with the Cabbalistic doctrine. His penetrating understanding, however, discovered defects in this new system, which he endeavoured to supply. In short, the writings of this great man, though not without a deep tincture of mysticism, are eminently distinguished by profound erudition, an inventive genius, and a liberal spirit.

A clear judgment may, after what has been said, be without much difficulty formed, concerning this new race of Platonists. The peculiar respect which they paid to the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras, as in some sort of divine original, rested upon suppositions which have never been established. The story of Pythagoras's journey into the East is extremly uncertain; and it is highly improbable that he should ever have conversed with Hebrew prophets. Of his school, which had failed at a very early period, little was known. The whole notion of the divine original of Plato's theology is built upon such slight evidence, that it may, without hesitation, be pronounced visionary. The Cabbalistic tenets, upon which these philosophers laid so much stress, were not, as they supposed, the pure doctrines of the Hebrews, but mystical fictions derived from Egyptian and Oriental sources. The tenets of the Platonic and of the Cabbalistic system differed essentially from the sacred truths which

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are taught in the Hebrew ſcriptures. It is not to be conceived, that the fanciful doctrine of Emanation, which lies at the foundation of both theſe ſyſtems, could have been derived by tradition from divine revelation. Yet, ſo much were theſe learned men blinded by prejudice in favour of an hypotheſis, that they could ſee nothing but a perfect harmony between Platoniſm and Chriſtianity, and miſtook the dreams of the Alexandrian philoſophers, and Jewiſh Cabbaliſtics, for the pure doctrine of religion. To this we muſt add, that they ſuffered themſelves, in ſome inſtances, to be deceived by impoſtors, and, with a degree of credulity not wholly to be excuſed, admitted ſpurious writings as genuine; ſuch for example, as the remains of Zoroaſter, Hermes, and Orpheus. From theſe and other cauſes they were led into ſo many miſconceptions and errors, that caution ſhould be exerciſed in acceding to their judgment concerning either Platonic or Chriſtian doctrines*.

* Vidend. Wierus de Præſtig. Dæmon. l. ii. c. 5. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. iii. c. 17. Naud. Apol. Mag. Accuſ. p. 285. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 168. Gimma idea Della Storia Letterata d'Italia, t. ii. c. 39. Budd. Introd. in Hiſt. Ph. Heb. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 186. Stoll. Introd. in Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Reimann. in Cat. Crit. t. i. 980.

SECT. 4.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE DOCTRINE OF PARMENIDES.

THOSE circumſtances attending the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which contributed towards the revival of the Grecian ſects, led in a ſingle inſtance to the reſtoration of the phyſical doctrine of Parmenides. Ariſtotle having obſcured the ſubject of natural philoſophy,

losophy, by involving it in metaphysical subtlety, Telesius attempted to raise a new edifice of physics, on the foundation of principles, which Parmenides had long before taught in Greece.

Bernard Telesius [a], a Neapolitan, born in the year one thousand five hundred and eight, received the first part of his education at Milan, where he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. After passing two years at Rome, where he made great proficiency in polite learning, he removed to Padua, and applied with indefatigable assiduity to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He very judiciously employed mathematical learning in explaining and establishing the laws of physics, and was particularly successful in investigating truths before unknown in the doctrine of optics. Accustomed to mathematical accuracy, he grew dissatisfied with the conjectural explanation of natural appearances given by Aristotle, and expressed great surprise, that this philosopher should have been, for so many ages, followed in his numerous errors by so many learned men, by whole nations, and almost by the whole human race. He pursued his researches with great ingenuity as well as freedom, and wrote two books "On Nature," in which he attempted to overturn the physical doctrine of the Peripatetic school, and to explain the phenomena of the material world upon new principles. When this treatise was first published at Rome, it obtained great and unexpected applause, and Telesius was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends at Naples, to open a school of philosophy in that city. The Telesian school soon became famous, not only for the number of its pupils, but for the abilities of its professors, who distinguished themselves by their bold opposition to the doctrines of Aristotle, and by the judicious manner in which they distributed their labours, in order to enlarge the boundaries of natural knowledge. The founder of the school was highly esteemed by all who were desirous of studying nature rather than dialectics; and he was patronized by several great men, particularly by Ferdi-

[a] Toppii Bibl. Neap. p. 344. Pantapolog. Calab. Neap. 1715. Imp. Mus. p. 76. Comnen. Papadopol. Hist. Gymn. Patav. p. ii. c. 32. Lotter. de Vit. Telesii, Lips. 1733. Tiesser. Elog. t. iii. p. 449.

nand Duke of Nuceri. But his popularity ſoon awakened the jealouſy and envy of the monks, who loaded him and his ſchool with calumny, for no other offence, than that he ventured to call in queſtion the authority of Ariſtotle. The vexations which he ſuffered from this quarter brought on a bilious diſorder, which, in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-eight, terminated in his death.

Although, during the life of Teleſius, his innovations were patiently borne, both in Rome and Naples, after his death his writings were proſcribed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the holy inquiſition. Notwithſtanding which, his philoſophy continued to have many admirers, and his works were republiſhed at Venice, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety, by his friend Antonius Perſius, who alſo wrote a compendium of his philoſophy in the vernacular tongue. Beſides his principal work, *De Natura Rerum*, "On the Nature of Things," he wrote on the Air, the Sea, Comets, the Milky Way, the Rainbow, Colours, Reſpiration, Sleep, and other ſubjects. Lord Bacon has given a brief explanation of the philoſophy of Teleſius [a].

The phyſical ſyſtem, which Teleſius attempted to ſubſtitute in the room of the ſubtleties and fictions of the Stagyrite, was founded upon the Parmenidean doctrine, that the firſt principles in nature, by means of which all natural phenomena are produced, are Cold and Heat. The ſum of his theory is this: Matter, which is in itſelf incapable of action, and admits neither of increaſe nor diminution, is acted upon by two contrary incorporeal principles, Heat and Cold. From the perpetual oppoſition of theſe, ariſes the ſeveral forms in nature; the prevalence of cold in the lower regions producing the earth and terreſtrial bodies; and that of heat in the ſuperior, the heavens and celeſtial bodies. All the changes of natural bodies are owing to this conflict; and according to the degree in which each principle prevails, are the different degrees of denſity, reſiſtance, opacity, moiſture, dryneſs, &c. which are found in dif-

[a] De Principiis Parmenidis et Teleſii.

ferent

ferent ſubſtances. In the heavens, heat has its fixed reſidence, without any oppoſition from the contrary principle; and within the earth, and in the abyſs of the ſea, cold remains undiſturbed, heat not being able to penetrate thither. At the borders of each of theſe regions, that conteſt between the oppoſite principles begins, which is carried on through all the intermediate ſpace. All animal and vegetable life is from God[a].

This ſyſtem, which Teleſius evidently borrowed from Parmenides, whoſe doctrine is particularly deſcribed in Plutarch's treatiſe *De Primo Frigido*, " On the Principle of Cold," was exceedingly ingenious; but it is, after all, nothing more than a baſeleſs fabric, raiſed upon a fanciful converſion of mere attributes and properties into ſubſtantial principles. For, as Lord Bacon well obſerves, Teleſius, no leſs than Plato or Ariſtotle, places abſtract notions at the foundation of his ſyſtem, and produces his world of real beings from non-entities. We readily admit that this philoſopher was a lover of truth, and a friend to ſcience; but we think him chiefly commendable for the boldneſs of his attack upon the principles of Ariſtotle, in which he ſucceeded much better than in his attempt to raiſe a new ſtructure of natural philoſophy; for, in changing the attributes of matter into incorporeal principles, he left his doctrine expoſed to the ſame objection, which he himſelf had brought againſt that of Ariſtotle. It was probably owing to this cauſe, that the Teleſian ſyſtem did not long ſurvive its author *.

[a] Teleſ. de Natura rerum juxta propria Principia. Neap. 1586. Morhoff. Polyhiſt. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 13.

* Vidend. Bacon's Hiſt. of Winds, Præf. and on the Fable of Cupid. v. iii. p. 238. Gimma Idea Hiſt. Lit. Ital. t. ii. c. 38. Campanell. Philoſ. Senſibus demonſt. Sorell. de Perfect. Homin. p. iii. p. 413. Arnold Diff. de Novitate Philoſophandi. § 11.

SECT.

SECT. 5.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE Ionic philoſophy, notwithſtanding the celebrity of its firſt profeſſors, ſoon failed in the Grecian ſchools, and never afterwards recovered its antient reputation and authority. This was owing to the ſuſpicion of impiety under which it lay in Athens, to the early growth of new branches from the Socratic ſtock, and to the riſe and ſpread of the Eleatic and Epicurean philoſophy. In later times, the univerſal prevalence of the Platonic and Ariſtotelian ſyſtems prevented every idea of reviving the phyſiology of the Ionic ſchool, till, in the ſeventeenth century, an attempt was made for this purpoſe by Berigard, but in ſo circumſpect and covert a manner, that this philoſopher was commonly ranked among the followers of Ariſtotle, and even ſuppoſed to be deeply tinctured with the impiety of his ſyſtem.

CLAUD BERIGARD [a] was born at Molena, in Spain, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, and ſtudied firſt at Aix, then at Paris, and afterwards at Piſa. In this latter ſchool he was, through the favour of the Duke of Tuſcany, appointed profeſſor of mathematics and botany. The fame of his learning, which was ſpread through Italy, induced the republic of Venice, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, to appoint him, with a liberal ſtipend, profeſſor of philoſophy in Padua. He was afterwards raiſed to the dignity of firſt profeſſor, and received a large augmentation of his ſalary. He remained in this ſituation till his death, which happened about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, and was eſteemed one of the moſt eminent of the Italian philo-

[a] Bayle. Niceron. Mem. t. xxxi. p. 123. Præf. Circ. Piſ. Epiſt. Welſchii ad Boſium apud Ep. Reineſ. et Boſ. p. 470.

ſophers. He publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two, under a fictitious name, a work entitled *Dubitationes in Dialogos Galilæi de Terræ Immobilitate* [a], "Doubts on the Dialogues of Galileo in Defence of the Immobility of the Earth;" but his principal work is his *Circuli Piſani*, "Piſan Circles," in which he relates the diſputations which were held at Piſa on the phyſical writings of Ariſtotle, and gives his own ſentiments upon them.

Berigard, during his education at Paris, where the defects of the Peripatetic ſyſtem were now freely examined, had been led to compare the doctrines of the Stagyrite with thoſe of other philoſophers both antient and modern, and had perceived the folly of that implicit obedience which had been ſo long paid to his authority. Hence he became a determined opponent of his philoſophy, not indeed openly, for he could not have done this without great hazard, but in the indirect and concealed method of dialogue. Adopting the Ionic ſyſtem, as it was firſt inſtituted by Thales, and afterwards improved by Anaxagoras, he framed a diſputation between the Ariſtotelians and Ionics, in which he made Ariſtæus refute the reaſoning of Charilaus, and ſupport the doctrine of the Ionic ſchool, by an appeal to experience, as well as by many ingenious arguments. This acute reaſoner ſaw indeed, and confeſſed, that both the Peripatetic and the Ionic ſyſtems were materially defective, and in many particulars erroneous, and was on this account much inclined to philoſophical ſcepticiſm. But he endeavoured to prove, that the followers of Thales approached nearer to truth than thoſe of Ariſtotle, the dangerous tendency of whoſe tenets, in ſeveral particulars, he clearly expoſed. Among the doctrines of the Stagyrite, thoſe which he chiefly reprobated were theſe: That the world is eternal; that the reſidence of the firſt mover is confined to the outer ſphere of the univerſe; that neither the world, nor any being, can properly be ſaid to have been created; and that there is one ſoul common to the whole human ſpecies. In oppoſition to theſe opinions, which he rejected as capital errors whence many others muſt ariſe, Berigard maintained the Ionic doctrine of the eternity of the primary par-

[a] Ed. Amſt. 1649.

ticles of matter; of a forming and presiding mind, by whose agency these particles were collected into distinct bodies; and of the combination and dispersion of these, as constituting the formation and dissolution of all things. In short, Berigard seems to have prepared the way for the revival of the Atomic system of Epicurus, which was, soon after this time, restored and defended by Gassendi *.

* Vidend. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 154. Laun. de Fortuna Arist. in Acad. Par. c. 15. Seb. Basson. Præf. Nat. Phil. Ed. Genev. Sorell. de Perfect. Hom. p. iii. p. 484. Reimann. Hist. Ath. s. iii. c. 5. Villemandy Scept. debell. p. 11.

SECT. 6.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

AS the poverty of the Peripatetic physics occasioned the revival of the Parmenidean and Ionic sects, so the barrenness of the Ethical doctrine taught in the school of Aristotle prompted the design of renewing the Stoic philosophy. Finding little satisfaction in Aristotle's moral precepts, which extend no further than to the conduct of civil life, and disgusted with the thorny disputations of the Scholastics, Lipsius, a name celebrated among the critics of the sixteenth century, determined to pass over into a field of philosophy, in which he hoped to exercise his faculties with greater advantage.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS [a] was born near Brussels, in the year one thou-

[a] Lips. Vit. a Miræo. Antw. 1608. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 465. Euryth. Pinacoth. iii. c. 1. Bayle. Teissier. Elog. t. iv. p. 524. Blount, p. 840. Patin Lettres, t. ii. Lett. 294.

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ſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, and received the firſt rudiments of learning under his uncle, Martin Lipſius, a learned friend of Eraſmus, who was engaged with him in editing ſeveral eccleſiaſtical writings. At twelve years of age, Lipſius was ſent to the Jeſuit's college at Cologne, where he proſecuted his literary and philoſophical ſtudies. Among the antients, he learned the precepts of morality from Epictetus and Seneca, and the maxims of civil prudence from Tacitus. From Cologne he removed to Louvain, where he ſtudied civil law, and at nineteen wrote his *Variæ Lectiones*, "Various Readings," which laid the foundation of his literary fame. Travelling into Italy, he obtained the patronage of the Cardinal Antonius Perenettus, and was appointed his ſecretary. This ſituation afforded him leiſure and opportunity for proſecuting his philological ſtudies, and gave him acceſs to many learned men, and to the Vatican and other public libraries. After two years, he returned to Louvain, enriched with new ſtores of learning, but by no means improved in his manners; for at Rome he acquired a fondneſs for pleaſure, which led him, for a time, into many exceſſes. The public diſturbances induced him, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, to leave his native country, and viſit Vienna, where he became acquainted with Buſbequius, and other learned men. On his return, he ſuffered himſelf to be detained at Jena, in Thuringia, where he accepted the profeſſorſhip of eloquence, and became a diſciple of Luther. This latter circumſtance obliged him, after a year's reſidence, to leave Jena; and he removed to Cologne, where he married a widow, whoſe ill temper occaſioned him much uneaſineſs. At Cologne, where he remained only a few months, he wrote his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, "Antient Readings." He now determined to return to his native place, and devote himſelf wholly to ſtudy; but the civil commotions of the country obliged him to remove firſt to Louvain, and afterwards to Leyden, where he ſpent thirteen years in literary labours. Here, though nominally a convert to the reformation, he publicly maintained the principles of perſecution, and wrote a treatiſe On Politics, in which he inveighed againſt toleration, and maintained, that one religion only ſhould be profeſſed in

one ſtate, and that thoſe who oppoſed that religion ought to be purſued with fire and ſword, it being better that one member ſhould be deſtroyed, than that the whole body ſhould periſh. This doctrine, ſo favourable to the cruel perſecution at this time exerciſed by the Spaniards againſt the Proteſtants, excited a juſt indignation againſt Lipſius, in a ſtate which owed its exiſtence to a brave and ſucceſsful aſſertion of the rights of conſcience. The reſentment which on this account fell upon him from various quarters, created him ſo much vexation, that upon republiſhing his works, he ſubjoined a note to one of his moſt offenſive paſſages, in which he ſays, *Verba nata in turbas! periiſſent illa et calamus, cum hæc ſcripſi!* "Miſchievous words! Oh that they had periſhed with the pen that wrote them[a]!" It does not appear, however, that Lipſius ever abandoned his intolerant principles; for after a ſhort time he left Leyden, and, through the ſolicitation of the Jeſuits, or, as ſome ſay, through the importunity of his wife, he returned into the boſom of the Roman church. He ſpent the remainder of his life at Louvain, and tarniſhed his literary reputation by writing ſeveral books, which were tinctured with the weakeſt credulity and ſuperſtition, particularly his *Laudes divæ Virginis Halenſis*, "Praiſe of the Holy Virgin of Hall," in which he celebrates the miracles of that famous image. After giving theſe and other unequivocal proofs of anility, Lipſius died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix.

It appears both from the life and writings of Lipſius, that he had more learning than either genius or judgment. His ambition diſturbed the tenor of his life with various viciſſitudes; and he had a degree of fickleneſs in religious principles, which carried him at one time to the verge of ſcepticiſm, and at another into the borders of enthuſiaſm. His writings, which are numerous, chiefly turn upon ſubjects of antiquity and criticiſm. In his early pieces he imitated, with tolerable ſucceſs, the ſtyle of Cicero; but afterwards choſe rather to adopt the conciſe and pointed manner of Seneca and Tacitus. For this corruption of taſte he was ſeverely cenſured by

[a] Politic. l. iv. c. 3. Not.

Sciopppius

Scioppius and Henry Stephens; but his example was followed by ſeveral contemporary writers. On this innovation Huet juſtly remarks[a], that although the abrupt and antithetical ſtyle may obtain the applauſes of unſkilful youth, or an illiterate multitude, it cannot be pleaſing to ears which have been long inured to genuine Ciceronian eloquence.

Captivated with the appearance of ſuperior wiſdom and virtue which he obſerved in the antient ſchool of Zeno, Lipſius ſought for conſolation from the precepts of the Stoic philoſophy, and attempted to reconcile its doctrines with thoſe of Chriſtianity. But he was impoſed upon by the vaunting language of this ſchool concerning fate and providence; and explains its tenets in a manner which cannot be reconciled with the hiſtory and general ſyſtem of Stoiciſm. In order to revive an attention to the doctrines of this antient ſect, he wrote two treatiſes, *Manuductio ad Philoſophicam Stoicam*, "An Introduction to the Stoic Philoſophy;" and *Diſſertationes de Phyſiologia Stoica*, "Diſſertations on Stoic Phyſiology;" to which he intended to have added a treatiſe on the moral doctrine of the Stoics, but was prevented by death. His edition of Seneca is enriched with many valuable notes, but he was too much biaſſed by his partiality for Stoiciſm to perceive the feeble and unſound parts of the ſyſtem, and gave too eaſy credit to the arrogant claims of this ſchool, to be a judicious and uſeful interpreter of its doctrine. Beſides the philoſophical works already mentioned, he wrote a treatiſe *De Conſtantia*, "On Conſtancy," and *Politicorum Libri Sex*, "A Treatiſe on Politics, in ſix books". This latter work, though highly cenſurable for its intolerant ſpirit, is of ſome value as a compilation of the ſentiments of the antients on the ſubject of policy.

A few learned men followed the footſteps of Lipſius, and endeavoured to revive the credit of the Stoic philoſophy. GASPER SCIOPPIUS[b], a German writer, who flouriſhed about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, more famous for the violence of his temper, and the ſeverity with which he cenſured the writings of others, than for

[a] De clar. Interp. p. 282. [b] Bayle. Reiman. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. v. p. 188.

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any essential service to learning or philosophy, wrote *Elementa Philosophiæ Stoicæ Moralis*, "Elements of the Moral Philosophy of the Stoics." DANIEL HEINSIUS was a great admirer of the moral doctrine of the Stoics, and wrote an elegant "Oration in praise of the Stoic philosophy." But the most able advocate for this system among the moderns was THOMAS GATAKER, born at London, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-four, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was afterwards fellow of Sydney College, and lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Among other learned works, he wrote a "Commentary on the Meditations of Antoninus," containing every thing, which a most extensive knowledge of the antients could furnish, towards the illustration of his author, and of the Stoic system. It is, however, to be regretted, that such a learned and able writer should have suffered himself to be so far blinded by partiality for the Porch, as to give a representation of its doctrines by no means consistent with the fundamental principles of the sect *.

* Vidend. Budd. in Phil. St. in Analectis Hist. Ph. Thomas de Exustione Mundi. Boecler. Diss. de Polit. Lipsii.

SECT. 7.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY.

THE Atomic doctrine concerning the origin of nature, which was taught by Democritus, and was reduced into a regular system by Epicurus, through the general prevalence given in later times to the Platonic, or the Aristotelian philosophy, had now for

many centuries lain dormant. But after the revival of letters there were not wanting ſeveral learned men, who, finding little ſatisfaction in the obſcure and ſubtle ſpeculations of metaphyſics, had recourſe to the doctrine of Epicurus, as the true key to the myſteries of nature.

The firſt reſtorer of the Epicurean ſyſtem among the moderns, was DANIEL SENNERT [a], an eminent phyſician of Wittemburg, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In a diſtinct chapter of his *Hypomnemata Phyſica*, "Heads of Phyſics," treating of atoms and mixture, he embraces the Atomic ſyſtem, which he derives from Mochus the Phœnician. He ſuppoſes that the primary corpuſcles not only unite in the formation of bodies, but that in their mutual action and paſſion they undergo ſuch modifications, that they ceaſe to be what they were before their union; and maintains, that by their combination all material forms are produced. Sennert, however, confounded the corpuſcles of the more antient philoſophers with the atoms of Democritus and Epictetus, and held that each element has primary particles peculiar to itſelf.

The ſame doctrine was taught, with ſome inconſiderable variations, by CHRYSOSTOM MAGNENUS [b], profeſſor of medicine in the univerſity of Pavia, who, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſix, publiſhed "A treatiſe on the Life and Philoſophy of Democritus [c]." His ſyſtem is rendered obſcure by an attempt to unite the incompatible dogmas of Epicurus and Ariſtotle.

The ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful attempt towards the revival of the phyſical and moral philoſophy of Epicurus was made by PETER GASSENDI [d], who deſervedly holds an eminent place among the philoſophers of the laſt century. He was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, near Digne, in Provence, and ſtudied firſt at Digne, and afterwards at Aix, where, at the age of ſixteen, he was appointed teacher of rhetoric, and at nineteen, profeſſor of philoſophy. Although the authority of Ariſtotle was ſtill

[a] Ejus Hypomnemat. Phyſ. l. iii. c. 1. p. 86. Ed. 1638.

[b] Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. ii. c. 27.

[c] Lugd. Bat. 1648. Hag. Com. 1658.

[d] Sorbiere de Vit. Gaſſ. Præf. Synt. Phil. Epic. Blount. p. 965. Bayle.

acknowledged

acknowledged in almoſt all public ſchools, Gaſſendi, after the example of Vives, Ramus, and others, ventured publicly, to expoſe the defects of his ſyſtem. The lectures which contained his cenſures of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, delivered in the indirect form of paradoxical problems, were publiſhed under the title of *Exercitationes paradoxicæ adverſus Ariſtotelem*[a], "Paradoxical Exerciſes againſt Ariſtotle." This work, at the ſame time that it gave great offence to thoſe who ſtill retained their predilection for Scholaſtic ſubtlety, obtained the author no ſmall degree of reputation with ſeveral learned men, particularly with Nicolas Piereſc, the preſident of the univerſity at Aix, through whoſe intereſt Gaſſendi was admitted to the degree of doctor of divinity, and created a canon of the church of Digne. A ſecond volume of this work was afterwards publiſhed, the immediate deſign of which was to expoſe the futility of the Ariſtotelian logic. It was his firſt intention to purſue the plan ſtill further, but the violent oppoſition which he met with from the zealous and powerful advocates for the authority of Ariſtotle, induced him to deſiſt from all direct attacks upon his philoſophy. He ſtill, however, profeſſed his attachment to the ſyſtem of Epicurus, and defended it with great learning and ability.

In order to extend his acquaintance with the learned, Gaſſendi viſited Holland, where his philoſophical and literary merit ſoon procured him many admirers and friends: he formed an intimacy with the learned Merſenus, and wrote an elegant and judicious apology for him in reply to the cenſures of Robert Fludd, on the ſubject of the Moſaic philoſophy. On his return to France, he was, through the intereſt of Cardinal Richlieu's brother, appointed Regius Profeſſor of mathematics at Paris. In this univerſity he alſo read lectures on aſtronomy, a ſcience which he had ſtudied from his earlieſt years. In this ſituation Gaſſendi acquired great popularity, and roſe to high expectations; but after a few years, the fatigues of his office brought an inflammation upon his lungs, which obliged him to leave Paris, and return to Digne. Here he obtained ſome relief, and came back to Paris; but his complaint ſhortly re-

[a] Amſt. 1649. Hag. Comet. 1656. 8°.

turned, and he died in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-five. Just before he expired, he laid his hand upon his heart, and remarking the feeble state of its pulsation, he said to his attendant, "See how frail is the life of man!"

The sound judgment, extensive reading, and capacious memory of Gassendi, qualified him to attain great distinction among philosophers. He is ranked by Barrow among the most eminent mathematicians of the age, and mentioned with Galileo, Gilbert, and Des Cartes. His commentary on the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius is a sufficient proof of his erudition. With uncommon abilities for the task, he undertook to frame from Lucretius, Laertius, and other antient writers, a consistent scheme of Epicurean doctrine, in which the phænomena of nature are immediately derived from the motion of primary atoms. But he was aware of the fundamental defect of this system, and added to it the important doctrine of a Divine Superintending Mind, from whom he conceived the first motion and subsequent arrangement of atoms to have been derived, and whom he regarded as the wise Governor of the world. Gassendi strenuously maintained the Atomic doctrine in opposition to the fictions of the Cartesian philosophy, which were at that time obtaining great credit; and particularly asserted, in opposition to Des Cartes, the doctrine of a Vacuum. On the subject of morals, Gassendi explained the permanent pleasure or indolence of Epicurus, in a manner perfectly consistent with the purest precepts of virtue.

Gassendi wrote many treatises, which were, after his death, collected, and published in six volumes [a], by Sorbiere. Among these, one of the most valuable is his "Life of Epicurus," in which he undertakes to rescue that philosopher from the load of calumny under which his memory had for many ages lain, as well as to give a fair and impartial representation of his doctrine.

The most celebrated followers of Gassendi were FRANCIS BERNIER [b], a physician of Montpelier, who, besides his "Travels into

[a] Lugd. 1658. [b] Budd. Hist. Ph. p. 376. Morhoff. t. ii. p. 273.

the East," wrote an "Abridgment of Gassendi's philosophy[a];" and WALTER CHARLTON, an Englishman, who wrote a treatise entitled *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charletoniana*[b], in which he attempts to establish natural science upon atomic principles. A similar treatise was published by G. B. DE SANCTO ROMANO, a physician at Paris, under the title of *Physica à Scholasticis Tricis liberata*[c], "Physics rescued from Scholastic Jargon."

The doctrine of atoms and a vacuum has been embraced by the most eminent modern philosophers. Hugyens applies it to explain the cause of gravitation, and Newton admits it into his theory of natural philosophy *.

[a] Par. 1678. [b] Lond. 1654. [c] Lugd. Bat. 1684. 12°.

* Vidend. Mercklin. Linden. Renov. p. 554. Lettre critique et historique de la Vie Gassendi, Par. 1737. 12°. Desselii Bibl. Belg. Miræus de Scr. Sec. xvi. c. 237. Simon. Bibl. crit. P. iv. p. 100. Stoll. Hist. Lit. P. ii. c. 2. § 48. Gerard. de Uries. Diss. de Gassend. Traj. ad Rhen. 1691. Regnaut Entretiens d'Ariste et Eudoxe. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 829.

BOOK IX.

OF MODERN PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED NEW METHODS OF PHILOSOPHISING.

CHAP. I.

OF MODERN SCEPTICS.

FROM the firſt revival of letters, the philoſophical world was, as we have ſeen, almoſt entirely occupied in reſtoring the Sectarian philoſophy of the antients. Learned men were either too diffident of their talents to ſuppoſe themſelves capable of any new diſcoveries, too indolent to attempt them, or too much prejudiced in favour of antiquity to ſuppoſe it poſſible that any improvement could be made upon Grecian wiſdom. During the courſe of ſeveral centuries, only a few enterpriſing or eccentric geniuſes aroſe, who ventured to diſengage themſelves from the yoke of authority, and preſumed to think it poſſible, that with the ſame natural faculties which the antients enjoyed, and with the example before them both of their ſucceſſes and failures, new and important advances might be made in knowledge. Of theſe, ſome, availing themſelves of all that was valuable in the ſtores of antient philoſophy, and at the ſame

time exerting their own talents with a happy union of freedom and caution, made important improvements in philoſophy. Whilſt others, either on the one ſide through an exceſſive confidence in the powers of the human mind, or on the other through too much diſtruſt of their weakneſs, forſook the ſtrait path of rational enquiry, and loſt themſelves in the mazes of ſcepticiſm or enthuſiaſm. Vanity has inclined ſome to contradict every deciſion of philoſophy, and haſtily to conclude the objections againſt received opinions, which their fertile imaginations have ſuggeſted, to be unanſwerable; and it has prompted others to make high pretenſions to divine illumination, and to forſake plain and ſimple truth in the ſearch of the obſcurities of myſticiſm. On the contrary, a timid, indolent, or volatile temper has often diſpoſed men to prefer the eaſy taſk of raiſing difficulties and cavils, to the more laborious undertaking of inveſtigating truth by a continued courſe of patient ſtudy. And the ſame temper, united with a gloomy caſt of imagination, has led many to miſtake the dreams of myſticiſm for divine wiſdom. From theſe fountains have ariſen the two principal errors of the human underſtanding, ſcepticiſm and enthuſiaſm.

Modern ſcepticiſm differs in many reſpects from antient pyrrhoniſm, and appears in ſeveral different forms. Some writers have wholly denied the power of the human underſtanding to inveſtigate truth; and, with the antient Pyrrhoniſts, have attempted to bring into diſcredit both the principles, and the method of reaſoning, which have been commonly employed in the purſuit of knowledge. Others have buſied themſelves in ſtarting doubts and difficulties on particular topics of enquiry, and endeavoured to involve every ſubject in uncertainty. Whilſt others, more cautious than the reſt, have made uſe of the weapons of ſcepticiſm againſt the hypothetical method of inveſtigating truth, for the general purpoſe of curbing the arrogance of dogmatiſm, or with the particular deſign of turning the ſtudy of nature out of the channel of conjecture into that of experiment. In theology, ſcepticiſm is ſometimes labouring, on the one hand, to overturn the ſacred edifice of divine revelation, and ſometimes, on the other, to ſupport the intereſt of ſuperſtition, or of fanaticiſm, by declaiming

declaiming on the imbecility of human reaſon. Though our limits will not permit us to relate at full length the hiſtory of modern ſcepticiſm [a], we cannot, conſiſtently with our plan, omit to mention ſome of the more celebrated Sceptics who have appeared ſince the revival of letters.

FRANCIS SANCHEZ [b], a Portugueſe phyſician, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, after having ſtudied in France and Italy, became a preceptor in philoſophy in the college of Thoulouſe. According to the eſtabliſhed law of the college, he lectured upon Peripatetic principles; but his penetrating genius, ſuperior to vuglar prejudices, could not ſatisfy itſelf with a kind of philoſophy replete with vague opinions, and rather fitted to obſtruct than facilitate the purſuit of knowledge. The fate of Peter Ramus, who, about this time, fell a victim to the reſentment of the Ariſtotelians, prevented him, however, from hazarding a direct attack upon their ſyſtem; and he determined to take the more general ground of ſcepticiſm, in oppoſition to dogmatiſts of every ſect. In a work, *De multum nobili et prima univerſali Scientia, quod nihil ſcitur* [c], "On the very excellent and firſt univerſal Science, that nothing is known," he reprobates the confidence of thoſe philoſophers who advance, as indubitable and fundamental truths, ſuch principles as are in their nature exceedingly doubtful. This treatiſe, which was chiefly intended as an attack upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy, but extends its hoſtilities even to the foundations of ſcience, diſcovers much learning and ingenuity.

With different views was the cauſe of Scepticiſm eſpouſed by JEROM HERNHAYM, a learned abbot of Prague, who wrote a book *De Typho Generis Humani* [d], "On the vain Glory of Human Nature," in which he endeavours to expoſe the preſumption, uncertainty, and falſhood of human ſcience; a work, as the

[a] Fabric. Syllab. Scr. de Ver. Rel. Chr. c. 23. Merſen. de Scepticiſmo.
[b] Raymund. Delaſſ. Præf. Op. N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. p. 262. Bayle.
[c] Frankf. 1618. Rotterd. 1649. [d] Prague, 1676. 4to.

author professes, written for the relief of the unlearned, and for the admonition of the learned. The evident design of this writer was to depreciate human learning as inimical to divine wisdom, and to recommend an indolent life as the only way to attain perfection and felicity. As the most effectual cure of philosophical vanity, he endeavours to prove, that all the vices of mankind are to be ultimately traced up to human science. He maintains the absolute imbecility of the human understanding, and the uncertainty of all information from the senses, and ascribes every appearance of wisdom among men to supernatural divine illuminations. The scepticism of this writer appears to have been the effect of perverted piety, and may serve to prove, that religion itself is no sure guide to men who disclaim the use and authority of reason.

Scepticism found a much more able and elegant advocate in FRANCIS VAYER DE LA MOTHE[a], justly reckoned one of the most learned men of his age. He was born at Paris, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-six. His literary merit recommended him to the attention of the great, and he was appointed preceptor to the Dauphin in one thousand six hundred and fifty-two. He enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated French ministers, the Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin. He lived to the age of eighty-six. In the writings of Vayer are found an elegance of genius, and extent of reading, which has obtained him the appellation of the modern Plutarch. Of his numerous works, those which chiefly mark his sceptical turn are, his treatise "On the Philosophy of the Heathens," in which he treats of the uncertainty of the senses; and his "Five Dialogues," under the name of *Oratius Tubero*, in which he applauds the Sceptic philosophy. To these were afterwards added four other dialogues, which breathe the same spirit. Vayer was an avowed advocate for scepticism in every branch of science; and though, like many other writers of the same school, he professed great reverence for the authority of the church, and inferred the necessity of revelation from the uncertainty of all human knowledge,

[a] Pellisson. Hist. de l' Ac. Fr. p. 234. Bayle. Boileau, Sat. iv.

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he neverthelefs fell under the cenfure of impiety. Among his difciples were SORBIERE, who tranflated part of Sextus Empiricus into French; and FOUCHIER, who wrote a "Hiftory of the Academic philofophy[a]."

Another celebrated defender of Scepticifm was PETER DANIEL HUET[b], born of an illuftrious family at Caen, in the year one thoufand fix hundred and thirty. After paffing through the ufual courfe of juvenile learning, in which he difcovered no inconfiderable talent for poetry, he applied with great diligence to the ftudy of mathematics and philofophy under a jefuit, Peter Mambrun. The Cartefian philofophy being now generally received, Huet eagerly embraced it, and for feveral years continued zealoufly attached to this new fyftem. At a more mature age, however, when he came to examine its foundations more accurately, he faw reafon to abandon it as a vifionary fabric. At the age of feventeen, in order to qualify himfelf for the ftudy of antiquity, the defire of which was excited by reading *Geographia facra*, the "Sacred Geography" of the learned Bochart, whofe perfonal friendfhip he enjoyed, the ftudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages became the principal object of his attention. In the univerfity of Paris, to which he removed about the age of twenty, he devoted himfelf almoft entirely to fociety, and formed an intimate acquaintance with many learned men, among whom were Petau, Labbe, Coffart, Vavaffor, and Rapin. With Petau, in particular, he paffed much of his time. He was a great admirer of the fplendour of his diction, and the variety of his erudition; but he confeffes, that in weighing the arguments which he offered in fupport of his dogmas, he perceived in them a degree of weaknefs and ambiguity, which obliged him to fufpend his affent, and inclined him towards fcepticifm. Naturally excelling rather in genius than in judgment, and the vigour of his underftanding having been rather repreffed than improved by an immenfe variety of reading, Huet found his mind too feeble to

[a] Op. Ed. Sex Tomis, Par. 1669.

[b] Huet. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus, Ed. 1718. Hag. Niceron. Mem. t. 1.

maſter the difficulties of metaphyſical and theological ſtudies, and concluded, that his want of ſucceſs in the ſearch after truth was owing, not to any peculiar infelicity in his own caſe, but to the general imbecility of the human mind.

With this bias towards ſcepticiſm Huet entered upon his travels. His friend Bochart having, through the recommendation of Iſaac Voſſius, been invited by that celebrated patroneſs of learning, Chriſtina, daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, Huet accompanied him. On their way, they paſſed through Holland and Denmark, and became acquainted with the moſt celebrated ſcholars of theſe countries. The queen, upon their arrival, received them with every mark of attention. Huet, during his ſtay in Stockholm, was uſually occupied in examining the antient manuſcripts in the royal library, and made ſuch uſe of his time, as proved very advantageous to the learned world. He copied certain commentaries of Origen, which he afterwards publiſhed and illuſtrated with excellent notes, explaining the hiſtory and opinions of that celebrated father. Having viſited on his way ſeveral ſeminaries of learning, he returned to Caen, where he remained for a time, and after completing his *Originenia*, wrote his dialogue *De Interpretatione et claris Interpretibus*, "On Tranſlations and famous Tranſlators," which was well received in the learned world. Here he alſo inſtituted a ſociety for the improvement of natural philoſophy and anatomy, which, through the intereſt of Colbert, was liberally endowed by the king, for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of philoſophical experiments and anatomical diſſections. About this time Huet formed a friendſhip with Cormis, preſident of the ſenate of Aix, who came to reſide at Caen. This new intimacy very much contributed to confirm Huet in his propenſity towards ſcepticiſm. For Cormiſſus, who was well read in antient philoſophy, was a great admirer of the Pyrrhonic ſect, and earneſtly recommended to his friend the ſtudy of Pyrrhoniſm in the inſtitutes of Sextus Empiricus.

The literary reputation of Huet procured him the notice of Louis the Fourteenth, who, by the advice of Colbert, appointed him, together with Boſſuet, preceptor to the Dauphin. Upon this he removed

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to Paris, where the labours of his new office did not prevent him from prosecuting his private studies. It was in this situation that he wrote his celebrated defence of the Christian religion, entitled *Demonstratio Evangelica*, "A Demonstration of the Truth of Christianity," in which he undertakes to exhibit the evidences of Christianity in a geometrical form; a work, which indeed discovers great erudition, but in which the judicious reader will perceive, that the writer was more desirous to display his learning, than to establish the Christian faith upon rational grounds. In his preface to this work, he maintains at large the uncertainty of all human knowledge, whether derived from the senses or from reason, and declares it as his opinion, that those methods of philosophising which lead to a suspension of judgment are by no means hostile to Christianity, but serve to prepare the mind for an implicit submission to divine revelation, which it is in vain to attempt to establish by argumentation without the grace of God. Accordingly he professes to write his "Demonstration," merely as an extraneous and adventitious support to faith, by means of which the mind may be more easily inclined to submit itself to the authority of Christ.

After having passed ten years at court, Huet, at the age of forty-five, retired into monastic life, and was chosen abbot of the monastery of Alnet. In this tranquil retreat he prosecuted the design he had long formed of defending the Sceptic philosophy, and wrote a work entitled *Questiones Alnetanæ*[a], "Alnetane Queries," in which he endeavours to fix the respective limits of reason and faith, and maintains, that the dogmas and precepts of each have no alliance, and that there is nothing, however contradictory to common sense, or to good morals, which has not been received, and which we may not be bound to receive, as a dictate of faith. He honestly confesses, that he wrote this work to establish the authority of tradition against the empire of reason. On the same principle, and with no better success, he attempted to refute the principles of the Cartesian

[a] Ed. Lips. 1719. 4to.

philoſophy, in his *Cenſura Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ* [a], "Cenſure of the Carteſian Philoſophy;" he alſo wrote a treatiſe, *De Fabulis Romanenſibus* [b], "On Romance;" and another, *De Navigationibus Solomonis*, "On the Voyages of Solomon," which obtained him much applauſe among the learned.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two, Huet was advanced to the epiſcopal ſee of Avranches; but after a few years he reſigned this honour, and retired to the abbey of Fontenay. He ſpent his laſt days in the Jeſuit's college at Paris, and left his valuable library as a legacy to their ſociety. He died in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one. After his death appeared minutes of his life, under the title of *Commentarium de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, "A Commentary on his own Affairs," written by himſelf in his old age, and "A Diſſertation on the Weakneſs of the Human Underſtanding," in which the ſceptical ſpirit, which followed Huet through every change of ſituation, appears in its full vigour. Of this work, which was originally written in French, the author left behind him a Latin tranſlation. Little is done in this treatiſe more than to exhibit the chief heads of the ſceptic philoſophy, as given by Sextus Empiricus, and to collect from the hiſtory of philoſophy ſuch particulars as might ſeem to recommend the Pyrrhonic method of philoſophiſing, and prove the inſufficiency of the human mind to arrive at the knowledge of truth.

On the whole, though it cannot be queſtioned that Huet, on account of his great learning and fertile genius, may juſtly claim to have his name preſerved with honour in the republic of letters, ſeveral circumſtances muſt prevent us from ranking him among the firſt philoſophers of the ſeventeenth century. Better qualified to accumulate teſtimonies than to inveſtigate truth, and more diſpoſed to raiſe difficulties than to ſolve them, he was an injudicious advocate for a good cauſe. If we are not very much miſtaken, Huet did not ſtrictly adhere to the Scholaſtic art of reaſoning which he had learned in the ſchools of the Jeſuits; otherwiſe, he muſt have ſeen, that

[a] Paris, 1670. [b] Par. 1694.

there can be no room for faith, or for, what he artfully conceals under that name, the authority of the church, if every criterion of truth be rejected, and human reaſon be pronounced a blind and fallacious guide.

Not inferior to Huet in learning, and much his ſuperior in ſtrength of judgment, and keenneſs of wit, was PETER BAYLE[a], juſtly reckoned one of the moſt powerful advocates for Pyrrhoniſm. He was born at Carlat in Foix, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven. His father was a member of the reformed church, and inſtructed him in the Greek and Latin languages, and in other branches of learning, till he was nineteen years of age, when he entered upon his academic ſtudies in the Jeſuit's college at Thoulouſe. So inſatiable was his thirſt for knowledge, that by inceſſant application he impaired his conſtitution, and was twice in danger of loſing his life; notwithſtanding which, with the return of health, his love of ſtudy returned, and he read with great avidity authors both antient and modern in every branch of learning. Among the antients his principal favourite was Plutarch; among the moderns, Montaigne; and from theſe writers he probably derived his firſt bias towards ſcepticiſm. About the age of twenty he engaged in the ſtudy of logic, and afterwards expreſſed his regret that he had not ſooner made himſelf maſter of this art. One of his college companions, a Romiſh prieſt, obſerving the unſettled ſtate of his mind, prevailed upon him to ſubmit his judgment to the authority of the church; and not without much ſurprize and regret on the part of his friends, he made a public profeſſion of the Catholic faith. Not long afterwards, however, he was induced by the arguments and perſuaſions of his brother, a Proteſtant eccleſiaſtic, to recant his precipitate converſion, and return to the profeſſion of the reformed religion. As apoſtacy from the Catholic faith was at that time a capital offence in France, Bayle found it neceſſary to leave the kingdom, and in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, retired to Geneva. Here he ſtudied the Carteſian philoſophy, and ſaw reaſon to adopt

[a] Vit. a Des Maizeaux. Baſnag. Reueſt. Maſſon. Limier. Niceron. Conf. Epiſt. et Diction.

it in preference to the barren ſubtleties of the Scholaſtic doctrine, which he had learned in the ſchools of the Jeſuits; ſtill, however, retaining that freedom of thought, which led him, with Horace, to examine all ſects, but adhere tenaciouſly to none.

Through the interceſſion of his friends, Bayle, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-five, obtained permiſſion to viſit Paris, where the ſociety of the moſt learned men, and the uſe of the beſt libraries, enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies with great advantage. Through the intereſt of Baſnage, who was his intimate friend, he obtained the philoſophical chair in the univerſity of Paris, and, within two years from that time, wrote a ſyſtem of philoſophy for the uſe of his pupils. In this ſituation he entered into a controverſy with Poiret, on the ſubject of his treatiſe, entitled *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo,* "Rational Thoughts on God, the Soul, and Evil." Whilſt Poiret continued a Carteſian, he treated his antagoniſt with temper; but when he became a Myſtic, he inveighed againſt him with the utmoſt rancour. In one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty, Bayle engaged in a diſpute with Valeſius, a Jeſuit, on the Carteſian notion of Extenſion, in which he oppoſed, with great ingenuity, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

The ſevere perſecution which at this time fell upon all Proteſtants in France, obliged Bayle, with many other learned men, to leave the country and ſettle in Holland. At the entreaty of one of his former pupils, he made choice of Rotterdam as his place of reſidence, where, with Jurieu, he founded a new ſchool. He now publiſhed a treatiſe, which, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one, he had written, but could not obtain licence to print at Paris, his "Thoughts on Comets;" a work replete with various learning, and well adapted to expoſe the folly of ſuperſtition. This was ſucceeded by a "Critical Diſſertation on Maimburg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm;" in which the author employs the Carteſian weapons againſt the Romiſh church. Although the work was ſo well written, that the Prince of Condé confeſſed himſelf delighted with it, and even Maimburg acknowledged it to be an excellent book, it was ordered

ordered to be publicly burnt at Paris. Neverthelefs it had many readers and admirers.

The reputation which Bayle had now acquired as a writer, encouraged him to undertake a literary journal, under the title of *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, "Intelligence from the Republic of Letters," in which he undertook to review the moft important new publications. He did not content himfelf, in this work, with a barren detail of contents, but freely paffed his judgment upon the merit of authors, and often illuftrated the fubject on which they treated by original obfervations. This work, which was begun in one thoufand fix hundred and eighty-four, is juftly efteemed one of the moft valuable literary journals extant. It was afterwards continued by Bafnage under the title of *Hiftoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, "The Hiftory of the Works of the Learned." In a metaphyfical difpute which arofe in France, between Arnaud and Mallebranche, on Pleafure, Bayle defended Mallebranche. He wrote a treatife on toleration, entitled "A Philofophical Commentary on the Words of Chrift, Compel them to come in," in which he defended the caufe of the Proteftants with great eloquence, but with fo much freedom as to offend the more orthodox of the Proteftants themfelves, and among the reft his friend and colleague Jurieu, with whom he had a long and fevere conteft. To confole himfelf under the vexations which he experienced from this and other caufes, Bayle undertook the defign of writing "An Hiftorical and Critical Dictionary;" a work which he lived to complete, and which remains as the chief monument of his learning, genius, and wit, and an indifputable proof of his propenfity towards Scepticifm. The two firft volumes of this work appeared in the year one thoufand fix hundred and ninety-feven, and, contrary to the author's ufual manner, they were publifhed with his name. This work contains innumerable illuftrations of the hiftory of philofophy, both antient and modern; and treats many difficult points with the hand of a bold and able critic. But the author is juftly cenfured for indulging a degree of latitude, inconfiftent with good morals and decency. In the fecond edition of this work, publifhed in one thoufand feven hundred

dred and two, the author ſent it forth *chaſtiſed*, amended, and enlarged. It was publiſhed in Engliſh by P. de la Roche, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and nine. Bayle's ſceptical ſpirit further appears in a controverſy which he held towards the cloſe of his life with Le Clerc, and others, on the doctrine advanced by Cudworth, of "Plaſtic Nature," and "On the Origin of Evil," and "On the Manichæan Syſtem." The principal works, in which theſe controverſies are carried on, are *Reſponſiones ad Provincialem quendam*, "Anſwers to a certain Provincial;" and *Entretiens de Maxime et Themiſte*, "Dialogues of Maximus and Themiſtius." In the midſt of theſe conteſts and labours Bayle died, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix.

Every impartial judge will acknowledge that Bayle was a man of ſtrong judgment, lively imagination, ready invention, and extenſive learning. His friends extol him, too, for many perſonal virtues. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that his writings betray a mind impreſſed with little reverence for religion, and tend to foſter that kind of ſcepticiſm which is moſt pernicious.

Upon a compariſon of the writings of modern Sceptics, it will appear, that they have adopted this method of philoſophiſing upon very different grounds, and for very different purpoſes: but in whatever form ſcepticiſm appears, or from whatever cauſe it ſprings, it may be confidently pronounced hoſtile to true philoſophy; for its obvious tendency is to invalidate every principle of human knowledge, to deſtroy every criterion of truth, and to undermine the foundations of all ſcience, human and divine.

* Vidend. Ulric. Wild. Diſſ. quod aliquid ſciatur. Lipſ. 1664. Marville Melanges de Lit. t. ii. p. 328. Croix du Maine Bibl. de France, p. 84. Budd. Iſagog. l. i. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. xv. p. 330. Crouſaz. Examen Pyrrhoniſmi.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS.

IF philoſophy has its Scylla of Scepticiſm, it has alſo its Charybdis of Credulity. Whilſt ſome, in ſhaking off the antient prejudice in favour of the Grecian dogmatiſts fell into the pernicious error of rejecting at once the authority both of reaſon and revelation, others were of opinion, that the only remedy for the weakneſs of the human underſtanding was to have recourſe to divine revelation for all philoſophical, as well as theological knowledge. Deſpiſing the light of reaſon, as a dim taper, wholly incapable of diſcovering the path of truth, theſe philoſophers have confounded reaſon and revelation, two ſources of knowledge, which though they proceed from the ſame Author, have their diſtinct limits and uſes. Among thoſe who have choſen this method of philoſophiſing, ſome have profeſſed to confine themſelves to the literal meaning of ſcripture, and undertaken to derive a ſyſtem of phyſics from the writings of Moſes, and from other parts of the Sacred Volumes; and others, diſdaining to employ reaſon, even as a handmaid to revelation, have pretended to derive their knowledge of philoſophy from immediate inſpiration; and, neglecting the literal ſenſe of ſcripture have, by the help of allegory, adapted its language to their enthuſiaſtic notions. The former may be called Scriptural Philosophers, the latter Theosophists.

In the claſs of Scriptural Philosophers we do not mean to include thoſe, who have applied the Sectarian philoſophy to the explanation of ſcripture, or the illuſtration of its doctrine, which was done very ſucceſsfully, both in logic and phyſics, by Alſted, Glaſs, Valeſius, Bochart and others [a]; nor thoſe who have endeavoured to

[a] Kahl. Bibl. Phil. c. 7. § 7.

ſhew the agreement of their ſyſtem of philoſophy, or of the general principles of reaſon, and the natural law of morality, with the doctrine of ſcripture. Under the appellation of Scriptural philoſophers we only mean to comprehend thoſe who, after the example of Philo, and all the Jewiſh cabbaliſts, as well as many of the Chriſtian fathers, have ſuppoſed all philoſophy to be derived from divine revelation, and who, deſpairing of being able to arrive at any true knowledge of nature, by the light of reaſon, have had recourſe to the ſacred oracles, and particularly to the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, and endeavoured upon this foundation to raiſe a new ſtructure of philoſophy. From a great multitude of writers who have purſued this track, many of them with little reputation to themſelves or benefit to ſcience, it may ſuffice to ſelect a few, who have been more diſtinguiſhed than the reſt for their learning or ability.

The firſt writer of this claſs, who deſerves diſtinct mention, is Otto Casman[a], preſident of the college of Stade, who flouriſhed about the cloſe of the ſixteenth century. He was diſſatisfied with the unprofitable ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and determined, in the ſtudy of nature, rather to rely upon the deciſion of the ſacred writings, than upon the doctrine of the antient Heathen philoſophers. Even in his explanation of ſcripture he refuſed to call in the aſſiſtance of philoſophical rules of interpretation. In a work entitled *Coſmopœia*, "On the Formation of the World," he derives his phyſical doctrine from the ſcriptures; and in his *Modeſta Aſſertio Philoſophiæ et Chriſtianæ et Veræ*[b], "Modeſt Aſſertion of true and Chriſtian Philoſophy," he profeſſes to write Chriſtian Inſtitutes of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, &c. With Caſman may be joined Henry Alsted[c], profeſſor of divinity at Alba-Julia till one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight, when he died, in his fiftieth year. In his *Encyclopedia Biblica*[d], he undertakes to deduce the elements of philoſophy, juriſprudence, and medicine from the ſacred ſcriptures; a work which ſhews more good intention, than

[a] Budd. Intr. ad Hiſt. Phil. Heb. § 36. [b] Francof. 1601. 8vo.
[c] Baillet Jugemens des Savans, t. ii. p. 328. Reimm. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 185.
[d] Francof. 1625. 8vo.

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ſound judgment. Theſe writers have treated the books of the ſacred ſcripture as ſome antient critics treated Homer, who, whilſt they pretended to find in him every kind of ſcience and wiſdom, ſuffered the true meaning and ſpirit of his poems to eſcape their attention. The *Philoſophia Moſaica*, "Moſaic Philoſophy," of Pfeiffer is liable to the ſame cenſure.

What theſe writers attempted with reſpect to philoſophy in general others undertook, but with no better ſucceſs, in particular branches of ſcience. CONRAD ASLACH, of Bergen, in Norway, after having been inſtructed in the family of the celebrated aſtronomer Tycho Brahe, and viſited many of the principal ſchools of Europe, was, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, made profeſſor of philoſophy and theology in the univerſity of Copenhagen, and was the author of "A Syſtem of Chriſtian Ethics and Phyſics." LAMBERTUS DANÆUS, a celebrated Proteſtant divine, who was a profeſſor of theology at Geneva, wrote a treatiſe of the ſame kind, entitled *Phyſica Chriſtiana*, "Chriſtian Phyſics." A Scriptural Syſtem of Politics was alſo written by SCRIBANUS; and of Natural Law, by VALENTINE ALBERT: writers, whoſe works are more calculated to confound than to diſcover truth.

Among the ſcriptural philoſophers muſt alſo be reckoned thoſe who have written Moſaic Coſmogonies, or attempted to give a philoſophical explanation of the origin of the world, on the ground of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation. Of theſe the two principal are Dickinſon and Burnet.

EDMUND DICKINSON, an Engliſh phyſician, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four, wrote a treatiſe *De Phyſica veteri et vera*, "On true and antient Phyſics [a];" in which he attempts, from the ſcriptural account of the creation, to explain the manner in which the world was formed. Aſſuming, as the ground of his theory, the Atomic doctrine, and the exiſtence of an Immaterial Cauſe of the concourſe of indiviſible atoms, he ſuppoſes the particles of matter agitated by a double motion; one gentle and tranſverſe, of

[a] Lond. 1702. 4to.

the particles among themſelves, whence elementary corpuſcles are formed; the other circular, by which the whole maſs is revolved, and the regions of heaven and earth are produced. By the motion of the elementary corpuſcles of different magnitude and form, he ſuppoſes the different bodies of nature to have been produced, and attempts, upon this plan, to deſcribe the proceſs of creation through each of the Six Days. He explains at large the formation of human nature, ſhewing in what manner, by means of a plaſtic ſeminal virtue, man became an animated being. The theory, though founded upon conjecture, and loaded with unphiloſophical fictions, the author not only pretends to derive from the Moſaic narrative, but maintains to have been conſonant to the moſt antient Hebrew traditions. The uſe which this Theoriſt makes of the doctrine of atoms, ſhews him to have been wholly unacquainted with the true notion of the antients on this ſubject! and indeed the whole work ſeems to have been the offspring of a confuſed imagination, rather than of a ſound judgment.

The ſame deſign was undertaken and executed with much more learning and ability, by Thomas Burnet [a], born in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five, and educated at Cambridge, under Cudworth, and other followers of the Platonic philoſophy. Burnet ſoon diſcovered, that whatever praiſe might be due to Plato in theology and morals, he was a very inſufficient guide in phyſics and coſmology. During the courſe of a literary tour through France, Italy, Holland, and part of Germany, he formed the deſign of delineating the ſyſtem of the world according to the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation and deluge, and upon his return wrote in Latin the firſt part of his Theory of the Earth. The novelty of his ideas, and the perſpicuity and elegance of his ſtyle, recommended his work to the attention of the learned; and he obtained ſuch a degree of literary reputation, that in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four, he was appointed by Charles the Second, maſter of the Charter-houſe, with a ſplendid endowment. Here he employed his firſt leiſure in completing his Theory; the ſecond part of which

[a] Acta Phil. vol. iii. p. 434.

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was dedicated to William the Third; and in writing his *Archælogia Philosophica*, "Philosophical Antiquities," a work replete with learning, and abounding with judicious observations. It must, however, be confessed that Burnet's partiality to his theory led him to find in the antient theogonies, and in the physical doctrine of the antient philosophers, things which others have not discovered. His singular opinions concerning the origin of the world, the fall, the deluge, and other subjects, brought upon him the charge of heresy, and involved him in troublesome controversies. He lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he committed to the flames all the manuscripts which he had drawn up for the press, except two treatises, *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium*, "On the State of the Dead, and of the Resurrection," and *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*, "On the Faith and Duties of Christians;" of which only a few copies were at first printed for the use of his friends.

The Mosaic cosmogony Burnet thus explains. Between the beginning and end of the world he supposes several intermediate periods, in which he conceives that nature undergoes various changes. Those which respect this terraqueous globe, he believes to have been recorded in the sacred scriptures. From these, compared with profane history, he attempts to prove, that the primæval earth, as it rose out of chaos, was of a different form and structure from the present, and was such, that from its dissolution would naturally arise an universal deluge. Such a change in the state of the globe he infers from the general aspect of its surface in the present day; and he argues, that since it is the nature of fluids to form a smooth surface, the earth, which was at first a chaotic mass in a fluid state, as it gradually became solid by the exhalation of the lighter particles of air and water, would still retain its regular superficies, so that the new earth would resemble an egg. The earth, in this paradisaical state, he supposes to be capable of sending forth its vegetable productions without rain, and to enjoy a perpetually serene and cloudless atmosphere. In process of time, he conceived that the surface of the earth, by the continual action of the rays of the sun, would become so parched, as to occasion vast fissures, through which

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the waters of the great abyſs, contained within the bowels of the earth, would be ſent forth by means of elaſtic vapours, expanded by heat, and acting with irreſiſtible force upon their ſurface; whence a univerſal deluge would enſue, and in the violent concuſſion, lofty mountains, craggy rocks, and other varieties in the external form of the earth, would appear. Our Theoriſt alſo conjectures, that the earth, in its original ſtate, owed its univerſal ſpring to the coincidence of the plane of the ecliptic with that of the equator; and ſuppoſes that, at the deluge, the pole of the ecliptic changed its poſition, and became oblique to the plane of the equator. From ſimilar cauſes he conceives, that the final conflagration will be produced. This theory is well imagined, ſupported with much erudition, and deſcribed with great elegance of diction: but it can only be conſidered as an ingenious fiction, which reſts upon no other foundation than mere conjecture. WHISTON[a], CLUVERIUS[b], and others, have alſo, upon the ground of the Moſaic coſmogony, formed theories of the earth: but theſe Philoſophical Romances have contributed little towards the improvement of knowledge.

Another writer who claims a place among the Scriptural philoſophers is JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS[c], a native of Moravia, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, the author of a celebrated and uſeful grammatical work, entitled *Janua Linguarum*, "The Porch of Languages." His proteſtant principles (for he was a miniſter of the reformed church, firſt in his native country, and afterwards in Poland) led him to enquire freely into the grounds of opinions both philoſophical and theological; and he ſoon diſcovered the futility of the Peripatetic philoſophy, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſubſtitute ſomething better in its ſtead. Taking Senſe, Reaſon, and Scripture for his guides, he framed a ſyſtem of phyſics, which he entitled, *Synopſis phyſica ad Lumen divinum reformata*, "A Synopſis of Phyſics reformed according to Divine Light." Comenius ſuppoſes three principles of nature, matter, ſpirit, and light; the firſt a dark, inactive, corporeal ſubſtance, which receives forms; the ſecond,

[a] A new Theory of the Earth. Lond. 1698.

[b] Geologia. Hamb. 1700. 4to.

[c] Bayle. Præf. Op. Didact.

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the ſubtle, living, inviſible ſubſtance, which animates material bodies; the third, a middle ſubſtance between the two former, lucid, viſible, moveable, capable of penetrating matter, which is the inſtrument by which ſpirit acts upon matter, and which performs its office by means of motion, agitation, or vibration. Of theſe three principles he conceived all created beings to be compoſed. This doctrine he attempts to derive from the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation; but the Scholaſtic fictions which men of this caſt aſcribe to Moſes, Moſes himſelf would probably never have owned.

The ſame track was purſued by JOANNES BAYER [a], an Hungarian divine, who flouriſhed about the middle of the laſt century. He adopted the three principles of Comenius, but introduced diſtinctions reſpecting each, which in ſubtlety may vie with the moſt ſubtle ſpeculations of the Scholaſtic doctors, and which it would be an unpardonable treſpaſs upon the reader's patience to detail. His work is entitled *Atrium Naturæ ichnographice delineatum* [b], "The Court of Nature ichnographically delineated."

Who does not perceive, from the particulars which have been related concerning theſe Scriptural philoſophers, that their labours, however well intended, have been of little benefit to philoſophy? Their fundamental error has conſiſted in ſuppoſing, that the ſacred ſcriptures were intended, not only to inſtruct men in all things neceſſary to their ſalvation, but to teach the true principles of phyſical and metaphyſical ſcience. Had theſe philoſophers duly conſidered that reaſon and revelation, though both from the ſame fountain, has each its proper office and end, which ought not to be confounded, they would have refrained from that miſapplication of revelation, which has led them to ingraft the fictions of their own imaginations upon the ſcriptures; a practice which has proved exceedingly injurious both to philoſophy and religion: to philoſophy, by giving more credit and authority to the conceits of fanciful men than they would otherwiſe have obtained; to religion, by encouraging writers of more imagination than judgment, to exerciſe their ingenuity

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 3. § 5. [b] Caſſov. 1662.

upon the ſcriptures, in a way which may not only expoſe themſelves, but even the ſacred writings, to ridicule *.

* Vidend. Reimann. Cat. Bib. Theol. p. i. p. 691—1108. Gundling. Hiſt. Phil. Mor. c. 7. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. ii. p. 26—31. v. iii. p. 434. Gonſalez de Salas Diſſ. Parad. de duplici viventium terra, Lugd. 1650. Abyſſinian Philoſophy confuted, Lond. 1697. Keil's Examination of Burnet's Theory, Ox. 1698. Whitby's Defence of the Moſaic Hiſtory of the Creation, Lond. 1705. Barini Mundus naſcens, Traj. 1686. Moyſes illuſtr. Amſt. 1707. Eſpagneti Compend. Phyſ. Theſes Phyſ. Comen. Berolin. 1702.

CHAP. III.

OF THE THEOSOPHISTS.

BESIDES the Scripturaliſts, there is another claſs of philoſophers who profeſs to derive their knowledge of nature from divine revelation, namely the THEOSOPHISTS. Theſe men, neither contented with the natural light of human reaſon, nor with the ſimple doctrines of ſcripture underſtood in their literal ſenſe, have recourſe to an internal ſupernatural light, ſuperior to all other illuminations, from which they profeſs to derive a myſterious and divine philoſophy, manifeſted only to the choſen favourites of heaven. They boaſt that, by means of this celeſtial light, they are not only admitted to the intimate knowledge of God, and of all divine truth, but have acceſs to the moſt ſublime ſecrets of nature. They aſcribe it to the ſingular manifeſtation of divine benevolence, that they are able to make ſuch a uſe of the element of fire, in the chemical art, as enables them to diſcover the eſſential principles of bodies, and to diſcloſe ſtupendous myſteries in the phyſical world. They even pretend to an acquaintance with thoſe celeſtial beings, which form the medium

of intercourſe between God and man, and to a power of obtaining from them, by the aid of magic, aſtrology, and other ſimilar arts, various kinds of information and aſſiſtance. This they affirm to have been the antient ſecret wiſdom, firſt revealed to the Jews under the name of the Cabbala, and tranſmitted by tradition to poſterity. Philoſophers of this claſs have no common ſyſtem; but every one follows the impulſe of his own imagination, and conſtructs an edifice of fanaticiſm for himſelf. The only thing in which they are agreed is, to abandon human reaſon, and pretend to divine illumination. The reader will eaſily perceive, that it muſt be a difficult taſk to decypher the ſyſtems of ſuch philoſophers, and will not be diſappointed if he find us unable to illuminate this region of obſcurity. In purſuit of our plan, we ſhall enumerate a few of the principal Theoſophiſts.

Many traces of the ſpirit of Theoſophiſm may be found through the whole hiſtory of philoſophy; in which nothing is more frequent, than fanatical and hypocritical pretenſions to divine illumination.

Among moderns, the firſt name which appears with diſtinction in this claſs of philoſophers is PHILIPPUS AUREOLUS THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS[a], a man of a ſtrange and paradoxical genius. He was born at Einſidlen, near Zurich, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-three. His family name, which was Bombaſtus, he afterwards changed, after the cuſtom of the age, into Paracelſus. He was inſtructed by his father, who was a phyſician, in languages and medicine. So earneſtly deſirous was he of penetrating into the myſteries of nature, that, neglecting books, he undertook long and hazardous journies through Germany, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, and Moſcovy, and probably ſeveral parts of Aſia and Africa. He not only viſited literary and learned men, but frequented the workſhops of mechanics, deſcended into mines, and thought no place mean or hazardous, if it afforded him an opportunity of increaſing his knowledge of nature. He conſulted all perſons

[a] Conf. Script. Adami Vit. Med. p. 28. 195. 321. Conring. de Med. Herm. l. ii. p. 338. Arnold, H. E. p. ii. p. 308. p. 18.

who pretended to be possessed of any secret art, particularly such as were skilled in metallurgy. Being in this manner a self-taught philosopher and physician, he despised the medical writings of the antients, and boasted that the whole contents of his library would not amount to six folios.

Rejecting the tedious method of the Galenic school, Paracelsus had recourse to new and secret medicines procured from metallic substances by the chemical art. And his bold empirical practice was in many cases attended with such wonderful success, that he rose to the summit of popular fame, and even obtained the medical chair in the city of Basil. Among other nostrums, he administered a medicine, to which he gave the name of Azoth, which, he boasted, was the philosopher's stone, the medical *panacea*, and which his disciples extol as the Tincture of Life, given through the divine favour to man in these last days. His irregular practice, and the virulence with which he censured the ignorance and indolence of other physicians, created him many enemies. The rewards, which he received for the cures he performed, were by no means adequate to the expectations of his vanity and ambition. After meeting with many disappointments and mortifications, an incident occurred which determined him to leave Basil. A wealthy canon of Lichtfield, who happened to fall sick at Basil, offered Paracelsus a hundred florins to cure his disease. This Paracelsus easily effected with three pills of *his Laudanum*, one of his most powerful medicines. The canon, restored to health so soon, and, as appeared to him, by such slight means, refused to stand to his engagement. Paracelsus brought the matter before the magistrate, who decreed him only the usual fee. Inflamed with violent indignation at the contempt which was, by this decision, thrown upon his art, after inveighing bitterly against the canon, the magistrate, and the whole city, he left Basil, and withdrew into Alsace, whither his medical fame and success followed him. After two years, during which time he practised medicine in the principal families of the country, about the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, he removed into Switzerland, where he conversed with Bullenger and other divines. From

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this time, he ſeems for many years to have roved through various parts of Germany and Bohemia. At laſt, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, he finiſhed his days in the hoſpital of St. Sebaſtian, in Saltſburg.

Different and even contradictory judgments have been formed by the learned concerning Paracelſus. His admirers and followers have celebrated him as a perfect maſter of all philoſophical and medical myſteries. Some, on account of the reformation which he produced in medicine, have called him the medical Luther. Many have maintained, as indeed he himſelf boaſted, that he was poſſeſſed of the grand ſecret of converting inferior metals into gold. On the contrary, others have charged his whole medical practice with ignorance, impoſture, and impudence. J. Crato, in an epiſtle to Zwinger, atteſts, that in Bohemia his medicines, even when they performed an apparent cure, left his patients in ſuch a ſtate, that they ſoon after died of palſies or epilepſies. Eraſtus, who was for two years one of his pupils, wrote an entire book to detect his impoſtures. He is ſaid to have been not only unacquainted with the Greek language, but ſo bad a Latin ſcholar, that he dared not ſpeak a word of Latin in the preſence of learned men. It is even aſſerted, that he was ſo imperfect a maſter of his vernacular tongue, that he was obliged to have his German writings corrected by another hand. His adverſaries alſo charge him with the moſt contemptible arrogance, the moſt vulgar ſcurrility, the groſſeſt intemperance, and the moſt deteſtable impiety. The truth ſeems to be, that Paracelſus's merit chiefly conſiſted in improving the art of chemiſtry, and in inventing, or bringing to light, ſeveral chemical medicines, which to this day hold their place in the *Pharmacopœia*. Without either learning, or urbanity, or even decency of manners, by the mere help of phyſical knowledge and the chemical arts, he obtained an uncommon ſhare of medical fame; and to ſupport his credit with the ignorant, he pretended to an intercourſe with inviſible ſpirits, and to divine illuminations.

Paracelſus wrote, or rather dictated to his amanuenſis, many treatiſes; but they are ſo entirely void of elegance, ſo immethodical and obſcure,

obſcure, that one may almoſt credit the aſſertion of his chemical aſſiſtant, Oporinus, that he dictated moſt of his books in the night, when he was intoxicated. They treat of an immenſe variety of ſubjects, medical, magical, and philoſophical. His *Philoſophia ſagax*, "Subtle Philoſophy," is a moſt obſcure and confuſed treatiſe on aſtrology, necromancy, chiromancy, phyſiognomy, and other divining arts, calculated for no other purpoſe than to promote vulgar ſuperſtition. Several of his pieces treat of philoſophical ſubjects, ſuch as "The Production and Fruit of the Four Elements;" "The Secrets of Nature, their Origin, Cauſes, Character, and Properties," and the like; but they are ſuch a confuſed maſs of words, that it would be an Herculean labour to draw out from them any thing which would have the leaſt appearance of a conſiſtent philoſophical ſyſtem [a].

The chemical, or Paracelſic, ſchool produced many eminent men, whoſe memoirs rather belong to the hiſtory of medicine than of philoſophy. Many of theſe took great pains to digeſt the incoherent dogmas of their maſter into a methodical ſyſtem. A ſummary of his doctrine may be ſeen in the preface to the *Baſilica Chymica* of Crollius; which after all is nothing better than a mere jargon of words, with which it is wholly unneceſſary to trouble the reader.

What Paracelſus was in the ſixteenth century, Robert Fludd [b], an Engliſh phyſician, attempted to become in the ſeventeenth. He was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four, at Milgate, in Kent, and became a ſtudent in the univerſity of Oxford in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-one. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he ſpent ſix years in travelling, in order to obſerve and collect what was curious in nature, myſterious in the arts, or profound in ſcience. Returning to England, he was admitted into the college of phyſicians in London, where he obtained great admiration

[a] Sennert. de Conſenſu Chem. et Galen. c. 3. Severini Idea Medic. Phil. Baſil. 1571. 4to. Naud. Apol. p. 259. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i c. 16.

[b] Wood Hiſt. Ant. Ox. l. ii. p. 390. Athen. Ox. p. 610. Gaſſend. Exam. Phil. Fluddianæ.

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for his ſingular piety, and the profundity of his chemical, philoſophical, and theological knowledge. After a long courſe of extenſive practice, he died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven.

So peculiar was this philoſopher's turn of mind, that there was nothing which antient or modern times could afford, under the notion of occult wiſdom, which he did not eagerly gather into his magazine of ſcience. All the myſterious and incomprehenſible dreams of the Cabbaliſts and Paracelſians, he compounded into a new maſs of abſurdity. In hopes of improving the medical and chemical arts, he deviſed a new ſyſtem of phyſics, loaded with wonderful hypotheſes, and myſtical fictions. He ſuppoſed two Univerſal Principles, the Northern or condenſing power, and the Southern, or rareſying power. Over theſe he placed innumerable intelligences and geniuſes, and called together whole troops of ſpirits from the four winds, to whom he committed the charge of diſeaſes. He applied his thermometer to diſcover the harmony between the macrocoſm and the microcoſm, or the world of nature and of man; he introduced many marvellous fictions into natural philoſophy and medicine; he attempted to explain the Moſaic coſmogony, in a work entitled *Philoſophia Moſaica*, wherein he ſpeaks of three firſt principles, *darkneſs*, as the firſt matter; *water*, as the ſecond matter; and the *divine light*, as the moſt central eſſence, creating, informing, vivifying all things; of ſecondary principles, two active, cold and heat; and two paſſive, moiſture and dryneſs; and deſcribes the whole myſtery of production and corruption, of regeneration and reſurrection, with ſuch vague conceptions and obſcure language, as leaves the ſubject involved in impenetrable darkneſs. Some of his ideas, ſuch as they were, appear to have been borrowed from the Cabbaliſts and Alexandrian Platoniſts. The reader will eaſily judge, what kind of light may be expected from the writings of Robert Fludd, when he is informed that he aſcribes the magnetic virtue to the irradiation of angels. His philoſophical works are, *Utriuſque Coſmi Hiſtoria*; *Veritatis Proſcenium*; *Monochordium Mundi ſymphoniacum*; *Clavis Philoſophiæ et Alchymiæ*; *Meteorologia coſmica*, &c. His extravagancies

travagancies were reprobated by ſeveral writers, particularly Kepler and Merſenus. In reply he wrote an allegoric piece, under the title of "The Conteſt of Wiſdom with Folly." Merſenus, who did not chuſe to continue the controverſy, engaged Gaſſendi to chaſtiſe him, in his *Examen Philoſophiæ Fluddianæ*; "Examination of the Fluddian Philoſophy;" a work which ſhould be read by thoſe who wiſh to form an accurate judgment of Fludd and other Theoſophiſts.

One of the moſt dazzling luminaries in the conſtellation of Theoſophiſts was Jacob Boehmen[a], a famous German philoſopher, born near Gorlitz, in Upper Luſatia, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five. He was brought up a ſhoemaker, and at twenty years of age married a butcher's daughter, with whom he lived happily thirty years. Though he never entirely forſook his occupation, his ſingular genius ſoon carried him *ultra crepidam*, "beyond his laſt." The theological controverſies which were at this time ſpreading through Germany, made their way among the loweſt claſſes of the people; and Boehmen, much diſturbed in his mind upon many articles of faith, prayed earneſtly for divine illumination. The conſequence, according to his own account, was, that, rapt beyond himſelf for ſeven days together, he experienced a ſacred ſabbatic ſilence, and was admitted to the intuitive viſion of God. Soon afterwards, he had a ſecond ecſtacy, in which, as he relates, whilſt he was obſerving the rays which were reflected from a bright pewter veſſel, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded with celeſtial irradiations; his ſpirit was carried to the inmoſt world of nature, and enabled from the external forms, lineaments, and colours of bodies, to penetrate into the receſs of their eſſences. In a third viſion of the ſame kind, other ſtill more ſublime myſteries were revealed to him, concerning the origin of nature, and the formation of all things, and even concerning divine principles and intelligent natures. Theſe wonderful communications, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve, Boehmen committed to writing, and

[a] Frankenberg. Vit. Boehm. Sagittar. Intr. in H. E. c. 133. § 19. p. 899. Weiſſen. Hiſt. E. t. ii. p. 1234. Hiſt. J. Boehm. Hamb. 1698. Adam. de Vit. B. Calo, Witteberg. 1715.

produced his firſt treatiſe, entitled *Aurora*; of which, however, the principles, the ideas, and the language are ſo new and myſterious, that we find it wholly impracticable to attempt an abridgment. Indeed, the author himſelf declares theſe myſteries incomprehenſible to fleſh and blood; and ſays, that though the words be read, their meaning will lie concealed, till the reader has by prayer obtained illumination from that heavenly ſpirit, which is in God, and in all nature, and from which all things proceed.

The *Aurora* falling into the hands of the miniſter of Gorlitz, he ſeverely reprimanded the author from the pulpit, and procured an order from the ſenate of the city for repreſſing the work, in which Boehmen was required to diſcontinue his attempts to enlighten the world by his writings. Boehmen payed ſo much regard to this order, which muſt be confeſſed to have been as injudicious as it was oppreſſive, as to refrain from writing for ſeven years. His projected work, however, found its way to the preſs at Amſterdam in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen; and the author was encouraged by this circumſtance to reſume his pen, and from that time ſent forth frequent publications. It is ſaid, but upon uncertain authority, that he was ſummoned to the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical court at Dreſden, and there underwent an examination before a body of Theologians, in which he pleaded his cauſe ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was diſmiſſed without cenſure. Boehmen died in the communion of the Lutheran church, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four.

It will be eaſily perceived, from the particulars which have been related, that, in Jacob Boehmen, a warm imagination united with a gloomy temper, and unreſtrained by ſolid judgment, produced that kind of enthuſiaſm, which in its paroxyſms diſturbs the natural faculties of perception and underſtanding, and produces a preternatural agitation of the nervous ſyſtem, during which the mind is filled with wild and wonderful conceptions, which paſs for viſions and revelations. Every page of his writings, and even the hieroglyphic figures prefixed to his works, ſpeak a diſordered imagination, and it

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is in vain to attempt to derive his Theoſophics from any other ſource; unleſs indeed we were inclined to believe the account which he gives of himſelf, when, boaſting that he was neither indebted to human learning, nor was to be ranked among ordinary philoſophers, he ſays, that he wrote, " Not from an external view of nature, but from the dictates of the ſpirit; and that what he delivered concerning the nature of things, and concerning the works and creatures of God, had been laid open before his mind by God himſelf." The conceptions of this enthuſiaſt, in themſelves ſufficiently obſcure, are often rendered ſtill more ſo by being clothed under allegorical ſymbols derived from the chemical art. As he frequently uſes the ſame terms with Paracelſus, it is probable that he was converſant with his writings; but he certainly followed no other guides than his own eccentric genius and enthuſiaſtic imagination: and every attempt which has been made by his followers to explain and illuſtrate his ſyſtem, has been only raiſing a freſh *ignis fatuus* to lead the bewildered traveller ſtill further aſtray.

We honeſtly confeſs it to be wholly beyond our power to give any ſummary of the Boehmian ſyſtem. This myſtic makes God the eſſence of eſſences, and ſuppoſes a long ſeries of ſpiritual natures, and even matter itſelf, to have flowed from the fountain of the divine nature. His language, upon theſe ſubjects, nearly reſembles that of the Jewiſh Cabbala. The whole divine Trinity, ſays he, ſending forth bodily forms, produces an image of itſelf, *velut deum quendam parvum,* " as a God in miniature." If any one name the heavens, the earth, the ſtars, the elements, and whatever is beneath or above the heavens, he herein names the whole deity, who by a power proceeding from himſelf, thus makes his own eſſence corporeal.

The elements of Boehman's theoſophy may be read in his *Aurora,* and in his treatiſe *De tribus divinæ Eſſentiæ Principiis,* " On the Three Principles of the Divine Eſſence." That Jacob Boehman had many followers will not be thought ſurpriſing, by thoſe who have obſerved the univerſal propenſity of weak and vulgar minds to be delighted

delighted with whatever is myfterious and marvellous, efpecially when it is clothed in obfcure and allegorical language.*

A more fcientific Theofophift than Jacob Boehman we find in JOHN BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT[a], a celebrated phyfician, born at Bruffels in one thoufand five hundred and feventy-feven. He made fuch early proficiency in the ftudies proper to his profeffion, that, at feventeen years of age, he was appointed lecturer in furgery in the academy of Louvain. But he foon difcovered, that he had undertaken this office inconfiderately, and had prefumed to teach what he himfelf did not underftand. He found that, though he had read many books, and made large common place collections, he had not yet acquired true and fubftantial knowledge; and he lamented that credulous and fimple youth are fo often deceived by the arrogant pretenfions of profeffors. He now applied with unwearied induftry to the ftudy of mathematics, geometric, logiftic and algebraic, and of aftronomy. But even in thefe branches of fcience he did not find the fatisfaction he expected. Still complaining of his ignorance, he refufed the title of Mafter of Arts, and faid, that he had hitherto learned no fingle art in reality, but in appearance only. Under all this feeming modefty, Van Helmont concealed a faftidious contempt of all knowledge but his own, and even of all the learning which had hitherto appeared in the world, and a fond conceit that he was raifed up by God to overturn former fyftems, and to introduce a new method of philofophifing. Induced, as he relates, by the pious writings of Thomas a Kempis to pray to God that he would enable him to love and purfue the truth, he was inftructed by a dream to renounce all Pagan philofophy, and particularly Stoicifm, to which he had been inclined, and to wait for divine illuminations. Diffa-

* Omnia enim ftolidi magis admirantur amantque
Inverfis quæ fub verbis latitantia cernunt.

[a] Confeff. t. i. Op. p. 9. Arnold. H. E. p. iii. c. 8. Reiman. Hift. Germ. Lit. v. iii. p. 437. Blount. Cenf. p. 955. Witten. Mem. Med. p. 125. Seder Olam. Amft. 1697.

tisfied with the knowledge of the nature and virtues of plants which he derived from the writings of Matthiolus and Dioſcorides, and with the principles of medicine which he found in Galen or Avicenna, he concluded that medical knowledge was not to be obtained from the writings of men, or from human induſtry. He had again recourſe to prayers, and was again admoniſhed by a dream to give himſelf up to the purſuit of divine wiſdom. About this time he learned, from an illiterate chemiſt, the practical operations of the chemical art, and devoted himſelf with great zeal and perſeverance to this purſuit, in hopes of finding in a chemical laboratory that knowledge which he had in vain ſought for from books. The medical ſkill, which he by this means acquired, he entirely employed in the ſervice of the poor. He adminiſtered medicines *gratis* for ſeveral years, and obtained a high reputation both for humanity and medical ſkill. A cold, which he caught in viſiting a poor patient in the night, put an end to his life, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

Van Helmont certainly poſſeſſed ready talents, read much, and by the help of experiment improved both the chemical and medical art; but his vanity led him into empirical pretenſions. He boaſted that he was poſſeſſed of a fluid, which he called Alcaheſt, or pure ſalt, which was the firſt material principle in nature, and was capable of penetrating into bodies, and producing an entire ſeparation and tranſmutation of their component parts. But this wonderful fluid was never ſhewn to any perſon whatever, not even to his ſon, who alſo practiſed chemiſtry. The contempt which this philoſopher entertained for all former ſyſtems, led him to frame one of his own, which was a ſtrange compound of theological, medical, and philoſophical paradoxes, and in which Theoſophic myſticiſm is united with Scholaſtic ſubtleties. Although he profeſſes to erect the ſtructure of his ſyſtem upon the foundation of experiment, it is in truth nothing more than a baſeleſs fabric, raiſed in dreams and extacies by a luxuriant and diſordered imagination. Ambitious of novelty, Van Helmont framed abſtractions which never exiſted, but in his own feveriſh brain, and, after giving theſe imaginary entities barbarous names,

names, boasted of them as wonderful inventions. His writings, if we except a few things in practical chemistry and medicine, are, in fact, wholly destitute of that kind of information, which would satisfy a rational enquirer after truth, or an accurate investigator of nature.

The footsteps of this philosopher were closely followed by his son, FRANCIS HELMONT [a], who industriously increased the stock of philosophical fictions which he inherited from his father, by incorporating with them the dreams of the Jewish Cabbala. His "Paradoxical Dissertations," are a mass of philosophical, medical, and theological paradoxes, scarcely to be paralleled in the history of letters.

The most elegant and philosophical of all the Theosophists was PETER POIRET [b], born at Metz, in one thousand six hundred and forty-six, and educated in the academy of Basil. Being interrupted in his attendance upon the schools by ill health, he employed himself, during a long confinement, in the study of the Cartesian philosophy. In the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, he became a student in the university of Heidelberg, in order to qualify himself for the clerical profession; and in one thousand six hundred and seventy-two he assumed the character of an ecclesiastic in the principality of Deux Ponts. Here, after a severe illness, he wrote his *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo,* "Rational Thoughts concerning God, the Soul, and Evil," in which he for the most part followed the principles of Des Cartes; a work which engaged much attention among philosophers, and which he afterwards defended against the censures of Bayle. The public tumults obliged him to leave his clerical cure, and he withdrew to Holland, and afterwards to Hamburg, where he met the celebrated French mystic MADAME BOURIGNON, and was so captivated with her opinions, that he became her zealous disciple. Converted from a Cartesian philosopher

[a] Stoll. Intr. in Hist. Lit. p. i. c. 2. § 8.

[b] Præf. in Opusc. posth. Arnold Hist. Ecc. p. iii. p. 162. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. et Schol.. Holl. p. ii. p. 420. Niceron. Mem. de Lit. t. iv. Stoll. Hist. Lit. p. ii. c. 2. § 7.

into a myſtical divine, he determined henceforward to ſeek for that illumination from divine contemplation and prayer, which he could not obtain by the exerciſe of his rational faculties. From this time Poiret became a violent enemy to the Carteſian philoſophy, and took great pains to detect its errors and defects. At the ſame time, faſcinated with Bourignonian myſticiſm, he rejected the light of reaſon as uſeleſs and dangerous, and inveighed againſt every kind of philoſophy which was not the effect of divine illuminations. Towards the cloſe of his life, Poiret ſettled at Rheinſburg, in Holland, and employed the remainder of his days in writing myſtical books. He died in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen. His treatiſes *De Oeconomia Divina*, "On the Divine Oeconomy;" and *De Eruditione Triplici*, "On Three Kinds of Learning;" and the laſt edition of his *Cogitationes Rationales*, though in a great meaſure free from that obſcurity which diſtinguiſhes the writings of the Theoſophiſts already mentioned, certainly rank him among the claſs of Myſtics. Some of his myſtical notions, as they may be gathered from the preliminary diſſertation prefixed to his works[a], are as follows:

It hath pleaſed God, in order that he may enjoy a vivid and delightful contemplation of himſelf, beyond that ſolitude which belongs to the divine eſſence, to create external beings in whom he may produce an image of himſelf. The eſſence of the human mind is Thought, capable and deſirous of light, and joyful complacence; the properties, in which it bears a reſemblance of the divine eſſence. Nothing is more intimate, or eſſential to the mind, than this deſire; by which it is borne always towards the true and infinite good. In order to ſatisfy this deſire, the illumination of faith is neceſſary; by means of which the mind, conſcious of its weakneſs and impotence, diſclaims all the fictions of human reaſon, and directs itſelf towards God with an intenſe and ineffable ardour, till, by the ſilent contemplation of him, it is filled with tranquiliſing light and joyful complacence; although, whilſt oppreſſed with the load of mortality,

[a] Ed. Amſt. 1684.

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it cannot behold his unveiled face. From this divine illumination proceeds the most pacific serenity of mind, the most ardent love of God, and the most intimate union with him.

Can there be any doubt concerning the propriety of ranking among fanatics, writers who renounce the light of reason, and seek all wisdom and happiness in submitting the mind, in silence and tranquillity, to the impressions of divine illumination?

To the class of Theosophists has been commonly referred, the entire society of ROSACRUSIANS[a], which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made so much noise in the ecclesiastical and literary world. The history of this society, which is attended with some obscurity, seems to be as follows: Its origin is referred to a certain German, whose name was Rosencreuz, who, in the fourteenth century, visited the Holy Sepulchre, and, in travelling through Asia and Africa, made himself acquainted with many oriental secrets; and who, after his return, instituted a small fraternity, to whom he communicated the mysteries he had learned, under an oath of inviolable secrecy. This society remained concealed till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when two books were published, the one entitled, *Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis Ordinis Rosæcrusis*; "The Report of the laudable Fraternity of Rosacrusians;" the other, *Confessio Fraternitatis*[b], "The Confession of the Fraternity." In these books the world was informed, that this fraternity was enabled, by divine revelation, to explain the most important secrets both of nature and grace; that they were appointed to correct the errors of the learned world, particularly in philosophy and medicine; that they were possessed of the philosopher's stone, and understood both the art of transmuting metals, and of prolonging human life; and, in fine, that by their means the golden age would return. As soon as these grand secrets were divulged, the whole tribe of the Paracelsists, Theosophists, and Chemists, flocked to the Rosacrusian standard,

[a] Arnold. Hist. Eccl. P. ii. c. 18. p. 613. Sec. 17. p. 58. Struv. Intr. in Hist. Lit. c. 9. § 29. p. 466. Biblioth. Phil. c. 2. § 13. Colberg. Christ. Plat. Hermet. p. i. c. 6. Serpill. Epitaph. Theol. p. 12. Val. Andreæ Turris Babel, c. 25.

[b] Franc. 1614, 1617.

and every new and unheard-of myſtery was referred to this fraternity. It is impoſſible to relate, how much noiſe this wonderful diſcovery made, or what different opinions were formed concerning it. After all, though the laws and ſtatutes of the ſociety had appeared, no one could tell where the ſociety itſelf was to be found, or who really belonged to it. It was imagined by ſome ſagacious obſervers, that a certain important meaning was concealed under the ſtory of the Roſacruſian fraternity, though they were wholly unable to ſay what it was. One conjectured that ſome chemical myſtery lay hid behind the allegorical tale; another ſuppoſed that it foretold ſome great eccleſiaſtical revolution. At laſt, Michael Breler[a], in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, had the courage publicly to declare, that he certainly knew the whole ſtory to have been the contrivance of ſome ingenious perſons, who choſe to amuſe themſelves by impoſing upon the public credulity. This declaration raiſed a general ſuſpicion againſt the whole ſtory; and, as no one undertook to contradict it, this wonderful ſociety daily vaniſhed, and the rumours, which had been ſpread concerning it, ceaſed. The whole was probably a contrivance to ridicule the pretenders to ſecret wiſdom and wonderful power, particularly the chemiſts, who boaſted that they were poſſeſſed of the philoſopher's ſtone. It has been conjectured, and the ſatirical turn of his writings, and ſeveral particular paſſages in his works, favour the conjecture, that this farce was invented and performed, in part at leaſt, by John Valentine Andrea, a divine of Wartenburg.

The preceding detail may ſuffice to ſhew in what light the ſect of the Theoſophiſts is to be conſidered. Although the eccentricities of this ſect are too various to be reduced into a regular ſyſtem, they are all to be traced back to one common ſource, the renunciation of human reaſon. The whole dependance of theſe philoſophers is upon internal inſpiration, in which, whilſt the intellect remains quieſcent and paſſive, they wait, in ſacred ſtillneſs and ſilence of the ſoul, for divine illuminations; and whatever in theſe profound

[a] In Myſterio Iniquitatis Pſeudo-Evang. c. iii. p. 100. Alethea p. 329.

reveries

reveries is ſuggeſted to them by a heated imagination, they receive as divine inſtruction. They do not indeed openly contemn the authority of the ſacred writings; but they reject their natural meaning, and, by the help of childiſh allegories, convert the words of ſcripture to whatever ſignification they pleaſe. With no other guide in the ſearch of truth than their own diſturbed fancies, they admit the wildeſt dreams of a feveriſh brain as ſacred truths, and obtrude them upon the world with inſufferable arrogance, as oracular deciſions, not to be controverted.

Theſe enthuſiaſts ſeem to be agreed in acknowledging, that all things flow from God, and will return to him, and particularly, that this is the caſe with the human ſoul, which muſt derive its chief felicity from the contemplation of God; and that divine illumination is only to be expected in that ſubmiſſive ſtate of the ſoul, in which it is deprived of all activity, and remains the ſilent ſubject of divine impreſſions. They have, moreover, fancied, that God has not only enſtamped his image upon man, but upon all viſible objects; and that this image of God being diſcovered by certain ſigns, the hidden nature of things may be underſtood, the influence of the ſuperior world upon the inferior may be known, and great and wonderful effects may be produced. They have imagined, that by the help of the arts of aſtrology and chemiſtry, the myſteries of nature may be ſo far laid open, that a univerſal remedy for diſeaſes, and a method of converting inferior metals into gold, or the philoſopher's ſtone, might be diſcovered.

Little needs be ſaid to prove, that the ſyſtem of Theoſophiſm is founded in deluſion, and that it is productive of miſchief both to philoſophy and religion. Theſe ſuppoſed illuminations are to be aſcribed either to fanaticiſm or to impoſture. The faſtidious contempt, with which theſe pretenders to divine wiſdom have treated thoſe, who are contented to follow the plain dictates of common ſenſe, and the ſimple doctrine of ſcriptures, has unqueſtionably impoſed upon the credulous vulgar, and produced an indifference to rational enquiry, which has obſtructed the progreſs of knowledge. And their example has encouraged others to traduce philoſophy

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and theology in general, by repreſenting them as reſting upon no better foundation, than enthuſiaſm and abſurdity. It is to be charitably preſumed, that theſe deluded viſionaries have not been themſelves aware of the injury which they have been doing to the intereſts of ſcience and religion. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be regretted, both on their own account, and on account of the multitudes they have miſled, that whilſt they have thought themſelves following a bright and ſteady luminary, they have been led aſtray by wandering meteors.*

* Vidend. Eraſtus contra Paracelſum. Crollii Baſilica Chymica. Oporini Ep. ad Wier. de Moribus Præceptoris. Clerici Hiſt. Med. p. 794. 802. Borrich. de Chemia, c. 6. Budd. Iſag. p. i. p. 265. Arnold. Hiſt. Ecc. p. ii. l. 17. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 10. 15. Werſendorf. Diſp. de Fanaticis Sileſiorum. Rapin Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, p. 54. Hinckelman. Detect. fundam Boehm. De Viſch. Bib. Ord. Ceſt. p. 187. Stalkopvii Animadv. in Poiret. Felleri Monum. inedit. Fluddi Tract. Apolog. pro Soc. de Roſea Cruce, 1617. Thomas Præf. ad Poiret de Erudit. triplici. Conring. de Hermet. Ægypt. et Paracelſ. Le Compte de Gabalis. Croll. Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Eternæ, Magd. 1608.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ENEMIES OF PHILOSOPHY.

IN enumerating the deviations from the true method of philoſophiſing, which a diſlike of Sectarian philoſophy has produced, we muſt not omit to mention a claſs of men, who, though they are not themſelves philoſophers, have had ſome effect upon the ſtate of philoſophy, thoſe who have appeared as its profeſſed adverſaries. Every period in the hiſtory of philoſophy has produced men of this deſcription. The wiſe men of Greece were ridiculed by Damon, a Cyrenian.

Cyrenian. Socrates was perſecuted by the Athenians. Philoſophy itſelf was proſcribed in the Roman republic, and by ſeveral of the Roman emperors; and its records have more than once fallen a ſacrifice to the bigotry of Mahometan, and even of Chriſtian, princes. Wits have ridiculed philoſophers, and prieſts have condemned them. It is no wonder, then, that philoſophy has experienced a ſimilar fate in modern times.

The attacks which have been made upon philoſophy ſince the revival of letters have been of different kinds; ſome open and direct; ſome oblique and concealed. Among its indirect opponents may be reckoned thoſe advocates for revelation, who have maintained that its doctrines cannot be reconciled with the dictates of human reaſon, and thoſe enthuſiaſts, who have relinquiſhed the uſe of reaſon, and abandoned themſelves to the extravagancies of fanaticiſm. Of a direct attack upon philoſophy we ſhall give one example, in the controverſy which happened in the univerſity of Helmſtadt, towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century.

DANIEL HOFFMAN [a], born in one thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight, at Hall, in Saxony, and profeſſor, firſt of logic and ethics, and afterwards of theology, in the univerſity of Helmſtadt, had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a keen and angry diſputant. In his time diſputes ran high concerning the ubiquity of the human nature of Chriſt, which was admitted by the more orthodox theologians, but denied by the Brunſwick divines, who contented themſelves with maintaining, that the man Jeſus Chriſt could be preſent wherever he pleaſed. The aid of the Scholaſtic philoſophy being called in by both parties, to decide this controverſy, Hoffman, whether through pique or vanity it is not eaſy to determine, took this occaſion to erect his ſtandard againſt philoſophy itſelf. In an academical diſputation, he maintained, that the light of reaſon, even as it appears in the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, is adverſe to religion; and that the more the human underſtanding is cultivated by philo-

a Elſwich. de Fortun. Ariſt. in Acad. Prot. § 27. Arnold Hiſt. Eccl. p. ii. iii. Bayle. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 96.

ſophical ſtudy, the more perfectly is the enemy ſupplied with weapons of defence. The partiality, which at this time univerſally prevailed in favour of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, was ſuch, that an opinion of this kind could not be advanced publicly, without exciting general diſſatisfaction and alarm. A numerous band of profeſſors, though they differed in opinion among themſelves, united to take up arms againſt the common enemy. At the head of this body was John Caſſel; whence the advocates for philoſophy were called the Caſſelian party. They at firſt challenged Hoffman to a private conference, in expectation of leading him to a ſounder judgment concerning philoſophy; but their hopes were fruſtrated. Hoffman, perſuaded that intereſt and envy had armed the philoſophers againſt him, in his reply to his opponents inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt philoſophers, and acknowledged, that he meant to oppoſe not only the abuſe of philoſophy, but the moſt prudent and legitimate uſe of it, as neceſſarily deſtructive of theology. This extravagant aſſertion, accompanied with many contumelious cenſures of philoſophers, produced reciprocal vehemence; and Albert Graver publiſhed a book *De Unica Veritate*, which maintained "the Simplicity of Truth;" a doctrine from which the Caſſelian party were called Simpliciſts, whilſt the followers of Hoffman (for he found means to engage ſeveral perſons, particularly among the Theoſophiſts, in his intereſt) oppoſing this doctrine, were called, on the other hand, Dupliciſts. John Angel Werdenhagen, a Boehmenite, who poſſeſſed ſome poetical talents, wrote ſeveral poems againſt the philoſophers. In ſhort, the diſputes ran ſo high, and produced ſo much perſonal abuſe, that the court thought it neceſſary to interpoſe its authority, and appointed arbitrators to examine the merits of the controverſy. The deciſion was againſt Hoffman, and he was obliged to make a public recantation of his errors, acknowledging the utility and excellence of philoſophy, and declaring that his invectives had been only directed againſt its abuſes. After this defeat, Hoffman retired into a neighbouring monaſtery; but he was permitted to return to Helmſtadt, and open a private ſchool. He died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eleven.

WERDENHAGEN, who had been Hoffman's coadjutor, would not ſuffer the conteſt to ſleep after the death of its author. His zeal for Boehmean Theoſophiſm impelled him to perſiſt in his invectives againſt philoſophers; and he preſſed into his ſervice a hot-headed youth, Weneſlaw Schilling, a Thuringian, who inflamed the quarrel by ſeveral virulent publications, one of which was entitled *Viſitatio Eccleſiæ Metaphyſicæ*, "A Viſitation of the Metaphyſical Church." For his ſcurrilities he was baniſhed from Wittenburg. Werdenhagen withdrew to Holland, and the diſpute ended. A diſpute which originated in diſappointed vanity, and was ſupported by enthuſiaſm and malevolence, only deſerves to be recorded as a proof of the neceſſity of philoſophiſing ſoberly, and of following reaſon, rather than imagination or paſſion, in the ſearch after truth.*

* Vidend. Weiſman. Hiſt. Ecc. t. ii. p. 1170. Michael Syn. Hiſt. Ecc. l. iii. § 2. Hutteri Concordia Concors, c. 52. Meieri Monum. c. 3.

BOOK X.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

CHAP. I.

OF THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

UPON the revival of letters, many attempts were made to reſtore, and to improve, philoſophy; but from the preceding narrative it is ſufficiently evident, that little was accompliſhed. The human underſtanding has at length, however, through the favour of divine providence, aſſerted its native freedom and dignity, and ſhaken off the yoke of authority. Many independent and exalted geniuſes have ariſen, who, deſpiſing the ſervile prejudice of yielding implicit deference to the deciſions of the antients, have determined, by the vigorous exertions of their own faculties, to inveſtigate certain and univerſal principles for themſelves, and upon this foundation to frame a ſyſtem of opinions, which ſhould be truly and properly their own. They have not indeed diſdained to conſult the records of antient wiſdom, but they have admitted nothing as true, which their reaſon and judgment have not approved.

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From these laudable attempts a species of philosophy has arisen, more pure and excellent than that of any former period, which we shall distinguish by the name of the Modern Eclectic Philosophy: understanding by the term, however, something very different from that specious kind of philosophy, which rose in the school of Alexandria, and from that confusion of opinions which some modern writers, by attempting to reconcile Platonism with Stoicism or Peripateticism, and all these with Christianity, have produced. The true Eclectic philosopher, renouncing every prejudice in favour of celebrated names or antient sects, makes reason his sole guide, and diligently investigates the nature and properties of the objects which come under his observation, that he may from these deduce clear principles, and arrive at certain knowledge. He esteems nothing so disgraceful in philosophy, as *jurare in verba magistri,* implicitly to acknowledge the authority of a master, and says, with respect to all the different sects and their leaders,

Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habebo.*

It is wholly unnecessary to expatiate upon the superior dignity and usefulness of this method of philosophising above all others; and it is foreign from our purpose to lay down the principles and rules by which it should be conducted. But it may not be improper, in a few words, to explain the reasons why this method of prosecuting philosophical enquiries, so obvious as well as reasonable, was not sooner adopted.

The history of the restoration of learning will itself suggest one cause of this fact. Those learned men on whom the charge of reforming philosophy, as well as reviving letters, devolved, were chiefly employed in the study of the antients, and were more desirous of excelling in erudition, than of improving science. The Greek philosophy, preserved in those antient writings which principally engaged their attention, came recommended to them under the seducing form of antient lore; and they easily persuaded themselves, that it was wholly unnecessary to attempt improvements upon the

* "No blind respect to names alone I pay."

wiſdom of Plato and Ariſtotle. Occupied in grammatical and critical enquiries, they had neither leiſure nor inclination to exerciſe their talents in original reſearches into nature. Add to this, that indolence probably prevented ſome, and ignorance of the true nature of philoſophy, and of the value of the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, hindered others, from attempting new diſcoveries; whilſt the more enterpriſing geniuſes, from whom ſuch improvements might have been expected, ſuch for example as Martin Luther, were devoted to higher purſuits. Philip Melancthon, though poſſeſſed of abilities equal to the taſk, was of too timid a diſpoſition to ſhake off the Sectarian yoke, and contributed, more than became a reformer in religion, to rivet the chains of authority in philoſophy. And, among the Roman Catholics, ſuch a blind reſpect for antient names was ſtill predominant, and ſo ſtrong was the attachment to thoſe eſtabliſhed forms with which eccleſiaſtical honours and emoluments were inſeparably connected, that philoſophical innovations were not to be expected from this quarter. The rigour, with which every attempt towards the introduction of new opinions was at this time ſuppreſſed by the heads of the Romiſh church, doubtleſs confirmed the general prejudice againſt alterations of every kind, and deterred thoſe, who were capable of penetrating through the ſurrounding miſt of ſuperſtition and error, from yielding to the impulſe of nature and genius.

Theſe difficulties long retarded the progreſs of ſcience; but at length certain philoſophers of the firſt order, conſcious of internal ſtrength ſufficient for the undertaking, ventured to burſt the encloſure of authority, and by the aid of deep reflection and perſevering induſtry, enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge. Clearly perceiving the defects and errors of the ſeveral Grecian ſects, they deplored the abject ſtate to which the human mind had been reduced by indolence, ſuperſtition, and blind ſubmiſſion, and with generous indignation threw off the yoke. The firſt ſucceſsful attempt for this purpoſe was made by that great man, Lord Bacon, who may therefore juſtly be called the parent of modern Eclectic philoſophy. In his *Novum Organum*, a work richly fraught with

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true and liberal philoſophy, his firſt object was to caſt down the idol, which the philoſophical world had ſo long worſhipped, and recal their homage to the divinity of truth.

Although ſome eminent men, who have philoſophiſed after the Eclectic method, have had the vanity to exhibit themſelves as the founders of new ſects, it is inconſiſtent with the nature of Eclectic philoſophy to admit of Sectarian ſubdiviſions. Inſtead therefore of attempting, as ſome writers have done, to divide modern philoſophy into diſtinct ſchools, we ſhall content ourſelves with a more ſimple arrangement, and ſhall firſt treat of thoſe philoſophers who have, more or leſs ſucceſsfully, endeavoured to improve philoſophy IN GENERAL; and ſecondly, of thoſe who have applied themſelves to the improvement of CERTAIN BRANCHES of philoſophy. Of the hiſtory and doctrines of each we ſhall give ſuch a ſketch as the nature of our plan requires, without attempting thoſe details, which it would be impoſſible to bring within the limits we have aſſigned to the preſent work.*

* Vidend. Arnold. Weſenfeld. Diſſ. iv. de Phil. Sect. et Eclect. Moſhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. recent. Sec. 17. p. 403.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL.

SECT. 1.

OF JORDANO BRUNO.

THE first perſon among the moderns who attempted any material innovation in philoſophy, was JORDAN BRUNO [a], born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples. He flouriſhed at the latter end of the ſixteenth century, but the exact time of his birth is unknown. To excellent talents he added a lofty ſpirit, which roſe ſuperior to prejudice, and would admit nothing as true without examination; whence it is eaſy to conceive, that in the ſyſtem of philoſophy and theology then taught in the ſchools of Italy, he met with many things which he could not digeſt. Fond of retirement and ſtudy, he entered into a monaſtery of Dominicans. But the freedom of his opinions, and the boldneſs of the cenſure which he paſſed upon the irregularities of the fraternity, ſoon created him enemies, and ſubjected him to perſecutions, which obliged him to quit his order and his country, leaving behind him all his property. In

[a] Epiſt. Scioppii in Struvii Act. Lit. t. v. p. 64. La Croze Entretiens, p. 187. Steph. Jordan. Diſq. Hiſt. Lit. de J. Bruno. Bayle.

the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two, he withdrew to Geneva, where his heretical opinions gave offence to Calvin and Beza, and he was ſoon obliged to provide for his ſafety by flight. After a ſhort ſtay at Lyons he came to Paris. Here, his innovating ſpirit recommended him to the notice of multitudes, who at this time declared open hoſtilities againſt the authority of Ariſtotle. In a public diſputation, held in the Royal Academy, in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix, he defended, three days ſucceſſively, certain propoſitions concerning nature and the world, which, together with brief heads of the arguments, he afterwards publiſhed in Saxony, under the title of *Acrotiſmus*[a], or "Reaſons of the phyſical Articles propoſed againſt the Peripatetics at Paris." The contempt with which Bruno, in the courſe of theſe debates, treated Ariſtotle, expoſed him to the reſentment of the academic profeſſors, who were zealous advocates for the old ſyſtem; and he found it expedient to leave the kingdom of France. According to ſome writers[b], he now viſited England, in the train of the French ambaſſador Caſtelneau, where he was hoſpitably received by Sir Philip Sydney and Sir Fulke Greville, and was introduced to Queen Elizabeth. But though it is certain from his writings that he was in England, he probably made this viſit in ſome other part of his life. For, about the middle of the ſame year in which he was at Paris, we find him, at Wittenburg, a zealous adherent of Luther. In this city he met with a liberal reception, and full permiſſion to propagate his doctrines: but the ſeverity with which he inveighed againſt Ariſtotle, the latitude of his opinions in religion as well as philoſophy, and the contempt with which he treated the maſters of the public ſchools, excited new jealouſies; and complaints were lodged againſt him before the ſenate of the univerſity. To eſcape the diſgrace which threatened him, Bruno, after two years reſidence in Wittenburg, left that place, and took refuge in Helmſtadt, where the known liberality of the Duke of Brunſwick encouraged him to hope for a ſecure aſylum. But either through the reſtleſſneſs of his diſpoſition, or

[a] Witteberg. 1588. [b] Sciopp. & Bayle.

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through unexpected oppofition, he left this place the next year, and went to Frankfort to fuperintend an edition of his works, which were now become numerous, at the prefs of the celebrated printer, John Wechel. But before this defign was completed he was obliged on a fudden, probably from an apprehenfion of perfecution, to quit that city. His next refidence (unlefs it was at this time that he vifited England) was at Padua; there, the boldnefs with which he taught his new doctrines, and inveighed againft the court of Rome, and the clergy, foon brought him under the cenfure of the Court of Inquifition at Venice, as an apoftate from the faith; in confequence of which he was conveyed as a prifoner to Rome, and, after two years confinement, was condemed to the flames. This fentence was executed in the year one thoufand fix hundred. A fevere fate, which, though it has been afcribed to the impiety of his tenets, was more probably the effect of his defertion from the Romifh church, and of his daring attacks upon the majefty of the pontificate.

The character of this philofopher was certainly fingular and paradoxical. A luxuriant imagination fupplied him with wonderful conceptions, intelligible only to a few, which were never formed into a fyftem. Not poffeffing that cool and folid judgment, and that habit of patient attention, which are neceffary to a thorough inveftigation of fubjects, he frequently embraced trifling and doubtful propofitions as certain truths. His ideas were for the moft part wild and fantaftic, and he indulged himfelf in a moft unbounded liberty of fpeech. Some of his original conceptions are indeed more luminous and fatisfactory, and nearly coincide with the principles of philofophy afterwards received by Des Cartes, Leibnitz, and others. But thefe fparks of truth are buried in a confufed mafs of extravagant and trifling dogmas, expreffed in a metaphorical and intricate ftyle, and immethodically arranged. In brief, though Bruno was not deftitute of a vigorous and original genius, he wanted that good fenfe, and that fteady temper, without which no great reformation, either in philofophy or religion, can be effected.

Bruno was a voluminous writer. His moft celebrated philofo-

phical pieces are the following: *De Umbris Idearum*[a], "On Shadows of Ideas;" *De l'Infinito, Universo, et Mondi*[b], "Of Infinity, the Universe, and World;" *Spaccio della Bestia triomfante*[c], "Dispatches from the Triumphant Beast;" *Oratio valedictoria habita in Academia Wittebergensi*[d], "A farewel Oration delivered in the University of Wittenberg;" *De Monade, Numero, et Figura*[e], "Of Monad, Number, and Figure;" *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum*[f], "Summary of Metaphysical Terms." Of these the satirical work, "Dispatches from The Beast triumphant," is the most celebrated[g].

The extreme scarceness of the writings of this philosopher, and the invincible obscurity of those which have come under our notice, render it impossible for us to give a full and accurate view of his doctrine, or to decide with certainty concerning the kind, or degree, of impiety which it involved. Thus much, however, may on satisfactory grounds be asserted, that the doctrine of Bruno was not, as Bayle and La Croze maintain, founded on the principles of Spinozism, but on the antient doctrine of emanation. For, though he acknowledges only one substance in nature, yet it appears from many passages in his writings to have been his opinion, that all things have from eternity flowed from one immense and infinite fountain, an emanative principle, essential to the divine nature. From this source he derives his *Minima*, or atoms, of which the visible world is formed. To these he ascribes perception, life, and motion. Besides these, he supposes a distinct principle of combination and union, or a soul of the world, derived from the same fountain, by which the forms of nature are produced and preserved. This intermediate agent, which connects all the other emanations from the eternal fountain, is, in

[a] Par. 1582. [b] Ven. 1584. [c] Par. 1584. [d] Witteb. 1588.
[e] Francf. 1591. [f] Tig. 1595.
[g] Addison gives a brief account of this work in the Spectator, N° 389, and speaks of the writer as a professed atheist. But, as the plan of the work, given by Addison, is not atheistical, and as it is not probable that he had seen those treatises from which our author drew his abstract of this philosopher's opinions, more regard is due to Brucker's elaborate inquiry into the character and doctrine of Bruno, than to Addison's cursory judgment.

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the ſyſtem of Bruno, Nature. By means of which, out of infinite emanations from the eternal fountain, infinite and eternal worlds are produced; whilſt, in truth, only one being exiſts, which is infinite, immutable, indiviſible, good, the uncreated light which pervades all ſpace, and which has within itſelf one ſubſtantial form of all things. This doctrine appears to have been the reſult of an abſurd attempt to unite the Atomic and Emanative ſyſtems, in which mathematics, phyſics, and metaphyſics, are injudiciouſly confounded, and which, on the whole, rather ſerved to perplex than to improve, philoſophy *.

* Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 432. Leibnitz. Ep. v. iv. p. 37. Huet. Cenſ. Phil. Cart. c. 8. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 15. § 6. Vogt. Cat. Lib. rar. p. 139.

SECT. 2.

OF JEROM CARDAN.

IN the claſs of modern Eclectic philoſophers, however eccentric and unſucceſsful in his attempts to reform philoſophy, we muſt reckon JEROM CARDAN, an Italian phyſician, born at Pavia, in the year one thouſand five hundred and one. His father, who was a lawyer by profeſſion, and a man well ſkilled in ſecret arts, inſtructed him very early in the myſteries of numbers, and the precepts of aſtrology. He alſo taught him the elements of geometry, and was deſirous to have engaged him in the ſtudy of juriſprudence. But his inclination ſtrongly prompting him to the medical profeſſion, he entered upon the ſtudy of medicine, and obtained the degree of doctor

doctor of physic, at Padua. To escape the public tumults he retired into the country, where he formed a matrimonial connection, of which he bitterly complains as the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes. His friends made repeated efforts to obtain him an advantageous establishment, but he was too supercilious and peevish to profit by their kindness. An offer was made him of the honourable post of physician to the king of Denmark, with an annual salary of eight hundred crowns, and a free table, but he refused it, on account of the climate, and the religion of the country. In the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, he was invited into Scotland by the archbishop of St. Andrews, and received a large gratuity for his medical services. In the course of this journey he visited England, and was earnestly intreated by Edward, whose nativity he calculated, to remain in his court; but he could not be prevailed upon to stay longer than a few months. On his return into Italy, after residing some years in the academy at Bologna, he removed to Rome, where he was admitted into the college of physicians, with a pension from the Pope. Thuanus relates, that he saw Cardan at Rome, a few years before his death, and was surprised to find nothing in him which answered to the high reputation he had obtained. In the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-six, he finished his days, more like a maniac than a philosopher *.

Cardan was a wonderful compound of wisdom and folly. Through his whole life he practised the art of astrology, and wrote an account of his own fate, under the title of *Explicatio Genituræ*, "A Calculation of Nativity," in which he confidently hazards many predictions, and marks innumerable contradictions in his own character, which he ascribes to the malign influence of the stars. He had so much confidence in this art, that he maintained, that the position of the stars at the birth of our Saviour was such as indicated a wonderful character. His numerous predictions, and the cures which he undertook to perform by secret charms, or by the assistance of invisible spirits, made him pass for a magician with the vulgar, but were in

* Card. de Vita propria. Bayle. Tomassin. Elog. p. 55. Naudæi Judic. de Card. Sevin. Hist. Acad. Reg. Inscript. t. xiii. art. 2. Thuan. Hist. l. xlii. ann. 1576.

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fact only proofs of a mind infatuated by ſuperſtition. In the midſt of all this weakneſs, Cardan is univerſally acknowledged to have been a man of great erudition, and fertile invention, and is celebrated as the author of many new and ſingular obſervations in philoſophy and medicine. His treatiſe *De Methodo Medendi*, "On the Practice of Medicine," diſcover a mind capable of detecting and renouncing eſtabliſhed errors. His book, *De Subtilitati et Varietate Rerum*, "On the Subtlety and Variety of Things," ſhews, that if he could have preſerved his judgment free from the influence of a diſordered imagination, he was able to have contributed to the improvement of natural philoſophy. Of the dogmas of this philoſopher, the following are a ſpecimen.

Primary matter, which remains immutably the ſame, fills every place; whence, without the annihilation of matter there can be no vacuum. Three principles ſubſiſt every where; matter, form, and mind. There are in matter three kinds of motion; the firſt, from form to element; the ſecond, the reverſe of this; the third, the deſcent of heavy bodies. The elements or paſſive principles are three; water, earth, and air, for naturally all things are cold, that is, deſtitute of heat. The agent in nature is celeſtial heat; the air, being expoſed to the action of the ſolar rays, is perpetually in motion. The moon and all the other heavenly bodies are luminous from themſelves. The heavens are animated by an ever active principle, and are therefore never quieſcent. Man, having mind as well as ſoul, is not an animal. The diſpoſitions of men are produced, and all moral affairs are directed, by the influence of the ſtars. Mind is univerſally diffuſed, and though it appears multiplied, is but one; it is extrinſically, and for a time, attached to human bodies, but never periſhes.

Innumerable other ſingular metaphyſical and phyſical notions are to be found in the works of Cardan; and they are accompanied with many experiments and obſervations on natural *phenomena*. But the whole is thrown together in ſuch a confuſed maſs, as plainly proves, that, though the author's head was replete with ideas, he wanted that ſound underſtanding and cool judgment, without which the

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moſt ingenious and original conceptions muſt prove abortive. He was too fond of myſticiſm, too credulous, too ſuperſtitious, and, in a word, too much of an aſtrologer, to be a true philoſopher. Cardan, therefore, notwithſtanding all the variety and apparent originality of his writings, muſt be ranked among the unſucceſsful adventurers in philoſophy. His works, which treat of metaphyſics, logic, natural philoſophy, medicine, mathematics, and morals, were collected by Spon, and publiſhed[a] in ten volumes. He was attacked with much acrimony by ſeveral writers, particularly by J. C. Scaliger, who envied his philoſophical reputation and medical ſucceſs *.

[a] Lugd. 1663.

* Vidend. Sanchez de Arte nihil ſciendi. p. 193. Schmidii Diſſ. de Themata Chriſti natal. Scalegeriana prima. p. 48. Vogt. in Cat. Lib. rar. p. 167. Reiman. Hiſt. Ath. S. iii. c. 4. § 11. Parker de Deo Diſp. i. p. 72. 210. Arnold Hiſt. Ec. p. ii. l. xvii. p. 324. Voſſ. de Theol. Gent. l. iii. c. 8.

SECT. 3.

OF FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM.

THAT reformation in philoſophy, which had been unſucceſsfully attempted by Bruno, Cardan, and others, was happily accompliſhed by that illuſtrious Engliſh philoſopher, Lord Bacon, who did more to detect the ſources of former errors and prejudices, and to diſcover and eſtabliſh the true method of philoſophiſing, than the whole body of philoſophers which many preceding ages had produced.

Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viſcount of St. Alban's, was born in London in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in

in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was the good fortune of Lord Bacon, that he appeared at a time when learning was commonly admired and cultivated among men of rank and fortune, and was even faſhionable at court. The ſingular talents with which nature had endued him, and his early proficiency in learning, recommended him, whilſt a boy, to the particular attention of ſeveral of the nobility, and introduced him to the notice of the Queen. Fond of ſchool learning, that princeſs more than once amuſed herſelf with endeavouring to puzzle the young ſcholar with difficult queſtions: but his replies diſcovered ſuch ſound judgment, and were expreſſed in ſuch manly language, that the Queen was exceedingly delighted with him, and uſed to call him her young Lord Keeper. At twelve years of age he was entered a ſtudent at Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitgift, the maſter of Trinity College, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Here he applied with great ardour to the ſtudy of the ſciences, particularly of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which ſtill continued to be taught in the Engliſh ſchools; but before he had attained his ſixteenth year, he began to be diſſatisfied with a method of philoſophiſing, which was rather adapted to create diſputes, than to promote the happineſs of human life, and determined, if poſſible, to ſtrike out ſome more promiſing way of inveſtigating truth, than the Stagyrite, or any of the antients, had diſcovered.

After he had paſſed through the uſual courſe of academical ſtudies, Bacon was ſent by his father to France with the ambaſſador, Sir Amias Pawlet, in order to introduce him to the knowledge of political ſcience, and enlarge his acquaintance with the world. How well he profited by this tour, appears from the judicious obſervations "On the State of Europe," which he wrote in his eighteenth year. His father's death, which happened ſuddenly during his viſit to France, left him, who was the youngeſt of five brothers, in circumſtances which rendered it neceſſary for him to engage in ſome lucrative profeſſion; and he entered upon the ſtudy of the law in Gray's-Inn. Here his ſuperior talents, ſupported by indefatigable induſtry, ſoon made him an eminent proficient in the Engliſh law; and he

was, by the favour of Elizabeth, appointed one of her Council Extraordinary. In the mean time he never loſt ſight of his favourite object; for it was during this period of his life, that he formed the out-line of his great work "The Inſtauration of the Sciences," in a treatiſe to which he gave the vaunting title of *Temporis Partus maximus*, "The greateſt Birth of Time;" an expreſſion of vanity of which he afterwards repented, as appears from a letter to Father Fulgentio, of Venice. This piece is not found among his works.

From this time Bacon appears upon the public theatre of the political world. But neither his great abilities, nor his accompliſhed manners, nor the intereſt of Eſſex the Queen's favourite, nor even the favour of the Queen herſelf (for ſhe often conſulted him on affairs of ſtate) could ſo far overcome the jealouſy of the miniſters, and the ſpirit of faction, as to obtain for him any advantageous poſt. At laſt, Eſſex, who had in vain ſolicited public favour for his friend, and who ſaw him now almoſt driven by ſpleen and reſentment to forſake his country, from his own private bounty preſented him with a valuable eſtate, which he afterwards ſold for eighteen hundred pounds. And we muſt add, though it is an indelible blot upon the memory of this great man, that after the diſgraceful execution of Eſſex, he had the diſingenuity to write, at the inſtigation of the miniſtry, a formal juſtification of their conduct, at the expence of the reputation of his friend and benefactor. All the obſequiouſneſs of Bacon could not, however, procure him the favour of the court; and it was not till James the Firſt aſcended the throne, that he obtained any reward for his ſuperior learning and abilities more ſubſtantial than the empty breath of fame. By means of his excellent treatiſe "On the Advancement of Learning," he ſoon obtained acceſs to that Prince, who valued himſelf upon being a patron of learning, and notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the Earl of Saliſbury, and Sir Edward Coke, he obtained, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven, the place which he had long deſired, of Solicitor General. In the midſt of the engagements of this office he continued, however, to purſue his philoſophical reſearches; for in one thouſand

six hundred and ten, he published his treatise "On the Wisdom of the Antients."

In one thousand six hundred and thirteen, Sir Francis Bacon (for James had, soon after his accession, conferred upon Bacon the honour of knighthood) was appointed Attorney General; an office, the profits of which amounted to six thousand pounds a year. This income, together with the wealth he had acquired by marriage and from other sources, might justly have been expected to have raised so eminent a philosopher above all temptation to servility and peculation. But ambition seduced this great man from the path of integrity. In order to obtain the honourable post of Lord High Chancellor of England, he descended to the meanest and most unwarrantable artifices. He endeavoured to destroy the popularity of his rival, Sir Edward Coke; he made use of undue influence in the House of Commons, and he yielded implicit submission to the will and humour of the Prince. By these arts, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventeen, Sir Francis obtained the seals with the title of Lord Keeper; and in the year one thousand six hundred and eighteen, was created Lord High Chancellor of England, with the title of Baron of Verulam, which he the next year changed for that of Viscount of St. Albans. But neither the avocations of the court, nor the labours of his office, could intice him from his favourite studies. In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty, he published a work on which he had been engaged twelve years, and which obtained him immortal honour, his *Novum Organon Scientiarum*, "New Organ of the Sciences."

In the midst of Lord St. Alban's splendour and wealth, an incident occurred which proved ruinous to his fortune, and at the same time to his reputation. The King, in order to supply his extravagancies, among other expedients, made use of illegal patents for monopolies. To these patents the learned Chancellor, through the instigation of the Duke of Buckingham, had affixed the Great Seal. The whole proceeding gave much offence to the public; complaints respecting these unjust and oppressive monopolies were brought into parliament; and the Duke of Buckingham, to extricate himself out of this

hazardous ſituation, perſuaded the king to lay the blame upon the Lord Chancellor. The King, whoſe fondneſs for Buckingham exceeded all bounds, liſtened to the propoſal, and even prevailed upon Lord St. Alban's to ſubmit his conduct to public examination without attempting his own defence, or being preſent at the trial; promiſing, on his royal word, to ſcreen him in the laſt determination of the court, or, if that could not be done, to make him ample recompence. The conſequence was, that the Lord Chancellor was, in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one, accuſed before the Houſe of Lords of bribery and corruption, and ſentenced to undergo a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during the King's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, and never to ſit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. After a ſhort confinement in the Tower, the King gave him his liberty, and about three years afterwards revoked the whole ſentence by an entire pardon. Lord St. Albans was thus reſtored to his honours, and men ſeemed willing to forget that ſo great a man had ever been capable of offending. From this time, however, mortified no doubt by the recollection of his public diſgrace, and the conſciouſneſs of having too well deſerved it, he declined all concern in affairs of ſtate, and devoted himſelf to retirement and ſtudy. It was during theſe laſt years of his life, which were clouded with care, as well as loaded with regret, that Lord Bacon wrote the greater part of his valuable works. After having been for ſome time in a declining ſtate, he died, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix, of a fever, which was occaſioned by purſuing, with more application than his ſtrength would bear, certain experiments reſpecting the preſervation of bodies [a].

Without dwelling upon a ſubject ſo humiliating as the inconſiſtencies and blemiſhes of a great and exalted mind, we will immediately proceed to conſider Bacon in the light in which he will unqueſtionably be admired by the moſt remote poſterity, as, among the moderns, the firſt great improver of philoſophy.

Poſſeſſing by nature a ſtrong and penetrating judgment, and hav-

[a] Rawley's and Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon. Bayle.

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ing inured himſelf from his childhood to a habit of cloſe attention and deep thinking, Bacon was capable of taking an accurate and comprehenſive ſurvey of the regions of knowledge, and of thoroughly examining the foundations of thoſe ſtructures which had hitherto been honoured with the title of ſyſtems of philoſophy. His firſt great attempt in philoſophy was his incomparable treatiſe "On the Advancement of Learning," firſt publiſhed in Engliſh, and afterwards tranſlated by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of ſome friends, into Latin.

The great deſign of this work was, to take an accurate ſurvey of the whole extent of the intellectual world; to review the ſtate of knowledge, as it then ſtood, in its ſeveral branches, in order to diſcover how far ſcience had been ſucceſsfully proſecuted, and what improvements might ſtill be made for the benefit of mankind; and to point out general methods for the correction of error, and the advancement of knowledge. The Author, following the diviſion of nature into the three faculties of the Soul, Memory, Imagination, and Underſtanding, claſſes all knowledge under three general heads, correſponding to theſe faculties, Hiſtory, Poetry, Philoſophy. Philoſophy he conſiders as the univerſal ſcience, which is the parent of all others, and divides it into three branches; that which treats of God, or natural theology; that which treats of nature, or natural philoſophy; and that which treats of man, or human and civil philoſophy. Natural philoſophy he diſtributes into Speculative and Operative; including under the former head, phyſics, which treat of the general principles of nature, of the frame of the world, and of diſtinct bodies, and their common or peculiar properties; and metaphyſics, which treat of forms and final cauſes: and comprehending under the latter, mechanics, as deduced from general phyſical cauſes; and magic, or the knowledge of peculiar properties and powers in nature, and of their application to produce unuſual effects. Mathematics he conſiders as an appendage to natural philoſophy. The philoſophy of human nature he views generally, and ſpecially; generally, as it reſpects the whole man, liable to miſeries, or poſſeſſing prerogatives, and as regarding the mutual connection and influence of the mind and body; ſpecially, as it reſpects human nature divided

into body, the ſubject of medicinal, coſmetic, athletic, and voluptuary arts; and ſoul, whether rational or ſenſible, with its various faculties, their uſe and objects; and, as it reſpects civil life, comprehending converſation, negotiation, and government. Under the head of "The Uſe and Objects of the Faculties of the Mind," he includes Logic, comprehending enquiry or invention, examination or judgment, cuſtody or memory, and elocution or tradition, in all the forms of ſpeech and writing; and Ethics, treating of the nature of good, ſimple, or comparative, and of the culture of the mind, reſpecting its natural or accidental characters, and its affections and diſtempers. To all this the author adds a diſcourſe concerning the limits and uſe of human reaſon in matters divine.

From this brief analyſis of this excellent work, the reader may in ſome meaſure perceive, with what compaſs of thought and ſtrength of judgment Bacon examined the whole circle of ſciences; and if the treatiſe be carefully peruſed, as it ought to be by every one who is deſirous of methodiſing and enlarging his conceptions on the general objects of ſcience, the reader will not fail to admire the active and penetrating genius of the author, who could alone diſcover ſo many things, of which former ages had been ignorant, and hold up to poſterity a light, by which they have been ſo ſucceſsfully guided into new fields of ſcience. The numerous *deſiderata*, which he has ſuggeſted in almoſt every branch of ſcience, have furniſhed hints to ſucceeding philoſophers, which have greatly contributed towards the leading object of all his philoſophical labours, the advancement of learning.

Bacon was now deſirous of becoming a faithful and uſeful guide to others in the purſuit of knowledge, by pointing out to them the beſt method of employing their reaſoning faculties on the ſeveral objects of philoſophy; and for this purpoſe wrote his *Novum Organon*, a treatiſe which the author himſelf eſteemed the moſt valuable of his works. Rejecting the ſyllogiſtic method of reaſoning, as a mere inſtrument of Scholaſtic diſputation, which could not be applied with any advantage to the ſtudy of nature, he attempts, in this work, to ſubſtitute in its ſtead the method of induction, in which natural

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objects are subjected to the test of observation and experiment, in order to furnish certain facts as the foundation of general truths. By this expedient he hoped to remove those obstructions to the progress of knowledge, the prejudices (called by our author *Idolæ)* arising from antient authority, from false methods of reasoning, or from the natural imbecility of the human mind. Physical Experiment, the ORGAN or instrument which he proposed for the investigation of nature, he considered as the only effectual method of drawing men off from those uncertain speculations, which, contributing nothing towards discovering the true nature of things, only serve to bewilder the imagination, and confound the judgment. For the particular precepts which Bacon prescribed for this purpose, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which will amply repay the labour of a diligent perusal. The great number of new terms which the author introduces, and the complex mode of arrangement which he adopts, cast indeed some degree of obscurity over the work, and have perhaps rendered it less useful than it would otherwise have been: but the reader who has the courage to overcome these difficulties will meet with many excellent observations, which may materially contribute, even in the present advanced state of natural knowledge, to the improvement of science. But the principal value of this work is, that it represents in the most lively colours, the nature, the strength, and the mischievous effects of prejudice, and lays open the various circumstances which have, in all ages, hindered the free and successful pursuit of knowledge.

The way being thus prepared, Bacon applied himself chiefly to the improvement of that branch of philosophy which best suited his inclination, physics; and though he did not attempt to frame a system of natural philosophy, he wrote several treatises, which contain original observations on various branches of natural science, but are chiefly valuable as a pattern to posterity of the manner in which these researches should be pursued. His philosophical treatises are, Of Words; Of Rarefaction and Condensation; Of Sympathy; Of Life and Death; Of the Three Chemical Principles; Of Bodies, heavy and light; On speculative and essential Physics; Description of the

the Intellectual World; Plan of the Heavens; On the Tides; The Philosophy of Parmenides, Telefius, and Democritus; Indications for the Interpretation of Nature; Of the Wifdom of the Antients; A Hiftory of Nature; and, A new Atlantis. Befides thefe, he wrote feveral moral, political, and hiftorical pieces, fomewhat obfcure in expreffion, but full of profound thought, and juft reflection, and worthy of an attentive and frequent perufal. This latter clafs of his writings is enlivened with examples, narratives, apothegms, fimilies, and many other decorations. His entire works have been publifhed in England, Holland, and Germany.

The only thing to be regretted in the writings of Bacon is, that he has increafed the difficulties neceffarily attending his original and profound refearches, by too freely making ufe of new terms, and by loading his arrangement with an exceffive multiplicity and minutenefs of divifions. But an attentive and accurate reader, already not unacquainted with philofophical fubjects, will meet with no infuperable difficulties in ftudying his works, and, if he be not a wonderful proficient in fcience, will reap much benefit as well as pleafure from the perufal. In fine, Lord Bacon, by the univerfal confent of the learned world, is to be ranked in the firft clafs of modern philofophers. He unqueftionably belonged to that fuperior order of men, who, by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, have been benefactors to mankind; and he may not improperly be ftyled, on account of the new track of fcience which he explored, the Columbus of the philofophical world *.

* Vidend. Oper. Lond. 1740. 1765.

SECT.

SECT. 4.

OF THOMAS CAMPANELLA.

AT the ſame time that Bacon was improving philoſophy in Britain, attempts of a ſimilar kind, but with far inferior ſucceſs, were made in Italy by Campanella, a man whoſe natural genius prompted him to bold innovations.

THOMAS CAMPANELLA [a], a native of Calabria, was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight. From his infancy he diſcovered a wonderful memory, and a ſingular genius. At thirteen years of age he was able to write verſes with great facility. Having been early inſtructed in theological ſubjects, his firſt ambition was to rival the fame of the great Albert, and Thomas Aquinas; and he entered his name in that monaſtic order which they had ſo much adorned, the fraternity of Dominicans. In the convent of San Giorgio, he engaged with great induſtry and ardour in the ſtudy of philoſophy; but he ſoon diſcovered the ſterility of the antient method of philoſophiſing, and, after in vain ſeeking for ſatisfaction from Ariſtotle or Plato, Zeno or Epicurus, he had recourſe, when he was about eighteen years of age, to a modern maſter, who had profeſſed to ſtudy the nature of things rather than the ſpeculations of philoſophers. The philoſophy of Teleſius about this time engaging much attention in Italy, Campanella read his treatiſe "On the Nature of Things," and was ſo much captivated with the bold and free ſpirit of this work, that he determined to leave the barren deſart of the Ariſtotelian Scholaſtics, for the more pleaſant and fruitful fields of the Teleſian philoſophy. He wrote a defence of Teleſius

[a] E. S. Cypriani Vit. Camp. Amſt. 1705. Niceron. Mem. Lit. t. i. Erythr. Pinacoth. l. i. p. 41. Struv. Act. Lit. faſc. ii. p. 71. Stollii Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. § 91.

against Antoninus Marta, who had undertaken the refutation of that philosopher's doctrine, in a work entitled *Pugnaculum Aristotelis*, "A Defence of Aristotle," and came to Naples to publish his work, which was entitled, *Philosophia Sensibus demonstrata*, "Philosophy demonstrated to the Senses."

The contempt with which Campanella, in this work, treated the authority of Aristotle, raised a violent ferment among his monastic brethren, which was still further increased by the bold and decisive tone with which he contradicted long established tenets in public disputations. Supported however by wealthy patrons, and still more by his own firm and independent spirit, he persevered in the design which he had long formed of attempting the reformation of philosophy. He wrote two treatises, one, *De Sensu Rerum*, "On Sensation;" the other, *De Investigatione*, "On Investigation," from a persuasion, as he himself says, that it was necessary to point out to young men, some better way to the knowledge of things than Aristotle or Plato had taught, and that they should be instructed to reason, not after the manner of Raymond Lully, upon mere words, but upon sensible objects.

Neither the power of his genius, nor the patronage of his friends, could, however, secure Campanella from insult and persecution. To escape these, he removed from Naples to Rome, and afterwards to Florence, Venice, Padua, and Bologna. At last he settled in his native country, and, probably, in order to cover his innovations with the shield of orthodoxy, wrote in defence of the see of Rome. But, notwithstanding this precaution, he soon fell under suspicions which proved fatal to him. He was accused of being concerned in a conspiracy against the King of Spain, and the Neapolitan government, and, after undergoing torture, was confined in prison about twenty-seven years, during a great part of which time he was denied the privilege of reading and writing. As soon as this indulgence was granted him, he wrote several books, among which were a treatise on the Spanish Monarchy, and his "Real Philosophy." These he sent into Germany to be published. Many attempts were made by his friends to obtain his liberation; but they were unsuccessful, till

Pope

Pope Urban VIII. a patron of learned men, prevailed upon Philip IV. of Spain to grant him an acquittal from the charge of treaſon. In one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix he was ſet at liberty; but finding himſelf ſtill inſecure in Italy, he found means, under the connivance and favour of the Pope, to eſcape to France, where he experienced the favour of Cardinal Richlieu, who procured for him a penſion from Louis XIII. He paſſed the remainder of his days in a Dominican monaſtery at Paris, where he continued to enjoy the ſociety of many learned men, till, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, he expired.

Campanella was confeſſedly a man of genius; but his imagination predominated over his judgment. Innumerable proofs of this may be found in his aſtrological writings, in his book *De Senſu Rerum*, and in many other parts of his works. Can it be doubted that a man, who gave credit to the art of aſtrology; who believed that he was cured of a diſeaſe by the words and prayers of an old woman; who thought that demons appeared to him, and converſed with him; and who perſuaded himſelf, that when any danger threatened him, he was, between ſleeping and waking, warned of it by a voice which called him by his name; was deſtitute of that ſound judgment which is ſo eſſential a quality in the character of a philoſopher? But notwithſtanding all his childiſh credulity, and all the eccentricity of his genius, Campanella had his lucid and happy intervals, in which he reaſoned ſoberly. He is chiefly worthy of praiſe for the freedom with which he expoſed the futility of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and for the pains which he took to deduce natural ſcience from obſervation and experience[a]. Of the numerous writings which his fertile imagination produced, the moſt celebrated are, *Prodomus Philoſophiæ inſtaurandæ*, "A Præcurſor to the Reſtoration of Philoſophy;" *Atheiſmus triumphatus*, "Atheiſm ſubdued;" *De Gentiliſmo non retinendo*, "On the Rejection of Paganiſm;" *Aſtrologica*, "On Aſtrology;" *Philoſophia rationalis*, "Rational Philoſophy; *Civitas Solis*, "The City of the Sun;" *Univerſalis Philoſophia*,

[a] Conring. de Prud. Civ. c. 14. Adami Præf. Prodrom. Ph. Camp. Id. in Epilogiſmo.

"Universal Philosophy;" *De Libris propriis* "On his own Books;" *De recta Ratione studendi,* "On the right Method of Studying."

Though Campanella read much, as appears from many of his writings, particularly from his treatise, "On the Method of Studying," he paid little respect to the opinions of others. He controverted many of the notions even of his master Telesius, and advanced many dogmas of his own, in dialectics, physics, and ethics.

In dialectics, Campanella's chief object seems to have been, to recede as far as possible from the Peripatetics, but his logic abounds with subtle distinctions, useless terms, and obscure rules, upon which the lowest censure we can pass is, that they are no improvement upon Aristotle.

Concerning nature[a], the leading doctrines of Campanella were as follows. Sense is the only guide in philosophy, and is distinguished into present perception, anticipation, and inference from things perceived to things not perceived. The essence and existence of things are the same. Space is the first incorporeal substance, immoveable, the receptacle of all bodies. Time is the successive duration of things, and is only measured by motion. God placed matter in the midst of space, and appointed two principles, Heat and Cold, to act upon the common mass. Heat formed the heavens from rarified matter; Cold produced the earth, from matter condensed. Heat, in repelling the contrary principle, moves the heavens in a circular orbit, and where its power of rarefaction is overcome by Cold, its portions of matter, being condensed, become lucid bodies, or stars. Cold, continually repelling Heat equally in all directions, the earth, the mass upon which it acts, remains immoveable. Matter, being invisible, is black; light is vivid whiteness; the colour of cold is unknown, but it is probably black. The sun and the earth are the two elements whence all things are produced; air and water are not elements, because they cannot produce their like. The different forms in nature arise from the different ways and degrees in which the principles of heat and cold act upon matter. All animal operations are produced by one universal spirit, which acts in all senso-

[a] Prodrom. Phil. Instaur. Compend. Diss. de Natura Rerum. De Sensu Rerum.

riums.

rioms. All things in nature, the elements, with their caufes and effects, have the fenfe of feeling, in which they are paffive, and have withal a confcioufnefs of impreffions, and a perception of the objects by which they are produced. The world is an animal or fentient being, and fince nature abhors a vacuum, its parts feek each other with delight, and enjoy mutual contact. Matter itfelf is fentient, and being in its nature dark and without form, feeks to be adorned with colour and forms, which are communicated to it by the active principles of nature. The foul, or principle of animal life, is a rare fubftance, capable of receiving impreffions from things diffimilar, but not from thofe which are fimilar to itfelf, whence it perceives grofs bodies, but not air or fpirit; it is not a property of the body, but an agent inclofed in, and operating upon, the body. The human foul defcends from an infinite caufe, towards which it tends, and is immortal. The world itfelf has a foul, by which it is directed, as man by the divine principle within him. The firft, greateft, and only true being, in whom power, wifdom, and love exift as primary principles, tranfmits his inexhauftible ideas, by means of the active caufes, heat and cold, to the corporeal maffes, fupported in fpace, the bafis of the world, which itfelf has its ftability in God. All creatures are excellent, in proportion to the degree in which they bear the image of the effential principles of the divine nature. Human depravity confifts in the lofs of this image, and human perfection in its reftoration.

As far as any idea of the philofophical character of Campanella can be formed from the confufed mafs of opinions, fo diffufely, but obfcurely, expreffed in his voluminous writings, we muft conclude, that notwithftanding the cenfures which have often been paffed upon him for impiety, he is rather to be ranked among enthufiafts than atheifts; and that, as in his other undertakings, fo alfo in his attempts to reform philofophy, he was unfuccefsful *.

* Echardi Script. Ord. Predic. Branchedori Orat. Præm. de Ortû Pontif. Blount. Cenf. p. 436. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. § 3. Naud. Bibliog. c. 2.

SECT.

SECT. 5.

OF THOMAS HOBBES.

ANOTHER Englishman who made bold attempts towards the improvement of philosophy, was THOMAS HOBBES[a], born in one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, at Malmsbury, in Wiltshire. Through premature birth, occasioned by his mother's terror at the rumour of the approach of the Spanish invincible armada towards the British coast, he had a feeble constitution; but he early discovered uncommon vigour of mind, and made such rapid progress in learning, that while he was a boy, he translated the Medea of Euripides into elegant Latin verse. At fourteen years of age he was sent by his uncle to Oxford, where, for five years, he applied with great industry to the study of logic and the Peripatetic philosophy. He was then appointed tutor to a young nobleman, the son of Lord Hardwick, with whom he made the tour of France and Italy. This opportunity of seeing the celebrated monuments of antiquity, conversing with learned men, and becoming acquainted with the policy and manners of foreign states, Hobbes assiduously improved. Upon his return, entertaining a strong persuasion of the inanity and inutility of the Peripatetic philosophy, he resolved to devote his leisure to the study of the antients, that he might collect whatever was most valuable from their writings. His high reputation for learning introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Bacon and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who engaged him to assist them in translating their works into Latin. The conversation of these great men excited in him a violent aversion to Scholastic learning, and an earnest desire of investigating truth with a liberal and independent spirit. It was a

[a] Life by R. R. 1685. Bayle. Wood Hist. Ox. l. ii. p. 378. Blount Cens. p. 1046. Epist. præf. Lib. de Cive.

circumſtance which greatly increaſed his love of philoſophy, that in a viſit which he paid to France and Italy, about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five, he became acquainted with ſeveral eminent philoſophers, particularly Merſenne and Gaſſendi, with whom he formed an intimate friendſhip, and after his return kept up a conſtant correſpondence.

The diſſentions in Great Britain, about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven, riſing to great violence, Hobbes, whoſe connections and principles made him a zealous advocate for the royal cauſe, rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious to the popular party, that he thought it prudent to retire to Paris, where he enjoyed the ſociety of many philoſophical friends. Among others, he was introduced to the celebrated philoſopher Des Cartes, and began an epiſtolary correſpondence with him on the nature and laws of motion, on optics, and other topics of natural philoſophy. When Des Cartes firſt wrote his "Philoſophical Meditations" on God and the human mind, and other pneumatological ſubjects, he ſubmitted it to the examination of his learned friends, and amongſt the reſt to Hobbes, who ſent his obſervations on the work to their common friend Merſenne, by whom they were communicated to Des Cartes. Hobbes, who was of opinion that thought may be a property of body, contradicted ſome of the firſt principles of Des Cartes' ſyſtem. A correſpondence was opened upon the ſubject; but Des Cartes affecting to treat his opponent with ſome degree of contempt, as deſtitute of ſolidity and depth of judgment, ſoon dropped the controverſy.

Whilſt Hobbes was in Paris, he was recommended to Charles prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the crown of England, who at that time reſided in Paris for the ſake of ſafety, as a proper perſon to inſtruct him in the elements of mathematics and philoſophy. This circumſtance ſtrengthened his attachment to the royal cauſe, and he completed his treatiſe on government, intituled, *De Cive*, which had long been in contemplation, and in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two, printed a few copies for the uſe of his friends. It was afterwards, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and

forty-

forty-ſeven, publiſhed with material corrections and improvements. The work, the object of which was to check the riſing ſpirit of freedom, by eſtabliſhing the claims of monarchy on new principles of philoſophy, was as much condemned by one party as it was admired by the other.

About this time, Hobbes entered into a controverſy with Biſhop Bramhall on the ſubject of liberty and neceſſity, in an epiſtolary correſpondence, which, being communicated to a friend in France, was tranſlated into French, and afterwards, without the conſent of Hobbes, publiſhed in England. Bramhall, diſpleaſed at the publication of theſe papers, continued the diſpute, and the whole controverſy was collected into one volume, and printed in London, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix [a]. Hobbes ſtrenuouſly maintained the doctrine of neceſſity, eſtabliſhed on the abſolute power and irreſiſtible will of God, which was the leſs ſurpriſing, as at that time the Calviniſtic doctrine of predeſtination was generally received. Many of the clergy, in their zeal to oppoſe the doctrine of Hobbes, which they thought ſubverſive of morality, deſerted Calvin, and embraced the Arminian tenet of free will.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, Hobbes wrote his treatiſe on "Human Nature," which was, in the opinion of Mr. Addiſon, his beſt work, and another, *De Corpore politico*, "Of the Political Body." The year following, he publiſhed his "Leviathan;" a treatiſe, in which, in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of civil policy, he repreſents man as an untameable beaſt of prey, and government as the ſtrong chain, by which he is to be kept from miſchief. This work, though learned and ingenious, advanced ſuch bold and paradoxical opinions, both in philoſophy and policy, that the whole body of the Engliſh clergy took the alarm, and the author was ſtrongly ſuſpected to be, in religion, inimical to revelation, and in policy, to favour the cauſe of democracy. The indignation, which this publication excited, was probably in a great meaſure owing to the freedom with which it inveighs againſt eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

[a] Entitled "Queſtions touchant la Liberté, la Neceſſité, et le Hazard eclairces et debatues entre le Dr. Bramhall, Eveque de Derry, et Thomas Hobbes de Malmſbury.

The ſuſpicions, which were on this occaſion raiſed againſt Hobbes, diſſolved his connection with Prince Charles at Paris; and in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-three, he returned to England, and found a welcome aſylum in the Devonſhire family. From this time, declining all political diſputes, he ſpent his days in philoſophical ſtudies, and in the ſociety of learned men, among whom were Harvey and Selden. He publiſhed, firſt in Latin, and afterwards in Engliſh, a treatiſe "On Bodies," in which he undertakes to explain the principles of nature. He wrote a treatiſe on geometry, in which he advanced many things contrary to the received doctrine of geometricians, and brought upon himſelf (whether juſtly or not it is not our buſineſs to enquire) a ſevere cenſure, for attempting to correct what he did not himſelf ſufficiently underſtand. To complete his body of philoſophy, he publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight, "A Diſſertation on Man," in which he advanced many ſingular opinions concerning the intellectual and moral powers of human nature.

After the reſtoration, Hobbes came to London, and was graciouſly received by the king, who admitted him to a private audience, and gave him a penſion of one hundred pounds *per annum*. Through the vigilance of the clergy, he was, however, prevented from executing his favourite deſign of collecting and republiſhing his works in Engliſh, and was obliged to ſend them over to Amſterdam, where an entire edition in Latin was publiſhed [a]. Whilſt the writings of Hobbes were reprobated by the general body of the clergy, and occaſioned many learned and able replies, they were not without their admirers both at home and abroad. Foreigners of the firſt diſtinction viſited him, among whom was Coſmo de Medicis, then Prince of Tuſcany. Even in the public ſchools his doctrines had profeſſed advocates; and Daniel Scargil, a Cambridge ſcholar, maintained ſome of his fundamental tenets in a public diſputation; on which account he was expelled from the univerſity. This circumſtance brought ſo much odium upon Hobbes, that Biſhop Fell, in his Latin edition of

[a] Amſt. Bleau. 4to. 1668.

Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſis*, thought it neceſſary to leave out the eulogium which the author had paſſed upon the philoſopher of Malmſbury, and inſert in its ſtead a ſevere cenſure. Wood, offended at this freedom, acquainted Hobbes, who wrote a letter in juſtification of himſelf to the author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſis*, which was publiſhed at Oxford. This produced from Fell a bitter invective, to which Hobbes, who was now far advanced in years, made no reply. In his laſt days he retired into the country, and employed himſelf in tranſlating Homer, and writing the hiſtory of the civil war. This latter work Hobbes could not obtain the royal permiſſion to publiſh; but it was ſent into the world by a friend, without his knowledge. He died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine, having lived to the great age of ninety-one.

Hobbes was certainly poſſeſſed of vigorous faculties, and had he been ſufficiently careful to form and improve his judgment, and to preſerve his mind free from the bias of prejudice and paſſion, would undoubtedly have deſerved a place in the firſt claſs of philoſophers. The mathematical method of reaſoning which he adopted, greatly aſſiſted him in his reſearches; but he was often led into error, by aſſuming falſe or uncertain principles or axioms. The vehemence with which he engaged in political conteſts biaſſed his judgment on queſtions of policy, and led him to frame ſuch maxims and rules of government, as would be deſtructive of the peace and happineſs of mankind. An arrogant contempt of the opinions of others, an impatience of contradiction, and a reſtleſs ambition to be diſtinguiſhed as an innovator in philoſophy, were qualities which appear to have contributed in no ſmall degree to the perverſion of his judgment. To enumerate all the particulars, in which Hobbes departs from the beaten track of opinions, would carry us beyond our limits. The following poſitions, chiefly ſelected from his Leviathan, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of his philoſophy.

All knowledge originates in ſenſation, and is produced by the preſſure, either immediate or mediate, of external objects upon the ſenſes. Senſible qualities are, in their objects, nothing more than the

the motion of matter operating varioufly upon the organs of fenfation. Imagination and memory are the permanent effects of former impreffions upon the fenfes. Thinking is the fucceffion of one imagination after another, which may be either irregular or regulated with a view to fome end. Every conception, being derived from the fenfes, is finite; we have, therefore, no idea of infinity, and God is an object, not of apprehenfion, but of reverence. No one can conceive of any thing but as exifting in fome place, of fome finite magnitude, and divifible into parts; nor can any thing be wholly in one place and wholly in another at the fame time, or two or more things be at the fame time in the fame place. Truth and falfehood are attributes, not of things, but of language. The intellect peculiar to man is a faculty arifing from fpeech; and the ufe of reafon is the deduction of remote confequences from the definitions of terms. Science is the knowledge of thefe confequences. There are in animals two kinds of motion, one, vital and involuntary; the other, animal and voluntary. The latter, if it tends towards an object, is appetite; if it recedes from it, averfion: and the object in the former cafe is faid to be good, in the latter, evil. Appetite is attended with pleafure, averfion with pain. In deliberation, the laft impulfe of the appetite is will; fuccefs in obtaining its object, enjoyment. Moral qualities are thofe by which the peace and fecurity of the ftate are preferved. Felicity confifts not in tranquillity, but in a perpetual progrefs from one defire to another. The diverfity of human characters arifes from the different ways in which men purfue happinefs.

The defire of inveftigating caufes leads to the knowledge and belief of a firft caufe, the one eternal Deity, although the divine nature is incomprehenfible. From men's ignorance of true caufes arifes anxiety, fear, fuperftition.

Nature has formed all men equal; whence arifes the univerfal hope of acquiring by violence whatever we defire, and the univerfal apprehenfion of fuffering violence from others. The neceffary confequence is, that a ftate of nature is a ftate of perpetual hoftility, in which no individual has any other means of fafety than his own

ſtrength or ingenuity, and in which there is no room for induſtry, becauſe no ſecure enjoyment of its fruits. In this ſtate, every one has a right to uſe his own faculties at pleaſure for his preſervation, and of doing whatever he judges to be conducive to this end; and ſince there is no property, there can be no injuſtice.

For the ſake of peace and ſecurity, it is neceſſary that each individual recede from a part of his natural right, and be contented with ſuch a ſhare of liberty, or freedom from reſtraint, as he is willing to allow to others. This reſignation of natural rights may either be a ſimple renunciation, or a transfer of them to an individual or body, by mutual conſent, for the common good. The multitude, thus brought out of a ſtate of nature, becomes one perſon, which is called the Republic or State, in which the common power and will are exerciſed for the common defence. The ruling power cannot be taken from thoſe to whom it has been committed, nor can they be puniſhed for mal-adminiſtration. If the ſupreme magiſtrate inflicts any penalty upon the innocent, he ſins againſt God, but does not act unjuſtly. The interpretation of the laws is to be ſought, not from preceptors nor philoſophers, but from the authority of the ſtate; for it is not truth, but authority, that makes law; nevertheleſs, the king ought to interpret the law according to his own natural reaſon and conſcience. Puniſhment is an evil inflicted upon the tranſgreſſor of the law, to this end, that the apprehenſion of it may bend the will of the citizens to ſubmiſſion. The public law is to be inſtead of conſcience to every individual; it is therefore falſe that every violation of conſcience in a citizen is a ſin. The offices of the ſupreme governors are to be regulated by thoſe ends, which comprehend the ſecurity of the people.

Although Hobbes often admits falſe principles, and advances pernicious tenets, many juſt and profound obſervations are to be met with in his writings, which have probably led the way to the improvement of moral and political ſcience.

It is much to be regretted that Hobbes, though he had the precept and example of Lord Bacon to guide him, neglected the new and fertile path of experimental philoſophy. So little was he aware

of the value of this kind of knowledge, that he cenſured the Royal Society of London, at its firſt inſtitution, for attending more to minute experiment than general principles, and ſaid, that if the name of a philoſopher was to be obtained by relating a multifarious farrago of experiments, we might expect to ſee apothecaries, gardeners, and perfumers, rank among philoſophers.*

* Vidend. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, v. i. p. 36, 92. 150. 211. Gundling. Obſ. Select. t. i. Obſ. 2. Gundlingiana, p. xiv. Huberus Orat. de Pædantiſmo, p. 60. Rapin. Reflex. ſur la Phil. p. 55. Cumberland on the Law of Nature, Lond. 1672. Puffendorf. Erid. Scand. p. 206. Andree Diſcuſſ. fundam. Hobbeſii. 1672.

SECT. 6.

OF DES CARTES.

IN modern times, few philoſophers have a higher claim to diſtinction, both on account of the variety and originality of his ſpeculations, and the celebrity which he obtained in the philoſophical world, than Des Cartes, who, though the father of a ſect, himſelf purſued his reſearches with ſuch a free and independent ſpirit, as juſtly entitles him to a place among the Eclectics.

RENES DES CARTES[a], a native of France, was born in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſix, at La Haye in Tourain. Whilſt he was a child, he diſcovered an eager curioſity to enquire into the nature and cauſes of things, which procured him the appellation of

[a] Baillet. Vit. Cartes, Par. 1691. Epit. 1693. Borelli et Teſſelii Vit. Cart. Witte Mem. Phil. dec. iv. p. 580. Niceron. t. 31. p. 274. Sturm. Diſſ. de Cart. Bayle.

the

the young philoſopher. At eight years of age, he was committed to the care of Dinet, a learned Jeſuit, under whom he made uncommon proficiency in learning. But an habit of cloſe and deep reflection ſoon enabled him to diſcover defects in the books which he read, and in the inſtructions which he received, which led him to form the ambitious hope that he ſhould, in ſome future time, carry ſcience to a point of perfection which it had never hitherto reached. After ſpending five years in the diligent ſtudy of languages, and in reading the antient poets, orators, and hiſtorians, he paſſed on to ſeverer ſtudies, and made himſelf well acquainted with the elements of mathematics, logic, and morals, as they had been hitherto taught. His earneſt deſire of attaining an accurate knowledge of every thing which became a ſubject of contemplation to his inquiſitive mind, did not, however, in any of theſe branches of ſcience meet with full ſatisfaction. Concerning logic, particularly, he complained, that after the moſt diligent examination he found the ſyllogiſtic forms, and almoſt every other precept of the art, more uſeful in enabling a man to communicate to others truths already known, or rather, like the Lullian art, in qualifying him to diſcourſe copiouſly upon ſubjects which he does not underſtand, than aſſiſting him in the inveſtigation of truths, of which he is at preſent ignorant. Hence he was induced to forſake the beaten track, and to frame for himſelf a brief ſyſtem of rules or canons of reaſoning, in which he followed the ſtrict method of the Geometricians. He purſued the ſame plan with reſpect to Morals. But after all his ſpeculations, he was not able to attain the entire ſatisfaction which he ſo earneſtly deſired; and, at the cloſe of eight years aſſiduous application in the Jeſuit's college at La Fleche, he returned to his parents, lamenting that he had derived no other benefit from his ſtudies, than a fuller conviction that he, as yet, knew nothing with perfect clearneſs and certainty. Deſpairing of being able to diſcover truth in the paths of learning, he now bade adieu to books, and reſolved henceforth to purſue no other knowledge, than that which he could find within himſelf, and in the great volume of nature.

Not

Not yet more than ſeventeen years of age, he was ſent to Paris by his father, who had ſuch entire confidence in his underſtanding and diſcretion, that he left him to his own direction. He now, for a while, gave free ſcope to youthful vanity, and the love of pleaſure, and would probably have been entirely loſt to the philoſophical world, had not the ſociety of ſeveral learned men, to whom he was introduced, recalled his attention to mathematical ſtudies, which he again proſecuted, in ſolitude and ſilence, for the ſpace of two years. Still, however, unſatisfied with the reſult of his ſpeculations, he renewed his purpoſe of forſaking books, and entered upon the military life, as a volunteer in the Dutch army; chiefly becauſe he apprehended, that this profeſſion would give him an advantageous opportunity of converſing with the world. But even amidſt the avocations of his new profeſſion, his natural propenſity to ſtudy returned, and he engaged in mathematical diſquiſitions, with an eminent mathematician at Breda, and wrote a philoſophical diſſertation, in which he attempted to prove that brutes are *automata*, or mere machines. From the Dutch army Des Cartes paſſed over into the Bavarian ſervice. In winter quarters, whilſt he was purſuing his ſpeculations, perplexing himſelf with doubts, and ſupplicating divine illumination, he was informed of the wonderful pretenſions of the Roſicruſian fraternity, and was willing to hope that he might gain, from men who boaſted of divine inſpiration, that light which he had in vain ſought from others. But, not being able to meet with any one who could unfold to him the myſteries of this ſect, he ſoon finiſhed his ſhort excurſion into the regions of enthuſiaſm, and returned to the humble path of rational enquiry. Whereever he went he converſed with learned men, and rather appeared in the character of a philoſopher than a ſoldier. At laſt, he quitted the military profeſſion, and after a tour through the Northern parts of Germany, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two, returned to his own country, with no other profit from his travels, as he himſelf confeſſes, than that they had freed him from many prejudices, and rendered his mind more fit for the reception of truth.

Des Cartes now for a while made Paris his place of reſidence, and returned to the ſtudy of mathematics, not as an ultimate object (for he thought it a fruitleſs labour to fill the head with numbers and figures) but in hopes of diſcovering general principles of relations, meaſures, and proportions, applicable to all ſubjects, by means of which truth might be with certainty inveſtigated, and the limits of knowledge materially enlarged. But not at preſent ſucceeding according to his wiſhes in this ſpeculation, he turned his attention chiefly to ethical enquiries, and attempted to raiſe a ſuperſtructure of morals upon the foundation of natural ſcience; for he was of opinion, that there could be no better means of diſcovering the true principles and rules of action, than by contemplating our own nature, and the nature of the world around us. This inveſtigation produced his treatiſe "On the Paſſions."

Having employed a ſhort time in theſe ſtudies, Des Cartes undertook a literary and philoſophical journey, and ſpent about two years in Italy, converſing with eminent mathematicians and philoſophers, and attending to various objects of enquiry in natural hiſtory. He then returned into France; but his mind remaining in an unſettled and ſceptical ſtate, he found it impoſſible to purſue any regular plan of life, till, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine, he determined to withdraw from his numerous connections and engagements in Paris, and retire into ſome foreign country, where he might remain unknown, and have full leiſure to complete his great deſign of framing a new ſyſtem of philoſophy. The country he choſe for this purpoſe was Holland; and he went thither with ſo much ſecrecy, that the place of his retirement was for ſome time known only to his intimate friend, Marſenne, at Paris. He at firſt reſided near Amſterdam, but afterwards went into the more Northern provinces, and viſited Deventer and Lewarden; he at laſt fixed upon Egmond, a pleaſant village near Francher, in the province of Frieſland, as the place of his more ſtated reſidence. Here he proſecuted his philoſophical labours, and ſaw them engage the attention of the learned world, in a manner which could not but be highly flattering to a mind not indifferent to honeſt fame.

In

In his retirement, Des Cartes employed himſelf in inveſtigating a proof from reaſon, independent of revelation, of thoſe fundamental points in religion, the exiſtence of God, and the immortality of the ſoul, and in other important metaphyſical ſpeculations. The reſult of theſe ſpeculations afterwards appeared in his treatiſe entitled *Meditationes Philoſophicæ de prima Philoſophia*, "Philoſophical Meditations on the Firſt Philoſophy." At the ſame time he purſued the phyſical enquiries which he had begun in France, particularly on the ſubject of optics; and theſe reſearches gave birth to his treatiſe "On Meteors." Beſides this, he paid no ſlight attention to medicine, anatomy, and chemiſtry; he ſpent a whole winter in diſſecting and examining animal bodies, and in chemical operations. He alſo wrote an aſtronomical treatiſe on the ſyſtem of the world; but when he heard in what manner the aſtronomer Galileo had been treated by the court of inquiſition, he was deterred from publiſhing it, and concealed his opinion concerning the true doctrine of the ſolar ſyſtem.

The tenets of Des Cartes made their firſt appearance in the ſchools at Deventer, where, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-three, they were introduced by the profeſſor of philoſophy, Henry Rener, a learned man, and an intimate friend of Gaſſendi. Not long afterwards, when, at the requeſt of his friends, he publiſhed a ſpecimen of his philoſophy in four treatiſes, the number of his admirers and followers ſoon increaſed; and at the ſame time, as was to be expected, his new doctrine had many opponents. At Utrecht, Leyden, and Amſterdam, and in other Dutch ſchools, the Carteſian doctrines were zealouſly eſpouſed by many learned men; whilſt ſeveral theologians, alarmed at the idea of innovation, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them, and even attempted to bring their author under the cenſure of the civil magiſtrate. In Great Britain, the Carteſian philoſophy obtained ſuch a degree of credit, that Sir Charles Cavendiſh, brother to the Earl of Newcaſtle, gave Des Cartes an invitation to ſettle in England. Charles the Firſt gave him reaſon to expect a liberal appointment; and Des Cartes was not diſinclined to place himſelf under ſuch reſpectable patronage. But the civil

wars fruſtrated this deſign, and Des Cartes remained in Holland. In his native country, his doctrine was at firſt well received, but a ſtrong party ſoon roſe againſt it among the Jeſuits. Bourden, one of the fraternity, attacked his dioptrics in the public ſchools, and a violent conteſt was long kept up between the Jeſuits and Carteſians. In the courſe of the diſputes which the Carteſian philoſophy occaſioned, Des Cartes himſelf appeared earneſtly deſirous to become the father of a ſect, and diſcovered more jealouſy and ambition than became a philoſopher.

During the courſe of Des Cartes' reſidence in Holland, he paid three viſits to his native country; one in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-three, when he publiſhed an abſtract of his philoſophy, under the title of *Specimena Philoſophica*, "Philoſophical Specimens;" the ſecond and third, in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, and one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight, when he was amuſed with a promiſe of an annual penſion of three thouſand livres, which he never received. His chagrin upon this diſappointment was, however, relieved by an invitation which, through the hands of the French ambaſſador, he received from Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, to viſit Stockholm. That learned princeſs had read his treatiſe "On the Paſſions" with great delight, and was earneſtly deſirous to be inſtructed by him in the principles of his philoſophy. Des Cartes, notwithſtanding the difficulties which he apprehended from the ſeverity of the climate, was prevailed upon to accept the invitation, and arrived at Stockholm in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-nine. The queen gave him a reſpectful reception, and the ſingular talents which he diſcovered, induced her earneſtly to ſolicit this eminent philoſopher to remain in her kingdom, and aſſiſt her in eſtabliſhing an academy of ſciences. But Des Cartes had not been more than four months in Sweden, when a cold which he caught in his early morning viſits to the queen, whom he inſtructed in philoſophy, brought on an inflammation of the lungs, which ſoon put a period to his life. The queen is ſaid to have lamented his death with tears. His remains were interred, at the requeſt of the French ambaſſador, in the cœmetery for foreigners, and a long hiſtorical eulogium

eulogium inſcribed upon his tomb. Des Cartes died at the beginning of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty. His bones were afterwards, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix, carried from Sweden into France, and interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont[a].

The writings of this philoſopher, the principal of which have been mentioned in the preceding narrative, prove him to have poſſeſſed an accurate and penetrating judgment, a fertile invention, and a mind ſuperior to prejudice; qualities which, united with an early acquaintance with antient learning, and indefatigable induſtry in the inveſtigation of truth, might ſeem to promiſe no inconſiderable ſhare of ſucceſs in the great deſign of reforming and improving philoſophy. Des Cartes would have been more ſucceſsful, had he been leſs deſirous of applying mathematical principles and reaſonings to ſubjects which do not admit of them; had he ſet leſs value upon mere conjectures; and had he been leſs ambitious of the honour of founding a new ſect in philoſophy. His leading dogmas have, however, too much originality and celebrity to be overlooked in this work.

Upon the ſubject of LOGIC[b], Des Cartes lays down the following rules for the diſcovery of truth, which are derived from the practice of Geometricians.

Nothing is ever to be admitted as true, which is not certainly and evidently known to be ſo; that is, in judging of truth all prejudice and precipitancy is carefully to be avoided, and nothing more is to be admitted in the concluſion, than what appears to the underſtanding ſo diſtinctly and clearly, that it cannot poſſibly be doubted. Difficulties muſt be accurately examined, and divided into ſo many parts, as may be moſt convenient for their eaſy ſolution. In proving any truth, the ideas are always to be brought forward in a certain order, beginning from things the moſt ſimple and moſt eaſily known, and advancing, by regular ſteps, to thoſe

[a] Blount. Cenſ. p. 1014. Littus de Leibnitz. et Peliſſon, p. 339. Leibnitz. p. 7. 220. Fontenelle Eloge de M. Leibnitz.

[b] Diſſ. de Methodo.

which are more complex and difficult. All the parts of a demonstration should be so distinctly numbered, that the relation of each to the whole may be clearly seen, and that it may be certainly known that nothing is omitted.

The chief heads of the METAPHYSICS[a] of Des Cartes are these:

Since every man is under the influence of prejudice, he ought, once in his life, in speculation, to doubt of every thing. Since the senses err, and dreams deceive, it is first to be doubted, whether sensible objects have a real existence. We must also doubt concerning those things which we have thought most certain, even mathematical axioms, because we are not sure that we may not have been so formed as to lie under a perpetual deception. We find ourselves, in the mean time, at liberty to withhold our assent from those propositions, which are uncertain, and capable of guarding against error; for which purpose the mind must divest itself of prejudice, and place itself in a proper situation for the reception of truth.

Whatever else we doubt of, it is impossible we should doubt whether we ourselves, who are conscious of exercising the power of thinking, exist. I THINK, THEREFORE I AM, is then the first and most certain truth in philosophy. In enquiring what sort of beings we are, before we admit the existence of any thing external, we perceive belonging to our nature Thought, which has neither extension, figure, local motion, nor any other property which we commonly ascribe to bodies, and of the existence of which we have a prior and more certain knowledge, than of that of any thing corporeal. The mind, which now knows itself, but still doubts of the existence of all other things, in looking around to extend its knowledge, first finds within itself Ideas; concerning the existence of which, whilst it contemplates these alone, and neither affirms nor denies any thing like them to exist externally, it cannot be deceived. It also finds within itself certain common notions, and from these frames various demonstrations, of the truth of which, whilst it attends to them, it is entirely persuaded. But because it

[a] Princip. Phil. p. 1.

does

does not yet know, whether it may not be ſo formed as to be deceived in thoſe things which appear moſt evident, it perceives it impoſſible to admit any certain ſcience till it has diſcovered the author of its being. Revolving within itſelf its various ideas, it finds one of a being ſupremely intelligent, powerful, and perfect, in which it diſcovers an exiſtence, not poſſible and contingent only, as in its ideas of all other things, but neceſſary and eternal. Since it finds within itſelf this idea of a ſupreme being, which could not be a fiction of its own, it concludes with certainty, that it muſt have proceeded from a really exiſting deity, and conſequently that it repreſents a true and immutable nature, which cannot poſſibly not exiſt, that is God. Attending to this innate idea of deity, we find him to be eternal, omniſcient, omnipotent, the fountain of all goodneſs and truth, the creator of all things. Nothing can be an attribute of the divine nature which implies limit or imperfection; therefore he is incorporeal, indiviſible, and void of paſſion, and exerciſes his underſtanding and volition, not by continued operations, but by the moſt ſimple action. In reaſoning concerning natural things, we ſhould argue not from final but efficient cauſes; and judge, not from what we imagine concerning the deſigns of God, but from what we know of his attributes. Becauſe the perfect deity muſt be a being of veracity, and incapable of deceiving his creatures, we may be aſſured that whatever we clearly and diſtinctly perceive to be true, is really ſo.

The Carteſian doctrine of PHYSICS[a] may be thus ſtated:

In nature there are two kinds of ſubſtance, that which thinks, or mind; and that which is extended, or body; the eſſence of the former is thought, of the latter extenſion; other attributes aſcribed to each are modes or qualities. All ſenſation proceeds from ſomething different from the mind, which affects the ſenſes. The idea of extended matter is preſented to the mind; if therefore matter did not really exiſt, God, who preſents this idea before the mind,

[a] Princip. Phil. p. ii. iii. iv. Dioptric.

would

would be a deceiver. Matter has therefore a real exiſtence. From the conſtant teſtimony of feeling, we know that our minds are intimately united to an organized body. The ſole eſſential property of body is extenſion; and quantity differs from extended ſubſtance only in our conceptions. Space, and the corporeal ſubſtance contained in it, are then in reality the ſame; for extenſion, in length, breadth, and depth, which conſtitutes ſpace, alſo conſtitutes body. Since extenſion is univerſal, there is in nature no vacuum. It is impoſſible that any atoms, or particles of matter, ſhould be ſo ſmall as to be indiviſible. Matter is one and the ſame through the whole univerſe, and exiſts without limit. Matter, conſidered with reſpect to its parts, is indiviſible and immoveable, and all its variations depend upon motion, which conſiſts in the removal of one body out of the vicinity of thoſe which immediately touch it, into the vicinity of other bodies. There can be no motion but in a circuit, one body expelling another from the place into which it enters, while it is itſelf ſucceeded by a third, which occupies the place it has left. The firſt univerſal cauſe of all motion is God, who in the beginning communicated motion to matter, according to three laws of nature; the firſt, that every body will remain in the ſame ſtate without ſome external cauſe of change; the ſecond, that all bodies in motion move, or tend to move, in a right line; the third, that when one moving body meets another, if its moving force be leſs than the force of reſiſtance in the other, it will retain all its motion, and only change the direction in which it moves.

The ſun and all the fixed ſtars ſhine by their proper light; the moon, the earth, and planets borrow their light from the ſun. The heavens may be conceived to be a vaſt fluid maſs, revolving, in the manner of a vortex, round the ſun. Each planet has its own portion of this fluid, or its own heaven, which revolves round the ſun. Theſe all move in the ſame direction, but with greater velocity in proportion as they are nearer the ſun. Each planet, therefore, and among the reſt the earth, is fixed with reſpect to its own vortex or heaven, but moves in its vortex

round

round the ſun. Within the greater vortices of the planets are other leſs vortices, moving in the ſame direction with the greater; one, in the center of which is Jupiter; and another, in the center of which is the earth; by means of which the ſatellites of Jupiter, and the moon of the earth, revolve periodically round theſe planets.

The formation of the world may be conceived to have been thus effected. Suppoſe the matter of the world to have been originally divided into equal particles, having in the whole the ſame quantity of motion which is at preſent in nature: ſuppoſe theſe particles to have been equally moved, both individually and ſeparately, round their reſpective centers, forming the fluid maſs of the heavens; and collectively round certain fixed points, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as are now the fixed ſtars and planets; whence as many vortices would be produced as there are at preſent moveable celeſtial bodies: ſuppoſe all the particles, in the beginning equal in matter and motion, to have been of irregular form, but in proceſs of time made round by continual attrition ariſing from their circular motion: laſtly, ſuppoſe the intervals between theſe to be filled up by a perpetual ſucceſſion of thoſe very minute corpuſcles which are ſeparated from the reſt by attrition; theſe minute corpuſcles to have been in the ſame manner ſtill further diminiſhed, and as they decreaſe in quantity to increaſe in velocity, and to have been driven in every oblique direction by the firſt order of particles, which continue in their direct courſe. Hence two elements of things would ariſe; the firſt, that matter which is divided into indefinitely ſmall corpuſcles, of form adapted to fill up all poſſible vacuity; the ſecond, that which is divided into minute ſpherical particles, of a determinate quantity. To theſe may be added a third, having parts more groſs, or figures leſs fitted for motion. From the firſt element, the ſun and fixed ſtars; from the ſecond, the heavens; and from the third, the earth with the other planets, and the comets, may be ſuppoſed to have been formed, ſubject to certain fixed laws of nature. The motion of the celeſtial globes produces a continual action

upon the particles of the third element, which is the caufe of various effects on the terreftrial globe, and among the reft of gravity.

The principles of MORALS[a], Des Cartes deduced from the phyfical nature of the paffions. His doctrine on this fubject is:

Whatever happens, is called paffion, with refpect to the fubject to which it happens; and action, with refpect to that which caufes it to happen. Nothing acts upon the mind more immediately, than the body to which it is joined; whence what is paffion in the mind, is action in the body. Heat, and the motion of the limbs, proceed from the body, and thoughts, from the mind; but the mind cannot give motion and heat to the body. The more vivid and and fubtle parts of the blood, which heat rarifies in the heart, are inceffantly entering into the cavities of the brain, and form animal fpirits, which are in the brain feparated from other lefs fubtle parts of the blood. Thefe animal fpirits, which are corporeal, excited as by the foul itfelf, fo alfo by the action of external objects upon the fenfes, are the immediate caufe of all the original motions of the body. Whence all the limbs may be moved by means of the objects of fenfe, and the animal fpirits, without any action of the foul. Nothing is to be attributed to the foul but thoughts: and thefe are of two kinds; active, or volition, including defire and averfion; and paffive, including intelligence, perception, and feeling or paffion.

The foul is united to all the parts of the body, but its chief functions are exercifed in the pineal gland of the brain, where it receives notice of the impreffions made upon the fenfes, and whence it fends forth animal fpirits through the nerves, which put the mufcles into motion. The paffions are feelings of the foul, produced and continued by the action of the animal fpirits; the chief effect of the paffions is, to excite the foul to volition. All volition is in its nature free, and confifts in caufing the gland, with which it is

[a] De paffionibus animæ.

intimately connected, to move in that manner which is moſt ſuitable to produce an effect correſponding to the volition. Judgment comprehends not only the perception of the underſtanding, but the aſſent of the will, and it is from the abuſe of its natural liberty of aſſenting or not aſſenting to a propoſition that error ſprings. The ſoul, in the act of recollection, exerciſes a volition by means of which the pineal gland inclines itſelf ſucceſſively this way and that way, and impels the animal ſpirits to different parts of the brain, till that part is found upon which the object which we wiſh to recollect has left traces.

The ſoul of man, which is one, is both ſenſitive and rational; and the conflict between its inferior and ſuperior parts is nothing elſe but a ſtruggle between the motions which the body, by means of its animal ſpirits, and the ſoul, by its own volition, are at the ſame time endeavouring to excite in the pineal gland. By the reſult of this conteſt, every one may judge of the ſtrength or weakneſs of his ſoul. The ſoul acquires the dominion over the body by means of firm and clear deciſions concerning good and evil, produced by the contemplation of truth, which it determines to follow without ſuffering itſelf to be ſeduced by preſent paſſion. The paſſions belong to the body, and are to be imputed to the ſoul only as it is united to the body. Their uſe is, to excite the mind to exert thoſe volitions which are neceſſary to the preſervation or perfection of the body, and the attainment of that which is in its nature good. All the paſſions are uſeful, and only become injurious by exceſs. The general remedy againſt the exceſs of the paſſions is, to conſider all the appearances which they preſent to the imagination as deceitful, and to poſtpone volition and action till the commotion which they have excited in the blood is appeaſed, or, where immediate action is neceſſary, to follow reaſon in oppoſition to paſſion. Since nothing beyond our own thoughts is abſolutely in our own power, it is wiſer to endeavour to ſubdue ourſelves than fortune, and to change our own deſires than the order of the world.

Animals are not only deſtitute of reaſon, but probably of all thought, and perform their various functions as mere *automata*,

 excited

excited to motion only by means of animal ſpirits, which act upon the nerves and muſcles.

This laſt extravagant opinion Des Cartes has been ſuſpected of borrowing from a Spaniſh writer, Gomez Peiræra, by whom it was maintained in his *Margarita Antoniana*; but it is more probable. that it was a concluſion originally deduced from his notion of the animal ſpirits in the œconomy of human nature.

Although ſome parts of the Carteſian ſyſtem appear to have been derived from the Grecian philoſophy; particularly the notion of innate ideas, and of the action of the ſoul upon the body, from Plato; the doctrine of a *plenum* from Ariſtotle; and the elements of the doctrine of vortices from the Atomic ſchool of Democritus and Epicurus; Des Cartes muſt, neverthelеſs, be confeſſed to have diſcovered great ſubtlety and depth of thought, as well as fertility of imagination, and to have merited a diſtinguiſhed place among the improvers of philoſophy. But his labours would have been more valuable, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be led aſtray into the romantic regions of hypotheſis by the falſe notion, that the nature of things may be better underſtood by endeavouring to account for appearances from hypothetical principles, than by inferring general principles from an attentive obſervation of appearances. His fondneſs for hypotheſis led him to confound the ideas of attribute and ſubſtance, as in his definition of matter and ſpace; and thoſe of poſſibility and probability, as in his doctrine of vortices. Even his celebrated argument for the exiſtence of God (which by the way, was maintained before his time by the ſcholaſtic Anſelm) confounds the idea of an infinite being with the actual exiſtence of that being, and ſubſtitutes a mere conception of the meaning of a term, in the place of the idea of a being really and ſubſtantially exiſting. Hence, though Des Cartes is by no means to be ranked among the enemies of religion, as he was by many of his bigotted contemporaries; though it be even true, that his whole ſyſtem is built upon the knowledge of God, and ſuppoſes his agency, it muſt nevertheleſs be regretted, that in eſtabliſhing the doctrine of deity, he forſook the clear and ſatisfactory ground of final cauſes, and had recourſe to a

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ſubtle argument, which few can comprehend, and with which fewer ſtill will be fully ſatisfied.

The ſyſtem of Des Cartes, notwithſtanding its defects, had ſo much ſubtlety, ingenuity, and originality, that it not only engaged the univerſal attention of the learned, but long continued, in the midſt of all the oppoſition which it met with from the profeſſed enemies of innovation, to be zealouſly defended by many able writers, and to be publicly taught in the ſchools, throughout all Europe. Till at length, when the more ſober method of philoſophiſing, introduced by Lord Bacon, began to be generally adopted, and the fabrications of romantic theories gave way to the experimental ſtudy of nature, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes, like "the baſeleſs fabric of an air-viſion," has diſappeared, and has ſcarcely "left a wreck behind."*

* Vidend. P. Daniel Iter Carteſ. per Mund. p. i. p. 14. Kortholt. Ep. Leibn. v. iii. Thomas Hiſt. Sap. t. ii. p. 114. Spanhem. ep. de Noviſſ. Diſſid. in Belgio. Pfaff. Hiſt. Lit. Theol. P. ii. p. 299. Sagittar. Intr. Hiſt. Eccl. P. i. p. 925. P. ii. p. 627. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. Schol. Bat. p. ii. c. 4. Cudworth. Int. Syſt. c. v. § 1. Parker Diſp. iii. de Deo. p. 221. vi. p. 489. Huet. de Rebus ſuis, l. vi. p. 162. Huet. Mem. pour Carteſianiſme. Rapin. Reflex. § 23. Ritter de Religione Carteſii. Petermanni Vind. Phil. Cart. Lipſ. 1704. Alberti Diſſ. de Cart. et Loccuaniſm. Monmor. Diſſ. de Phyſique de M. de Cartes, 1718.

SECT 7.

OF GODFRED WILLIAM LEIBNITZ.

WHAT Des Cartes undertook in France was at the ſame time attempted in Germany by Leibnitz, a diſtinguiſhed ornament of his age and country.

Godfred William Leibnitz[a] was born at Leipſic, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſix. He was the ſon of a learned profeſſor of morals in the univerſity of that city. In his childhood, ſuch was his thirſt after learning, that, not contented with the daily inſtruction of his preceptors, he frequently withdrew into his father's ſtudy to read the antients. Livy and Virgil were his favourite authors: and he was ſo intimately converſant with the latter, that, even when he was an old man, he could repeat from memory almoſt the whole of his poems. This early and aſſiduous attention to claſſical learning laid the foundation of that correct and elegant taſte, which appears in all his writings. At fifteen years of age Leibnitz became a ſtudent in the univerſity of Leipſic, where, under the direction of able maſters, he proſecuted with unuſual ſucceſs the various ſtudies of law, medicine, philoſophy, and theology, and made himſelf well acquainted with many eminent writers in each. In the univerſity of Jena, where he finiſhed his academical ſtudies, the principal objects of his attention were hiſtory, law, and mathematics. On his return home, he continued to ſtudy philoſophy, particularly in the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, whom he endeavoured to reconcile. In one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix, he took his degree in philoſophy, and in the public diſputations

[a] Elogie de Leibnitz par Fontenelle. Guntheri Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Leibnizian. Lipſ. 1737, 8vo. Fabric. Hiſt. Bibl. ſuæ, v. i. p. 317. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Ger. p. iii. p. 576. p. iv. p. 147. p. v. p. 262. Stollii Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Niceron. Mem. t. ii. p. 64.

upon

upon this occaſion, diſplayed uncommon ability. He publiſhed, the ſame year, his *Ars combinatoria*, "Combinatory Art;" a work intended to ſhew in what manner univerſal arithmetic may be applied to the elucidation of other ſciences. This piece was accompanied with "A Mathematical Demonſtration of the Exiſtence of God." Though this early production was not entirely approved by his own more mature judgment, it bore evident marks of an inventive genius.

In the midſt of his philoſophical and mathematical ſpeculations, Leibnitz had never neglected the ſtudy of juriſprudence; and he made himſelf ſo perfectly maſter of this ſcience, that, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, he publiſhed his *Nova Methodus docendæ diſcendæque Juriſprudentiæ*[a], "New Method of teaching and learning Juriſprudence," which gained him great applauſe, and introduced him to the notice of the elector of Mentz, by whom he was employed in affairs of ſtate. Still, however, he perſevered in his philoſophical inquiries; and when he found it in vain to attempt to collect any conſiſtent ſyſtem from former philoſophers, he determined to exerciſe his own invention in framing a new hypotheſis. This firſt effort of his philoſophical genius produced a work, entitled *Theoria Motus concreti*, "A Theory of Concrete Motion," inſcribed to the Royal Society in London; the principles of which were further explained in another work, *Theoria Motus abſtracti*, "The Theory of Abſtract Motion," inſcribed to the French Academy of Sciences. The ſolution of the *phænomena* of nature, propoſed in theſe treatiſes, the author afterwards abandoned for his doctrine of Monads.

The mathematical ſpeculations of Leibnitz were original and profound. During a viſit which he made at Paris in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two, he gave ſuch proofs of his eminent ſkill in the higher geometry, as excited the general admiration of the French mathematicians. A royal penſion was offered him, if he would remain in France; but his attachment to the Proteſtant religion induced him to decline the propoſal. Going over, at this

[a] Francof. 12mo.

time into England, he formed an acquaintance with ſeveral eminent philoſophers, and among the reſt with Newton. Upon the death of his patron, the elector of Mentz, he returned into Germany, and was admitted into the ſervice of Frederic Duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg. After another viſit to his mathematical friends in France and England, he ſettled at Hanover, and became a member of the Duke's Aulic Council. In this ſituation, his civil labours did not prevent his philoſophical lucubrations. It was at the beginning of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, that he firſt mentioned his mathematical invention of *Differentials* to Newton, who had juſt before written to Leibnitz an account of his own invention of *Fluxions*. He alſo, about the ſame time, brought to light ſome diſcoveries which he had made in mechanics and chemiſtry. His *Notitia Opticæ promotæ*, "Hints of Improvements in Optics," relates a new method of poliſhing optical glaſſes, on which ſubject he correſponded with Spinoza, who was an excellent optician. Memoirs of experiments and obſervations made by Leibnitz on various ſubjects in natural philoſophy are preſerved in the Leipſic Journal, entitled, *Acta Eruditorum*, "Works of the Learned," in which, from the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, he had a conſiderable ſhare. One of his moſt valuable pieces, preſerved in this periodical work, is his "Thoughts on Knowledge, Truth, and Ideas."

Whilſt Leibnitz was employed in collecting, at the requeſt of the Duke of Lunenburg, materials for a hiſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick, he availed himſelf of the opportunities, which his journies on this buſineſs afforded him, for enlarging his knowledge of nature and the arts. Upon his return, he purſued, with indefatigable induſtry, ſeveral objects of entirely different kinds; he engaged in further mathematical and philoſophical reſearches; he maintained a theological diſpute with Pelliſſon; and he wrote an important work on the Law of Nations, entitled, *Codex Juris Gentium diplomaticus*. No ſooner was this elaborate treatiſe finiſhed, than he applied his thoughts to the great deſign of renovating the ſcience of metaphyſics, and particularly, of correcting and improving the philoſo-

phical notion of ſubſtance, as the means of arriving, in the moſt ſimple way, at the knowledge of nature. With this view, he wrote his treatiſe *De ipſa Natura ſive Vi inſita*, "On Nature itſelf, or the Innate Force." He, moreover, conceived the idea of a new ſcience of forces, in which the laws of mechanics, and the meaſure of living forces, might be clearly defined. Of this ſcience, which he called Dynamics, he inſerted a ſpecimen in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

In one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five, Leibnitz publiſhed, in the Pariſian Journal, a ſpecimen of a new ſyſtem of the nature and communication of ſubſtances, and of the union between body and mind; in which he unfolded his notion of a pre-eſtabliſhed harmony between the body and ſoul of man, which afterwards ſo much engaged the attention of philoſophers. About the ſame time he wrote his "Thoughts on Locke's Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding;" in which he controverts that philoſopher's opinions on Innate Ideas, Subſtance, a Vacuum, and other ſubjects; communicated to the world his ingenious mathematical invention of the Arithmetical Binary; and wrote a Reply to Bayle, in defence of his doctrine of Pre-eſtabliſhed Harmony.

It was by means of the laudable exertions of Leibnitz, that an Academy of Sciences was inſtituted at Berlin. He attempted to introduce ſimilar inſtitutions in Dreſden, Vienna, and Peterſburg. In the two former places, through the commotions of war, the attempt proved abortive; but at Peterſburg, the Emperor Peter carried this uſeful plan into execution, and rewarded the projector with a liberal penſion.

In the midſt of theſe engagements, Leibnitz found leiſure to complete a work, in which he explained more fully than he had before done the principles of his new ſyſtem. It was entitled "*Theodicea*, or a Diſſertation on the Goodneſs of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil [a]." He alſo maintained an extenſive correſpondence with learned men and philoſophers; of which a valuable ſpecimen is preſerved in a collection of letters, which paſſed be-

[a] Vid. Ed. Gottſhedii cum Annot. et Gall. Edit. Amſtelod. 1734. cum. Vita Auctoris a L. de Neufville.

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tween Leibnitz and Newton, Clarke, and others, on topics of philosophy, natural religion, and mathematics [a].

These various and important labours were often interrupted by violent attacks of the gout and the ftone; till at length, rather exhaufted by acute pain, than worn out by age or labour, this great man expired, in the feventieth year of his age.

Leibnitz may juftly be ranked among thofe univerfal geniufes, who at once furprife and benefit the world. With wonderful ftrength of underftanding, an excellent faculty of invention, and a moft capacious and retentive memory, he united an uncommon degree of induftry. He frequently fpent a great part of the night, as well as the day, in reading; and has been known to pafs whole months in his ftudy without allowing himfelf any unneceffary avocations. Hence he was enabled, not only to acquire much general knowledge, but to become eminent in attainments of various kinds. The improvements which he made in the higher geometry and algebra, particularly his method of fubjecting indefinitely fmall quantities to calculation, called his *Calculus Differentialis*, rank him in the firft clafs of mathematicians. He was intimately converfant with the doctrines of philofophy, both antient and modern, and caft new light upon almoft every branch of knowledge, particularly on the firft principles of fcience, on which his fpeculations were profound. In theology, he was well read in the writings of the Chriftian Fathers, and in the polemics of his own times. On hiftory and jurifprudence, he wrote with a degree of accuracy and folidity, which might lead the reader to fuppofe thefe fubjects to have been his chief ftudy. With all this, his attainments in the knowledge of antiquity, in philology and polite literature, were fuch as to entitle him to the character of an elegant fcholar, as fufficiently appears from his Latin and French poems, and his Letters on Mifcellaneous Subjects. This great man had, however, his imperfections; among which we muft reckon his fondnefs for the conjectural method of philofophifing, and the fa-

[a] Epiftolæ Leibn. Edit. a Kortholt. Lipf. 1742. iv. vol. Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, Lond., 1717. 8vo.

cility

cility with which he admitted hypothefes unfupported by induction and experiment.

Although Leibnitz wrote no entire fyftem of philofophy, a fummary of his metaphyfical tenets may be collected from his *Theodicea*, his treatife "On the Principles of Philofophy," his "Thoughts on Knowledge, &c." and his "Caufe of God afferted." They are as follows:

A Monad is a fimple fubftance, without parts. The exiftence of Monads muft be admitted, fince without thefe no compound or aggregate of fimple fubftances could exift. Thefe fimple fubftances are properly called Monads, becaufe, as unity is the fountain and origin of numbers, and comprehends all their powers, fo fimple fubftances are the matter, of which all corporeal maffes are formed. Since Monads have no parts, they have neither extenfion, figure, nor divifibility. They are the true atoms of nature, and elements of things, incapable of deftruction, except by the power of God. Each Monad differs from every other; for, it is impoffible that any two things fhould be found in nature perfectly alike.

Monads have an internal principle of alteration, by means of which they are continually varying in a certain manner; whence arifes a plurality of properties and relations. This perpetually varying ftate, which involves and reprefents multitude in unity, is Perception, which is not, however, to be confounded with Confcioufnefs. The action of the eternal principle of Monads, by which a tranfition is made from one perception to another, may be called Appetite. The perception and appetite of Monads are not to be explained mechanically by figure and motion, becaufe they are affections of a fimple fubftance without parts. In Monads, therefore, nothing is found but perception and appetite: and in this refpect all Monads may be faid to partake of the nature of foul; although that term is more properly applied to thofe living beings which have diftinct perception united with memory. The prefent ftate of Monads arifes from the paft, and perception from perception, as motion from motion. Monads are in a ftate of perception fimilar

to that of a mind in a ſtupor, which has a perpetual ſucceſſion of minute and indiſtinct perceptions.

Nature, by granting organs to animals, has made them capable of diſtinct perception, memory, and imagination. Man is diſtinguiſhed from inferior animals by the power of knowing neceſſary and eternal truths. It is by this power, that we are capable of thoſe reflex acts, by which we are conſcious of our own exiſtence, and form the ideas of being, ſubſtance, and God.

Our reaſonings are raiſed upon two great principles; the one, that of Conſiſtency, by means of which we judge that to be falſe, which involves a contradiction, and that to be true which is the reverſe of the falſe; the other, that of Sufficient Reaſon, which admits nothing to exiſt without a ſufficient reaſon of its exiſtence, though that reaſon may not be known to us. Of contingent truths or facts, a ſufficient reaſon muſt be found, which may be traced up through a ſeries of preceding contingencies, till they ultimately terminate in a neceſſary ſubſtance, which is a ſufficient reaſon of the whole ſeries of changes, and with which the whole ſeries is connected.

This ſupreme ſubſtance, which is ſole, univerſal, and neceſſary, ſince every thing external, by the ſuppoſition, depends upon it, cannot be capable of limit, and muſt contain within itſelf the principle of every poſſible reality. God is ſupremely perfect, and the ſource of all exiſtence and perfection. He is, moreover, the fountain of all poſſible eſſences; theſe, depending on the exiſtence of a neceſſary being, in whom poſſible eſſence includes exiſtence. It is true of God alone, that, if his exiſtence be poſſible he muſt neceſſarily exiſt; and ſince nothing external can make it impoſſible, and the ſuppoſition involves no contradiction, the exiſtence of God is on this ground demonſtrably eſtabliſhed.

Beſides this demonſtration of the Being of God *á priori*, it may alſo be proved *á poſteriori*; for contingent things exiſt, which can have no ſufficient reaſon of exiſtence but in a neceſſary being, which has within itſelf the reaſon of its own exiſtence. Eternal truths depend upon God, not arbitrarily, but neceſſarily.

God

God alone is primitive unity, or ſimple original ſubſtance, from whom are produced all created or derived Monads. Theſe owe their exiſtence to the effuſion of the rays of divinity, limited in their effects by the finite capacity of the creatures who receive them. Creatures have not proceeded neceſſarily from the divine eſſence, but have been created, according to the plan of the divine underſtanding, by the energy of the divine will and power; and their continued preſervation is a continual creation.

Monads have univerſally an influence upon each other, and are reciprocally active and paſſive. They are active, in proportion as their perceptions are diſtinct; paſſive, as they are confuſed. In ſimple ſubſtances, the influence of one Monad upon another is not mechanical, but ideal, and is not effectual without the intervention of the Deity, who directs them according to the ideas of his own intellect.

The Deity is always determined in his choice by ſufficient reaſon; and this can only be found in the degrees of perfection of poſſible worlds. His wiſdom knows, his goodneſs chuſes, and his power produces the beſt poſſible world.

From the univerſal influence of all creatures upon each individual, and of each upon all, it follows, that every ſimple ſubſtance receives an impreſſion or image of all the reſt, and becomes, as it were, a perpetual living mirror of the univerſe. As the ſame city, viewed from different places, appears different, and is optically multiplied; ſo it happens, that, in conſequence of the infinite multitude of ſimple ſubſtances in nature, pictures of the univerſe are multiplied without end, according to the different points of ſight of different Monads. By this means, all poſſible variety, and conſequently all poſſible perfection, is produced in the univerſe. Since there is in nature a univerſal *plenum*, the motion of any body or compoſition of Monads muſt affect every other body by means of intervening bodies; and every preſent motion will have a neceſſary connection with every future motion: whence he who ſees all things, can read in the preſent whatever will happen in any future time or diſtant place.

Although each created Monad reflects the whole univerſe, that Monad which is the animating principle of any body reflects that body more diſtinctly than all others. As the body reflects the whole univerſe by the connection of all matter *in pleno*, ſo alſo the ſoul reflects the whole univerſe, while it reflects that organized body, by which it is in a peculiar manner perceived, and with which it forms a living animal.

Since matter is not only infinitely diviſible, but is actually divided without limit, every portion of matter may be conceived to be a world of living creatures; and every part of a living body to be itſelf full of other living bodies. All bodies are like rivers, perpetually flowing; ſome parts entering, and others paſſing away. The ſoul changes its body, not inſtantaneouſly, but by degrees, ſo that ſtrictly ſpeaking there is no ſuch thing as death, or a ſtate in which the ſoul is ſeparated from the body. In conception, no new animal is produced; but a pre-exiſting animal is diſpoſed to a transformation, by which it paſſes into another ſpecies. In death, though the machine in part periſhes, the animal itſelf remains indeſtructible.

In the united ſtate of ſoul and body, each follows its own laws; but they agree together by means of a PRE-ESTABLISHED HARMONY between all ſubſtances, which renders each a repreſentation of the univerſe. The ſoul acts according to the law of final cauſes, or by motives; the body, according to efficient cauſes, or by motion: and between theſe two kingdoms of nature there is an harmony, originally eſtabliſhed and continually preſerved by the power of God, in conſequence of which, whilſt body and mind follow their reſpective laws without interruption, the body effects what the mind dictates, and both conſpire to preſerve the order of nature. As ſouls in general are mirrors of animated beings; ſpirits, which partake of the nature of divinity, are images of the author of nature, and hence are capable of intercourſe with the Deity, as ſubjects with a prince, or as children with a parent. Thus the World of Spirits conſtitutes the city of God; a kingdom the moſt perfect under a perfect monarch.

From this metaphyſical theory, which muſt be confeſſed too

hypothetical

hypothetical to afford entire ſatisfaction, Leibnitz deduced many dogmas reſpecting the divine nature and operations, the nature of human actions, good and evil, natural and moral, and other ſubjects, which he treats with great ſubtlety, and in a connected train of reaſoning. But for the particulars of theſe, we muſt refer the reader to his works, particularly the treatiſe entitled *Cauſſa Dei aſſerta.*

It will be eaſily perceived, that the Monads of Leibnitz approach nearer to the permanent Intelligible Natures, called by Pythagoras Numbers, and by Plato Ideas, than to the ſolid and indiviſible atoms of Epicurus.—Our philoſopher's *ſufficient reaſon*, without which nothing can exiſt, though eaſily confounded with, is in truth different from, *a neceſſary cauſe:* and a due attention to this diſtinction is of importance in the queſtion concerning liberty and neceſſity, ſo ably canvaſſed in the memorable controverſy between Leibnitz and Clarke.—The doctrine of a pre-eſtabliſhed harmony between body and ſoul, was an ingenious attempt towards the ſolution of the perplexing queſtion concerning the connection between matter and ſpirit. Aware of the difficulties attending the opinion of the phyſical influence or action of ſubſtances totally diſſimilar upon each other, Leibnitz had recourſe to the idea of an harmony, originally eſtabliſhed by the Creator, between the ſeries of phyſical and moral events; by means of which, while each follows its own laws, the ends of the divine government with reſpect to both are accompliſhed. To this doctrine it has been objected, by Newton and others, that it ſuppoſes a perpetual miracle. But it is not our buſineſs to decide theſe controverſies; our undertaking only requires that we mention them *.

* Vidend. Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Leibnitz. Langii Recentio Script. Anti-Leibn. Script. adv. Phil. Wolf. Hal. 1725. Ephem. Lipſ. et Paris, et Baylii et Baſnagii. Act. Erud. 1683. Act. Erud. t. vii. Supp. xi. p. 501. Recueil des Pieces de Phil. t. ii. p. 218. Hanſihii Princip. Phil. Leibniz. Voltairii Compar. Metaph. Leibn. et Newton. 1741. Des Maizeaux' Præf. Coll. Gallic. Diff. Clarkii et Leibnizii.

SECT.

SECT. 8.

OF CHRISTIAN THOMAS.

AMONG the Germans, who have attempted the general improvement of philoſophy, ſome degree of praiſe is due to Chriſtian Thomas, who, not without obloquy and hazard, threw off the Sectarian yoke, and introduced Eclectic freedom into the German ſchools.

CHRISTIAN THOMAS[a] was born at Leipſic, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five, and was well educated, firſt under his father, and afterwards in the Leipſic univerſity. At firſt, he acquieſced in the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the ſchools; but, upon reading Puffendorf's "Apology for rejecting the Scholaſtic Principles of Morals and Law," light ſuddenly burſt upon his mind, and he determined to renounce all implicit deference to antient dogmas. He read lectures upon the ſubject of Natural Law, firſt from the text of Grotius, and afterwards from that of Puffendorf, freely exerciſing his own judgment, and where he ſaw reaſon advancing new opinions. Whilſt his father was living, paternal prudence and moderation reſtrained the natural vehemence and acrimony of the young man's temper, which was too apt to break out, even in his public lectures. But when he was left to himſelf, the boldneſs with which he advanced unpopular tenets, and the ſeverity with which he dealt out his ſatirical cenſures, ſoon brought upon him the violent reſentment of theologians and profeſſors.

An "Introduction to Puffendorf," which Thomas publiſhed in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, wherein he deduced the obligation of morality from natural principles, occaſioned great

[a] Leporin. Germ. Lit. p. ii. Program. Juriſp. Div. Prœm. Cauſſæ Jurid. p. iii. n. 1. 7. et præf. Libr. ejus.

offence.

offence. The following year he became ftill more unpopular, by opening a monthly literary journal, which he entitled "Free Thoughts; or, Monthly Dialogues on various Books, chiefly new;" in which he attacked many of his contemporaries with great feverity. The raillery of this fatirical work was too provoking to be endured: complaints were lodged before the Ecclefiaftical Court of Drefden; the bookfeller was called upon to give up the author; and it was only through the intereft of the Marefchal that Thomas efcaped punifhment. The title of the work was now changed; but its fpirit remained. A humorous and fatirical Life of Ariftotle, and feveral other farcaftic papers, kept alive the flame of refentment, till at length it again burft forth, on a charge brought againft him before the fame court by the clergy of Leipfic for contempt of religion; but he defended himfelf with fuch ability, that none of his adverfaries chofe to reply, and the matter was dropped.

A fatirical review, which he wrote, of a treatife "On the Divine Right of Kings," publifhed by a Danifh divine; "A Defence of the Sect of the Pictifts," and other excentric and fatirical publications, at laft inflamed the refentment of the clergy againft Thomas to fuch a degree, that he was threatened with imprifonment. To efcape the ftorm which thickened about him, he entreated permiffion from the Elector of Brandenburg, in whofe court he had feveral friends, that he might read private lectures in the city of Hall. This indulgence being obtained, Thomas became a voluntary exile from Leipfic. After a fhort interval, he was appointed public profeffor of Jurifprudence, firft in Berlin, and afterwards at Hall. In thefe fituations, he found himfelf at full liberty to indulge his fatirical humour, and to engage in the controverfies of the times: and, as long as he lived, he continued to make ufe of this liberty in a manner which fubjected him to much odium. At the fame time, he perfevered in his endeavours to correct and fubdue the prejudices of mankind, and to improve the ftate of philofophy. He died at Hall, in the year one thoufand feven hundred and twenty-eight.

Befides the fatirical journal already mentioned, Thomas wrote

 feveral

ſeveral treatiſes on Logic, Morals, and Juriſprudence; in which he advanced many dogmas contrary to received opinions. In his writings on phyſics, he leaves the ground of experiment and rational inveſtigation, and appears among the Myſtics. His later pieces are in many particulars inconſiſtent with the former. His principal philoſophical works are "An Introduction to Aulic Philoſophy, or Outlines of the Art of Thinking and Reaſoning [a];" Introduction to Rational Philoſophy;" "A Logical Praxis [b];" "Introduction to Moral Philoſophy [c];" "A Cure for Irregular Paſſions, and the Doctrine of Self-Knowledge [d]" "The new Art of diſcovering the ſecret Thoughts of Men;" "Divine Juriſprudence;" "Foundations of the Law of Nature and Nations;" "Diſſertation on the Crime of Magic;" "Eſſay on the Nature and Eſſence of Spirit, or Principles of Natural and Moral Science [e];" "Hiſtory of Wiſdom and Folly."

We ſhall ſubjoin a brief ſpecimen of the more peculiar tenets of this bold, excentric, and inconſiſtent philoſopher.

Thought ariſes from images impreſſed upon the brain; and the action of thinking is performed in the wholebrain. Brutes are deſtitute of ſenſation. Man is a corporeal ſubſtance, capable of thinking and moving, or endued with intellect and will. Man does not always think. Truth is the agreement of thought with the nature of things. The ſenſes are not deceitful, but all fallacy is the effect of precipitation and prejudice. From perceptions ariſe ideas, and their relations; and from theſe, reaſonings. It is impoſſible to diſcover truth by the ſyllogiſtic art. No other rule is neceſſary in reaſoning, than that of following the natural order of inveſtigation; beginning from thoſe things which are beſt known, and proceeding, by eaſy ſteps, to thoſe which are more difficult.

Perception is a paſſive affection, produced by ſome external object, either in the intellectual ſenſe, or in the inclination of the will. Eſſence is that without which a thing cannot be perceived. God is not perceived by the intellectual ſenſe, but by the inclination of

[a] Lipſ. 1688. [b] Hal. 1691. [c] 1692. [d] 1696. [e] 1699.

the

the will: for creatures affect the brain; but God, the heart. All creatures are in God: nothing is exterior to him. Creation is extension produced from nothing by the divine power. Creatures are of two kinds, passive and active; the former is matter; the latter, spirit. Matter is dark and cold, and capable of being acted upon by spirit, which is light, warm, and active. Spirit may subsist without matter, but desires a union with it. All bodies consist of matter and spirit, and have therefore some kind of life. Spirit attracts spirit, and thus sensibly operates upon matter united to spirit. This attraction in man is called love; in other bodies, sympathy. A finite spirit may be considered as a limited sphere in which rays, luminous, warm, and active, flow from a centre. Spirit is the region of the body to which it is united. The region of finite spirits is God. The human soul is a ray from the divine nature; whence it desires union with God, who is love. Since the essence of spirit consists in action, and of body in passion, spirit may exist without thought: of this kind are light, ether, and other active principles in nature.

Good consists in the harmony of other things with man and his several powers. The highest felicity of man consists in tranquil delight. The fountain of this delight is the rational love of man and of God. Internal love and reverence are all the homage which nature teaches us to pay to God. With respect to God the two capital errors are atheism and superstition. Superstition is worse than atheism. The love of God is a supernatural affection, which prepares the soul for future felicity. The rational love of man comprehends all social virtues. Rational self-love includes self-preservation, temperance, purity, industry, fortitude. To wise men, virtue is its own reward. Laws are appointed for the sake of fools, to conduct them to internal tranquillity, and external peace. Of fools, there are three classes; those who disturb external peace; those who do nothing to promote it; and those who do not enjoy internal peace. The first have need of authority; the second of authority and counsel; the third of counsel alone. The obligation of authority and law extends only to external actions, which are just when they

are conformable to law: juſtice is therefore to be diſtinguiſhed from virtue, which reſpects the internal man, and requires a conformity to the law of nature.

Theſe ſpecimens of the philoſophy of Thomas diſcover ſome originality of thought, but contain too many haſty and ill-founded poſitions, and breathe too much of the ſpirit of myſticiſm, to merit any conſiderable ſhare of attention. The author principally deſerves notice in this work on account of the boldneſs with which he threw off the yoke of antient authority, and the perſeverance with which, in the midſt of much oppoſition, and many viciſſitudes of fortune, he maintained and exerciſed the right of free inquiry *.

* Vidend. Schurtzfleiſch. Ep. Arc. 379. Juncker de Ephemerid. Erud. c. 17. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 446. Stollii Lit. Hiſt. p. iii. c. 5. § 30. Hollman Theol. Nat. c. 1. § 19. p. 79.

SECT. 9.

OF CHRISTIAN WOLFE.

NO philoſopher has been more generally or juſtly celebrated in Germany, than CHRISTIAN WOLFE [a], born at Breſlau, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine.

After having been well inſtructed in the rudiments of learning and ſcience in his own country, Wolfe proſecuted his ſtudies ſucceſſively in the univerſities of Jena, Hamburgh, and Leipſic. At

[a] Pinacotheca Script. illuſt. Dec. i. ii. x. Gottſchedii Elog. Wolf. 1755. Hal. 4to. Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Wolf. Langii Synopſ. Script.

the age of twenty-ſix, he had acquired ſo much diſtinction in the ſchools, that he was appointed profeſſor of mathematics, and ſoon afterwards of philoſophy in general, in the univerſity of Hall; and ſcience received conſiderable improvements from his reſearches.

After Leibnitz had publiſhed his *Theodicea*, Wolfe, ſtruck with the novelty of the metaphyſical edifice which that philoſopher had raiſed, was ambitious of the honour of making ſome additions to the ſtructure, and aſſiduouſly laboured in the inveſtigation of new metaphyſical truths. He alſo digeſted the Elements of Mathematics in a new method, and attempted an improvement of the art of reaſoning, in a treatiſe "On the Powers of the Human Underſtanding." Upon the foundation of Leibnitz's doctrine of Monads, he formed a new ſyſtem of Coſmology and Pneumatology, digeſted and demonſtrated in a mathematical method. This work, entitled "Thoughts on God, the World, and the Human Soul," was publiſhed in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen; to which were added, in a ſubſequent edition, "Heads of Ethics and Policy."

Wolfe was now riſing towards the ſummit of philoſophical reputation, when the opinion which he entertained on the doctrine of neceſſity being deemed by his colleagues inimical to religion; and an oration, which he delivered in praiſe of the morality of the Chineſe having given much offence; an accuſation of hereſy was publicly brought againſt him in the univerſity of Hall, and afterwards transferred to the courts of Berlin: and, though he attempted to juſtify himſelf in a treatiſe which he wrote on the ſubject of fatality, a royal mandate was iſſued, in November one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three, requiring him to leave the Pruſſian dominions. Having been formerly invited by the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, to fill a profeſſorial chair in the univerſity of Caſſel, Wolfe now put himſelf under the patronage of that prince, who had the liberality to afford him a ſecure aſylum, and appointed him profeſſor of mathematics and philoſophy.

The queſtion concerning the grounds of the cenſure which had been paſſed upon Wolfe was now every where freely canvaſſed;

almoſt every German univerſity was inflamed with diſputes on the ſubject of liberty and neceſſity; and the names of Wolfians and Anti-Wolfians were every where heard. After an interval of nine years, the current of public opinion turned in favour of Wolfe, and the King of Pruſſia reverſed his ſentence of exile, and appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Hall; where his return was welcomed with every expreſſion of triumph. From this time he was employed in completing his inſtitutes of philoſophy, which he lived to accompliſh in every branch except policy. In one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, he was created a Baron by the Elector of Bavaria, and ſucceeded Ludowig in the office of Chancellor of the univerſity. He continued to enjoy theſe honours till the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four, when he expired.

Wolfe poſſeſſed a clear and methodical underſtanding, which by long exerciſe in mathematical inveſtigations was particularly fitted for the employment of digeſting the ſeveral branches of knowledge into regular ſyſtems; and his fertile powers of invention enabled him to enrich almoſt every field of ſcience, in which he laboured, with ſome valuable additions. The lucid order which appears in all his writings enables his reader to follow his conceptions, with eaſe and certainty, through the longeſt trains of reaſoning. But the cloſe connection of the ſeveral parts of his works, together with the vaſt variety and extent of the ſubjects on which he treats, renders it impracticable to give a ſummary of his doctrines*.

* *Vidend.* Wolf. Declar. de Scriptis prop. Rothfiſcher. Victoria Veritatis Nov. Lit. Lipſ. 1723. Formey Eloges des Academ. de Berlin, t. ii. Elogium Hiſtoricum de Wolf. Hal. 1755.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED IMPROVEMENTS IN PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. I.

OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE DIALECTICS AND METAPHYSICS.

AMONG the moderns who have renounced implicit respect for antient authority, and, upon the true eclectic plan of gathering up wisdom from every quarter, have attempted to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, besides those who have been, or have wished to be thought, reformers of universal philosophy, innumerable learned men have appeared, who have directed their attention towards the improvement of particular sciences. To take no notice of these, might be justly deemed a material defect in a general history of philosophy. At the same time it must be evident to every one, who is tolerably acquainted with the philosophical world, that to give a distinct view of the modern state of every branch of science, would be in itself a task still more laborious, than that which we have endeavoured to execute. Such a work would require, not only biographical memoirs of those writers, who have distinguished themselves in each department, but a distinct delineation, and accurate comparison, of their various systems and opinions; an undertaking too extensive and important to be attempted

ed at the close of the present work. The intelligent reader will therefore expect, in this chapter, nothing more than an enumeration of a few of the more singular and important facts, respecting the improvement of particular branches of philosophy, which occurred between the period of the revival of letters, and the commencement of the present century.

Although, about the time of the reformation, many learned men, particularly Valla, Agricola, and Vives, spoke with great freedom of the defects of the Aristotelian LOGIC, no one attempted to substitute a better in its stead, till Peter Ramus undertook the task, and executed it with a degree of courage and success, which has justly given his name considerable celebrity.

PETER RAMUS, or DE LA RAMEE[a], who was born in one thousand five hundred and fifteen, in a village of Vermandois, was a servant in the College of Navarre at Paris. Here, by his own industry, he gathered up the rudiments of learning, and became acquainted with the Logic of Aristotle. His talents and perseverance at last procured him a more honourable station in the college, and he became a candidate for the degree of master of philosophy. Upon this occasion he held a public disputation against the authority of Aristotle, in which he maintained his *thesis* with such ingenuity and ability as confounded his examiners. From this time Ramus determined to exert his utmost efforts to overturn the Aristotelian logic, and to introduce a better method of reasoning. He wrote "Animadversions upon Aristotle," in which he inveighed with great vehemence against his Organon, and to which he subjoined new "Institutes of Dialectics."

These bold attacks upon a system which had for ages been universally admired, gave great offence as might be expected, to the Peripatetics, and raised a violent storm of resentment against Ramus. At first his adversaries made use of no other weapons against him than those of logic and eloquence, sufficiently invenomed, however,

[a] Vita scripta a Freigio, Nancelio, Banosio, Sammarthano, Bayle. Launois De Fort. Arist. c. 14. Galland. in Vit. Castellani, n. 4, 5. Thuanus ad Ann. 1572. Verulam Impet. Ph. v. iii. Op. p. 462.

with ſpleen and calumny. But they at length proceeded to harſher meaſures. A complaint was brought to the civil magiſtrate, in the name of the Academy, that Ramus, in oppoſing Ariſtotle, had committed open hoſtility againſt religion and learning. The affair engaged the public attention; and the king ordered, that Ramus and his chief antagoniſt, Antony Govea, ſhould hold a public diſputation, and that each party ſhould chuſe two judges, and the king appoint an umpire. In the courſe of the conteſt, Ramus complained of unfair proceedings on the part of his antagoniſt; but could obtain no redreſs, for three of his judges were againſt him. The accuſation was confirmed; the penalty inflicted upon him was an entire prohibition to write, or teach, philoſophy; and his enemies perſecuted him with lampoons and ſatires, and even held him up to public ridicule upon the ſtage.

Ramus, however, did not long remain under diſgrace. The following year, one thouſand five hundred and forty-four, a plague happened in Paris, which diſperſed the ſtudents of the univerſity, and cut off ſeveral of the profeſſors. On their return, Ramus, notwithſtanding the royal prohibition, was recalled to his profeſſorial chair; and, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, the ſentence of Francis I. was reverſed by Henry II. and Ramus was appointed Regius Profeſſor of eloquence and philoſophy, and afterwards of mathematics. Still, however, the embers of jealouſy, though ſmothered, were not extinguiſhed. They burſt out into an open flame, as ſoon as it was known that Ramus favoured the party of the Hugonots; and he found it neceſſary to withdraw from the Univerſity. In the intervals of peace, he returned to his ſtation; but, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, when the civil war was a third time renewed, he reſolved to leave France, and make a tour through Germany.

After ſpending three years in viſiting the principal German Univerſities, in which, notwithſtanding the zealous endeavours of the Ariſtotelian profeſſors to fortify the minds of the pupils againſt the doctrines of Ramus, much reſpect was ſhewn him, and many honours conferred upon him, he reſolved, fatally for himſelf, to return into his own country. On the execrable day of St. Bartholomew's feſtival,

feſtival, in the tumult of the Pariſian maſſacre, Charpentaire, a profeſſor of mathematics, who had been eclipſed by the ſuperior talents of Ramus, ſeized the opportunity of being revenged upon his rival, and under the pretence of religion, employed aſſaſſins to murder him. The commiſſion being executed, his body was thrown into the ſtreet to the enraged pupils of Charpentaire, who dragged it ignominiouſly along the ſtreets, and threw it into the Seine. Such was the tragical end of Peter Ramus, who muſt be acknowledged to have deſerved a better fate.

Few perſons, in the preſent day, will be inclined to doubt whether Ramus did right in attempting to undermine the foundations of that authority which Ariſtotle had ſo long poſſeſſed in the ſchools: and no one, who will take the trouble to examine the manner in which he laid open the defects and inconſiſtencies of the Organon, will heſitate in allowing him conſiderable merit in this part of his deſign. In attempting a new logical inſtitute, Ramus was not, however, equally ſucceſsful. The general outline of his plan is this:

Conſidering Dialectics as the art of deducing concluſions from premiſes, he endeavours to improve this art, by uniting it with that of rhetoric. Of the ſeveral branches of rhetoric, he conſiders invention and diſpoſition as belonging equally to logic. Making Cicero his chief guide, he divides his treatiſe on Dialectics into two parts, the firſt of which treats of the invention of arguments, the ſecond, of judgments. Arguments he derives not only from what the Ariſtotelians call middle terms, but from any kind of propoſition, which, connected with another, may ſerve to prove any aſſertion. Of theſe he enumerates various kinds. Judgments he divides into axioms, or ſelf evident propoſitions, and *dianoëa*, or deductions by means of a ſeries of arguments. Both theſe he divides into various claſſes; and illuſtrates the whole by examples from the antient orators and poets.

In the logic of Ramus[a], many things are borrowed from

[a] Conf. Ars Cogitandi. Gundling. Via ad Verit. P. i. p. 78. Elſwich De Fort. Ariſt. in Acad. Proteſt. Walch. Hiſt. Log.

Ariſtotle,

Ariſtotle, and only appear under new names; and many others are derived from other Grecian ſources, particularly from the Dialogues of Plato, and the Logic of the Stoics. The author has the merit of turning the art of reaſoning from the futile ſpeculations of the ſchools to forenſic and common uſe; but his plan is defective in confining the whole dialectic art to the ſingle object of diſputation, and in omitting many things, which reſpect the general culture of the underſtanding, and the inveſtigation of truth. Notwithſtanding the defects of his ſyſtem, we cannot, however, ſubſcribe to the ſevere cenſure which has been paſſed upon Ramus by Lord Bacon[a] and others; for much is, we think, due to him, for having with ſo much firmneſs and perſeverance aſſerted the natural freedom of the human underſtanding.

The logic of Ramus obtained great authority in the ſchools of Germany, Great Britain, Holland, and France; and long and violent conteſts aroſe between the followers of Ramus and thoſe of the Stagyrite. Theſe were not, however, ſufficiently important in their conſequences to require a diſtinct relation. The fame of Peter Ramus vaniſhed before that of Des Cartes, whoſe labours in this branch of philoſophy have been already noticed.

Among the modern innovators in metaphyſics, we muſt not omit to mention the well known name of SPINOZA; a philoſopher, who had the impious temerity to advance a new theory of nature deſtructive of all religion, which he pretended to eſtabliſh by geometric demonſtration.

BENEDICT DE SPINOZA[b], born at Amſterdam in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two, was a Jew by deſcent and education; but very early diſcovered ſuch diſſatisfaction with the religion of his fathers, and advanced opinions ſo contrary to their eſtabliſhed tenets, that a ſentence of *anathema* was pronounced upon him by his brethren. Excommunicated from the ſynagogue, certain Chriſtians,

[a] Augm. Scient. l. vi. c. 2.

[b] Coler. Vit. Spinoz. Bayle. Niceron. T. xiii. p. 94. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs, p. ix. c. 37.

who were perſonally attached to him, granted him an aſylum, and afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and ſtudying the Carteſian philoſophy. The vehemence with which he continued to attack the religion of his countrymen alarmed and terrified them; and they attempted, firſt to bribe him to ſilence, by offering him an annual penſion of a thouſand florins, and afterwards to take him off by aſſaſſination. Both theſe meaſures proving ineffectual, they accuſed him, before the magiſtrate, of apoſtacy and blaſphemy; and he was baniſhed from the city.

In his exile, Spinoza ſtudied mathematics and natural philoſophy, and ſupported himſelf by the mechanical art of poliſhing optical glaſſes. His chief reſidence was at Rhenburg, where he was often viſited by followers of Des Cartes, who came to conſult him on difficult queſtions. At their requeſt, he publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four, "The principles of the Carteſian philoſophy demonſtrated geometrically," with an Apendix, in which he advanced metaphyſical opinions wholly inconſiſtent with the doctrine of Des Cartes. To eſcape the odium, which this publication drew upon him, he retired to a village not far from the Hague. Thither he was followed by many perſons, both countrymen and foreigners, who were inclined to eſpouſe his doctrines.

He was even invited by the Elector Palatine to fill the chair of philoſophy at Heidelberg; but from an apprehenſion, that his liberty would, in that ſituation, be abridged, he declined the propoſal. He lived in retirement, with great ſobriety and decency of manners, till a conſumption brought him to an early end, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven.

Spinoza, in his life-time, publiſhed, beſides the work already mentioned, *Tractatum theologico-politicum*, "A Treatiſe theological and political." His "Poſthumous Works," contain five treatiſes. 1. Ethics demonſtrated geometrically. 2. Politics. 3. On the Improvement of the Underſtanding. 4. Epiſtles and Anſwers. 5. A Hebrew Grammar. The impieties contained in theſe treatiſes excited general indignation; and refutations were ſent forth from various quarters, by writers of all religious perſuaſions, in which the empty ſophiſms, the equivocal definitions, the falſe reaſonings, and

all the abſurdities of the writings of Spinoza, are fully expoſed. The ſum of his doctrine is this:

The eſſence of ſubſtance is, to exiſt. There is in nature only one ſubſtance, with two modifications, thought and extenſion. This ſubſtance is infinitely diverſified, having within its own eſſence the neceſſary cauſes of the changes through which it paſſes. No ſubſtance can be ſuppoſed to produce, or create, another: therefore, beſides the ſubſtance of the univerſe there can be no other; but all things are comprehended in it, and are modes of this ſubſtance, either thinking or extended.

This one univerſal ſubſtance, Spinoza calls God, and aſcribes to it divine attributes. He expreſsly aſſerts, that God is the immanent, not the tranſitive, cauſe of all things. His doctrine is, therefore, not to be confounded with that of thoſe antient philoſophers, who held God to be Τὸ πᾶν "The Univerſal Whole;" for, according to them, the viſible and intellectual worlds are produced by *emanation* from the eternal fountain of divinity; that is, by an expanding, or unfolding, of the divine nature, which was the effect of intelligence and deſign; whereas, in the ſyſtem of Spinoza, all things are *immanent*, and neceſſary modifications of one univerſal ſubſtance, which, to conceal his atheiſm, he calls God. Nor can Spinoziſm be with any propriety derived, as ſome have imagined, from the Carteſian philoſophy; for, in that ſyſtem, two diſtinct ſubſtances are ſuppoſed; and the exiſtence of Deity is a fundamental principle.

It may ſeem very ſurpriſing, that a man who certainly was not deſtitute of diſcernment, abilities, and learning, ſhould have fallen into ſuch impieties. And this could not have happened, had he not confounded his conceptions with ſubtle and futile diſtinctions concerning the nature of ſubſtance, eſſence, and exiſtence, and neglected to attend to the obvious, but irrefragable, argument for the exiſtence of God, ariſing from the appearances of intelligence and deſign in all the productions of nature.

The impious ſyſtem of Spinoza was maintained with ſo much ingenuity, that it found many patrons in the United Provinces, among whom were Lewis Meyer, who republiſhed Spinoza's Works, and

and himſelf wrote a work entitled, "Philoſophy the Interpreter of Scripture:" and Van Leenhof, an Eccleſiaſtic of Zwoll, who wrote a piece entitled, "Heaven in Earth," of the doctrine of which he was obliged to make a public recantation. Others, under the pretence of refuting Spinoza, ſecretly favoured his ſyſtem. But, againſt the poiſon of their impious tenets ſufficient antidotes were ſoon provided by many able defenders of religion, whoſe writings are well known, particularly in Cudworth's "Intellectual Syſtem," the profeſſed object of which is, the refutation of atheiſm[a].

A ſingular metaphyſical hypotheſis has given celebrity to the name of NICHOLAS MALLEBRANCHE[b], who was born at Paris, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight. Devoting himſelf, at twenty-two years of age, to monaſtic life, he engaged in the ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and biblical criticiſm, but with ſo little ſatisfaction, that he was inclined to abandon his ſtudies, and, giving himſelf up wholly to devotion, to wait in ſilence for divine illumination. Whilſt he was in this perplexed ſtate of mind, he happened to meet with Des Cartes' treatiſe "On Man," and found in it ſo much perſpicuity, and ſo many new ideas, that he immediately determined to make himſelf perfectly maſter of the author's ſyſtem of philoſophy. From this time he immerſed himſelf in profound meditation, and ſpent ten years in penetrating into the depths of the Carteſian philoſophy, and in exploring new regions of metaphyſics, not very remote from the precincts of enthuſiaſm. Having ſatisfied himſelf concerning the myſterious union of the ſoul and body, and having diſcovered, as he conceived, a ſtill more myſterious union between the ſoul of man and God, he wrote his famous treatiſe, "On the Search after Truth." This work made its firſt appearance in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three, and was, a little before the author's death, which happened in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, republiſhed with conſiderable variations and enlargements.

The doctrine of this book, though in many reſpects original, is

[a] Jaenichen Hiſt. Spinoz. Leenhoff. Acta Phil. v. ii. p. 120. Muſ. Bremen. v. ii. p. i. p. 145.

[b] Vie par Fontenelle dans l'Hiſtoire de l'Ac. R. des Sciences, p. 208.

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raiſed upon Carteſian principles, and is in ſome particulars Platonic. The author repreſents, in ſtrong colours, the cauſes of error, ariſing from the diſorders of the imagination and paſſions, the abuſe of liberty, and an implicit confidence in the ſenſes. He explains the action of the animal ſpirits; the nature of memory; the connection of the brain with other parts of the body, and their influence upon the underſtanding and will. On the ſubject of intellect, he maintains, that thought alone is eſſential to mind, and deduces the imperfect ſtate of ſcience from the imperfection of the human underſtanding, as well as from the inconſtancy of the will in inquiring after truth. Rejecting the antient doctrine of *ſpecies* ſent forth from material objects, and denying the power of the mind to produce ideas, he aſcribes their production immediately to God, and aſſerts, that the human mind immediately perceives God, and ſees all things in him. As he derives the imperfection of the human mind from its dependance upon the body, ſo he places its perfection in union with God, by means of the knowledge of truth and the love of virtue [a].

Singular and paradoxical as the notion of "Seeing all things in God," and ſome other dogmas of this writer, muſt have appeared, the work was written with ſuch elegance and ſplendor of diction, and its tenets were ſupported by ſuch ingenious reaſonings, that it obtained general applauſe, and procured the author a diſtinguiſhed name among philoſophers, and a numerous train of followers. Its popularity might, perhaps, be in part owing to the appeal which the author makes to the authority of St. Auguſtine, from whom he profeſſes to have borrowed his hypotheſis concerning the origin of ideas. The immediate intercourſe, which this doctrine ſuppoſes, between the human and the divine mind, has led ſome to remark a ſtrong reſemblance between the notions of Mallebranche and thoſe of the ſect called Quakers.

Attempts ſimilar to thoſe of Mallebranche, for the advancement of the knowledge of the human mind, were about the ſame time made in

[a] Pritii Diſſ. de Enthuſiaſmo. Mallebr. Leibn. Rec. t. ii. p. 326.

in Germany by Walter Tschirn Hausen[a], a celebrated mathematician. A diligent enquirer after truth himſelf, he was deſirous of furniſhing others with a kind of firſt philoſophy, which might conduct them with eaſe and certainty to wiſdom and happineſs. With this view, he wrote a work, entitled, *Medicina Mentis, ſive Artis inveniendi Præcepta generalia*[b], "The Medicine of the Mind, or general Precepts of the Art of Invention;" wherein he applied geometry, and univerſal arithmetic, to metaphyſical and moral ſubjects, in hopes of opening a way, by which any one might, for himſelf, diſcover what is true and uſeful. The work is properly a mathematical logic, more theoretical than practical, and only to be underſtood by ſuch as are intimately converſant with mathematical ſpeculations.

Among modern metaphyſicians, the antient queſtions concerning the human ſoul, its nature, its faculties, its duration, its connection with the body, and the like, have been much debated. Many writers have maintained its materiality and natural mortality; among whom are Coward, in his "Thoughts on the Soul[c]," who was anſwered by Broughton, in his treatiſe "On the Nature of the Rational Soul;" and by Dodwell, who maintained, that the Soul derives its immortality from the ſpirit of God in baptiſm. Other writers have maintained a long, and ſtill undecided, controverſy concerning the freedom of the human mind; among whom are Leibnitz, Placette, King, Collins, and Clarke[d].

But the philoſophy of the human mind has never been more ably inveſtigated, than by the celebrated Britiſh metaphyſician, John Locke[e], who was born at Wrington, near Briſtol, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two. He received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter ſchool, and became a ſtudent in Chriſt Church College Oxford, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-one. The early produce of his genius promiſed a rich harveſt; but his progreſs in knowledge was for a while retarded by the defects which

[a] Vit. Germanicé, Gorl. 1709. Fontenelle l. c. t. ii. [b] Lipſ. 1695.
[c] Lond. 1703. [d] Bibl. Raiſonnée t. iv. p. ii. p. 458.
[e] Vit. a Clerico, præf. Op.

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he discovered in the established modes of education: his solid and penetrating judgment, little disposed to be satisfied with trifles, was disgusted with the unprofitable subtleties which occupied the schools. Despairing to find that intellectual light, for which he earnestly longed, in the chaos of Peripatetic and Scholastic philosophy, he grew tired of academic studies, and conversed more with men of wit and genius than with philosophers. The first writer, who taught him to think it possible, that the darkness which hung over the human intellect might be dispelled, was Des Cartes. Though he did not adopt his system, he was delighted with the perspicuity of his writings. He was now convinced, that the general prevalence of error and uncertainty was not so much owing to the imbecility of the human mind, as to the imperfection of the present method of instruction: his natural thirst after knowledge returned; and he resumed his inquiries with fresh ardour. He passed through a course of medical studies; but, thinking it unsafe, on account of the delicate state of his health, to enter upon clinical practice, he declined taking his degree as doctor of physic.

In the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, Locke, in order to improve his knowledge of human nature by an extensive acquaintance with mankind, accompanied the British ambassador to the Court of Berlin. After remaining there a year, he returned to Oxford, and chiefly pursued the study of natural philosophy. Here he had the good fortune to form an intimacy with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; a man of superior genius, extensive reading, and elegant taste, from whose conversation Locke acknowledges himself to have derived great pleasure and advantage, and with whom he preserved an intimate friendship through life. He accompanied this nobleman, both as his medical adviser and philosophical friend; and was introduced by him to the acquaintance of many persons of the first distinction, to whom his good-sense, extensive knowledge, and polished manners, rendered him highly acceptable. In one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, he attended the Earl of Northumberland into France. On his return, he undertook to superintend the education of Lord Shaftesbury's only son.

ſon. It was in the leiſure which he commanded during this engagement, that he digeſted his ideas concerning the powers and operations of the human underſtanding, and, at the requeſt of his friends, committed his thoughts upon this ſubject to writing.

When his friend and patron was appointed Lord Chancellor, Locke ſhared his honours; and when, in the political ſtruggles which threatened the deſtruction of the liberties of Great Britain, the Earl of Shafteſbury was diſmiſſed from his office, Locke partook of his diſgrace. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-four, apprehending himſelf in danger of a conſumption, by the advice and at the expence of his patron, he viſited Montpelier, where he enjoyed the ſociety of Mr. Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. On his return to England, an aſthma obliged him to reſide chiefly in the country; and he occupied his leiſure in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, chiefly the New Teſtament. When Lord Shafteſbury retired into Holland, to eſcape the political ſtorm which threatened his life, Locke, deſpairing of ſafety at home, followed him; and, in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, fixed his reſidence in Amſterdam, where he had frequent intercourſe with Le Clerc, Limborch, and other learned men, and where, after many interruptions, he finiſhed his "Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding." During his abſence, his name, on account of the ſhare which he was ſuppoſed to have had in Lord Shafteſbury's political offences, was, by order of the king, ſtruck out of the regiſter of his College; and ſecret inſtructions were iſſued for ſeizing him, and bringing him back to England. Timely notice was, however, given him of his danger; and he remained in concealment among his friends. During this receſs, he wrote "Two Letters on Toleration," which he addreſſed to Limborch. In one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-five, he was offered a pardon from James II. by William Penn; but he refuſed it upon the noble plea, that having been guilty of no crime, he needed no pardon.

At the happy period of the revolution, Locke accompanied the Princeſs of Orange to England, and was reſtored to the ſociety of his numerous friends, and to his uſeful labours, political and philoſophical.

phical. The "Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding" was firſt publiſhed in Engliſh in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety, and was ſoon afterwards tranſlated into French and Latin, and judiciouſly abridged by Wynn, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. The ſame year Locke publiſhed his treatiſe "On Civil Government," in which he boldly and ſucceſsfully attacked the principles of deſpotiſm. The laſt days of his life he ſpent in retirement, at the country ſeat of his friend Sir Francis Maſham, where he wrote his treatiſe "On Education;" "Third Letter on Toleration;" "Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity;" "Letters to Stillingfleet Biſhop of Worceſter," and other tracts. In his theological works, he ſtrenuouſly maintained, that there is nothing in the Chriſtian religion contrary to reaſon; and at the ſame time that he ſhewed himſelf a true friend to the cauſe of revelation, was a zealous advocate for the doctrine of the unity of the divine nature. The laſt labours of this great and good man were employed upon the ſcriptures; and it was whilſt he found himſelf haſtening to his end, that he finiſhed his Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Epheſians, publiſhed after his death, which happened in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and four. He died in a manner worthy of his excellent principles and character; and left a letter, to be delivered after his death to a friend, which concludes thus: "This life is a ſcene of vanity, which ſoon paſſes away, and affords no ſolid ſatisfaction, but in the conſciouſneſs of doing well, and the hopes of another."

That Locke poſſeſſed a noble and lofty mind, ſuperior to prejudice, and capable, by its native energy, of exploring truth, even in regions of the intellectual world before unknown; that his judgment was accurate and profound; that his imagination was vigorous; and that he was well furniſhed with the ornaments of elegant learning, were there no other proofs, might be without heſitation concluded from his great and immortal work, "The Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding;" in which, diſcarding all ſyſtematic theories, he has, from actual experience and obſervation, delineated the features, and deſcribed the operations, of the human mind, with a degree of pre-

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cision and minuteneſs, not to be found in Plato, Ariſtotle, or Des Cartes. After clearing the way by ſetting aſide the whole doctrine of innate notions and principles, both ſpeculative and practical, the author traces all ideas to two ſources, ſenſation and reflection; treats at large of the nature of ideas, ſimple and complex; of the operation of the human underſtanding in forming, diſtinguiſhing, compounding, and aſſociating them; of the manner in which words are applied as repreſentations of ideas; of the difficulties and obſtructions, in the ſearch after truth, which ariſe from the imperfection of theſe ſigns; and of the nature, reality, kinds, degrees, caſual hindrances, and neceſſary limits, of human knowledge.

To diſcuſs at large the merits of this excellent work would require a diſtinct treatiſe. Suffice it to remark, that though ſeveral topics are treated of, which may be conſidered as epiſodical with reſpect to the main deſign; though many opinions which the author advances may admit of controverſy; and though, on ſome topics, he may not have expreſſed himſelf with his uſual perſpicuity, and on others may be thought too verboſe, the work is of ineſtimable value, as a hiſtory of the underſtanding, not compiled from former books, but written from materials collected by a long and attentive obſervation of what paſſes in the human mind. A ſmall treatiſe, "On the Conduct of the Underſtanding," written by the ſame author, is a valuable ſupplement to his main work.

On the ſubject of logic, modern times have produced many treatiſes, which either for novelty of matter, for perſpicuity of arrangement, or for a free rejection of Peripatetic trifles, might deſerve notice. Among theſe we muſt not omit particularly to mention the ſyſtem of logic publiſhed under the name of the Society of Port Royal, which is commonly aſcribed to Arnaud; "The Art of Thinking," by Crousaz; and the logic of the illuſtrious Le Clerc; a writer to whom the learned world is under great obligations for many excellent works in various branches of learning, and whoſe name would have merited a conſpicuous place in a general hiſtory of literature.

SECT.

SECT. 2.

OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

SCARCELY had philoſophy emerged out of the darkneſs of barbariſm, when learned men, tired of treading for ever the barren path of Scholaſtic controverſy, began to viſit the flowery and fertile fields of moral philoſophy. Several of thoſe writers, to whom the world is indebted for the revival of polite learning, wrote moral treatiſes after the manner of the antients; among theſe were Petrarch, Verger, and Cardan.

But the firſt writer who treated the ſubject of ethics in the true eclectic method, was MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE[a], a native of Perigord, in France, who was born in one thouſand five hundred and thirty, and lived till one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two. The firſt language which was taught him was the Latin; which he could ſpeak fluently at ſix years of age, when he knew nothing of the French tongue. He received his ſcientific education in the college of Guyenne. Though addicted to pleaſure, he early formed a habit of reflection, which made him maſter of much originality of thought and diction. The fruits of Montaigne's lucubrations are preſerved in his "Eſſays[b];" conſiſting of miſcellaneous obſervations, chiefly moral, written with great ingenuity and vivacity. Many of his reflections, it muſt be owned, have a tendency to encourage ſcepticiſm; and ſometimes he indulges a luxuriance of fancy, and freedom of language, which groſsly violates the rules of decorum;

[a] Blount. Cenſ. p. 819. Teiſſer. Elog. t. iv. p. 167.

[b] Lond. 1723. Conf. Art. de Penſ. l. iii. c. 20. Mallebranche de Inv. Ver. t. i. l. ii. c. 5. p. 271. Huet. de Reb. ſuis, p. 178. Fontevivan. Apol. pro Mont. Hiſt. apud Ouv. des Savans, 1700.

but he muſt not be wholly excluded from the claſs of uſeful moraliſts. Montaigne's eſſays are not tranſcripts from former writers, but the genuine productions of a vigorous and cultivated mind; and it is a circumſtance, which renders them peculiarly intereſting and valuable, that the writer, with perfect openneſs, diſcloſes his own feelings, and deſcribes the peculiarities of his own character. Montaigne died in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two.

The footſteps of Montaigne were followed by PETER CHARRON [a], a native of Paris, who was born in one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and three. He wrote a treatiſe "On Wiſdom;" a work which abounds with ingenious and original obſervations on moral topics, but gives a gloomy picture of human nature, and of ſociety.

A valuable treatiſe "On Morals" was publiſhed at Leyden, in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-three, by ABRAHAM SCHULTET [b], a divine of Heidelburg. It conſiſts of two books; the former of which is "On a Virtuous Life;" the latter, "On a Happy Life." The great merit of this work is, that it is free from the uſeleſs ſubtleties, with which moſt of the writings of this period are encumbered.

The ſubſequent period abounds with moral writings of various kinds; among which we muſt mention, with peculiar diſtinction, Lord Bacon's Eſſays, which is full of judicious and uſeful obſervations on life and manners. To theſe may be added, the ethical writings of PLACCIUS [c], a native of Lubeck, particularly his "Inſtitutes of Moral Medicine [d];" and his "Moral Philoſophy [e]." This writer was, if not the firſt, certainly among the firſt, who diſtinguiſhed the ſcience of ethics from that of juriſprudence, and attempted to aſſign each its proper limit. But theſe ſubjects were afterwards more fully and ſcientifically handled by Grotius and Puf-

[a] Bayle.
[b] Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. G. p. iv. p. 598. Freker. Theat. p. 424.
[c] Fabricii Vita Placcii in Theatr. Pſeudon. Leibn. Ep. vol. iv. p. 188.
[d] Hamb. 1675. [e] Helmſtadt. 1677.

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fendorf, whoſe eminent ſervices, in this and other branches of ſcience, entitle them to particular notice.

HUGO GROTIUS [a], or HUGO DE GROOT, a native of Delft, in Holland, was born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-three. He gave early proofs of a ſuperior genius, in the Latin verſes which he wrote before he was nine years old. At twelve years of age, he was admitted into the univerſity of Leyden, where he made a rapid progreſs in theology, juriſprudence, mathematics, and other ſciences. Under the celebrated Scaliger, he acquired much philological knowledge; and at fifteen, he publiſhed an edition of Capella, with notes, which obtained him the applauſe of the critics. In one thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight, he accompanied the Dutch ambaſſador to France, where he became acquainted with many learned men, and was introduced to Henry IV. Though early engaged in civil affairs, he did not ſuffer them to interrupt his ſtudies. He wrote a treatiſe "On the Freedom of the Seas," which gave his countrymen ſo high an opinion of his abilities, that, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, they entruſted him with an embaſſy to the court of Great Britain, to ſettle a diſpute concerning the right of fiſhing in the Northern ſeas. This journey introduced him to the acquaintance of many learned Engliſhmen.

In the theological diſputes between the Arminians and Calviniſts, which ſo long diſtracted the United Provinces, Grotius publicly appeared on the ſide of the Arminians; and, with other friends to toleration, took ſuch ſpirited meaſures to ſcreen them from perſecution, as inflamed the reſentment of the oppoſite party; and after a long ſtruggle, which terminated in the decree of the ſynod of Dort, condemning the Arminian tenets, he was brought to trial, and received a ſentence of confiſcation of goods, and perpetual impriſonment. He was accordingly confined in the fortreſs of Louveſtein, in South Holland. Conſcious that his conduct had not merited ſuch puniſhment, Grotius bore his confinement with great compoſure, and relieved the tedioufneſs of ſolitude by literary labours; of which

[a] Schudtii Vit. Grot. Francf. ad Moen. 1722. Bayle. Niceron.

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the principal were "A Latin Verſion of Stobæus," and an invaluable treatiſe "On the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion." This latter work has been univerſally read and admired, and has been tranſlated into eleven different languages[a].

When Grotius was beginning to deſpair of regaining his liberty, he obtained an unexpected reſcue by the meritorious ingenuity and heroiſm of his wife. During his whole confinement, which had now continued from May, one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen, to March, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one, that excellent woman had endeavoured to deviſe means for her huſband's eſcape. At laſt, ſhe ſhut him up in a cheſt, in which books had been brought into his apartment, herſelf, in the mean time, remaining in the priſon; and he was, in this manner, conveyed to the houſe of a friend at Goreum; whence, in the habit of a maſon, with his rule and trowel, he eſcaped out of the town. Grotius, thus releaſed by his wife (who was herſelf, upon her petition to the States-General, in a few days ſet at liberty) fled out of Holland into Brabant, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he remained ſome time in concealment. Through the intereſt of the French ambaſſador in Holland, and other friends, he at length ſettled in Paris, whither he was fol' made by his wife and children, and where he enjoyed the frien oks, or many eminent men, who aſſiſted him in proſecuting his literary deſigns.

During this exile, Grotius, at the requeſt of his learned friend Peireſc, undertook, and completed, his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, "On the Rights of War and Peace." His deſign, which extended beyond the limits of the title prefixed to the work, was to ſettle the grounds of the rights of men in civil ſociety. The natural rights of men he founds upon the ſocial principle in human nature; the rights of nations, upon the conventions of ſtates. The doctrines which he advances, he ſupports by a connected train of reaſonings deduced from acknowledged principles, and confirms by authorities from antient writers, from the Civil Law, and from the

[a] French, German, Engliſh, Daniſh, Swediſh, Dutch, Greek, Arabic, Perſian, Indian, and Chineſe.

Scholaſtics.

Scholaſtics. His eclectic ſpirit clearly appears, in the general maxim which he lays down concerning antient ſyſtems; that, "as there never was any ſect ſo enlightened, as to ſee the whole truth, ſo there never was any one ſo erroneous, as to be entirely deſtitute of truth." The work, which was firſt publiſhed at Paris, in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five, ſoon engaged the univerſal attention of ſcholars and ſtateſmen [a].

After remaining eleven years in France, Grotius was, by Cardinal Richlieu, deprived of a penſion which he had enjoyed during the greater part of the time; upon which he determined to hazard a return to Amſterdam. But, though his friends were numerous, he ſoon found that the party of his enemies was ſtill too powerful to allow him a peaceful ſettlement in his own country. An order being iſſued for ſeizing his perſon, he found it neceſſary to withdraw from Holland, and determined to retire to Hamburgh. Here he remained till, after refuſing repeated ſolicitations from ſeveral potentates to engage in public affairs, he was prevailed upon, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four, by the court of Sweden, to go as ambaſſador to France.

[illegible] to the leiſure which Grotius enjoyed during his ſecond reſi- [illegible] France, that the world is indebted for many of his valuable works, particularly his learned and liberal commentaries upon the ſcriptures. But theſe literary occupations ſo far interrupted his attention to civil affairs, that the Swediſh miniſter thought it neceſſary to ſend another agent to Paris; which ſo diſpleaſed Grotius, that he requeſted to be re-called. Upon his return to Stockholm, he was graciouſly received, and liberally rewarded by the queen; but, either through an apprehenſion of ſuffering by court-intrigue, and through the love of literary retirement, he declined all public offices, and determined once more to hazard a return to his native country. Setting ſail for Lubeck, a ſtorm aroſe, and the veſſel was driven upon the coaſt of Pomerania. Grotius, during the paſſage,

[a] Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 68. Groening. Bibl. Jur. Gent. p. 251. Bibl. Juris Imperant. p. 16.

fell ſick; and, after his landing, was conveyed, by a tedious journey of eight days, to Roſtock; where he died, in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five, leaving behind him an immortal name, for the elevation and extent of his genius, the variety and depth of his learning, the uprightneſs of his character, and the important ſervices which he had rendered to religion and philoſophy.

The ſucceſs with which Grotius attempted the improvement of juriſprudence led SELDEN[a], a learned Engliſhman, born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven, and educated at Oxford, to form a new ſyſtem of the law of nature and nations, on the baſis of the Jewiſh inſtitution, which he ſupported with a vaſt diſplay of Oriental learning; but the work is rather a commentary on the Hebrew code, than an inſtitute of natural law[b].

The edifice of juriſprudence begun by Grotius was finiſhed by PUFFENDORF[c], a German, born at Flah, near Chemnitz, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-one, and educated at Leipſic. The Swediſh ambaſſador at the court of Copenhagen engaged him to undertake the education of his ſons; but he was ſcarcely entered upon his new ſtation, when, a war breaking out between Sweden and Denmark, Copenhagen was beſieged, and Puffendorf was a priſoner, and kept in confinement eight months, without boo[illegible] the converſation of his friends. In this ſolitude, he diligently revolved in his mind the different doctrines of Grotius and Hobbes on the law of nature; and, having long before rejected the Peripatetic notion, that moral ſubjects do not admit of demonſtration, he determined to attempt the conſtruction of a ſyſtem of ethics on evident and indubitable principles.

After his releaſe, Puffendorf, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine, removed, with his pupils, to the Hague. Here, by the aid of diligent ſtudy, and the converſation of learned men, he ſo far accompliſhed his deſign, as to publiſh "Elements of Juriſpru-

a See Wilkins's Life of Selden, prefixed to his works.

b Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 68—88. Puff. Erid. Scand. p. 200.

c Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 90, &c. Niceron. t. xviii.

dence,"

dence," written after the geometric manner. The work was dedicated to the elector Palatine, who entertained ſo high an opinion of the author's abilities, that he appointed him profeſſor of the law of nature and nations, in the univerſity of Heidelburg. This chair he filled with great credit and ſucceſs; at the ſame time proſecuting his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry. At the requeſt of the chancellor of Sweden, he afterwards removed to the univerſity at Lunden, where he taught juriſprudence, and wrote his celebrated treatiſe "On the Law of Nature and Nations." No ſooner was this work known, than it at once raiſed a numerous hoſt of enemies, who reproached the author as an enemy to religion and government, and a ſeducer of youth, and who, in ſhort, loaded him with every kind of obloquy. Puffendorf, however, vindicated his doctrine and character ſo ſucceſsfully, that his adverſaries were ſilenced, and his public honours continued and increaſed. He was appointed hiſtoriographer to the king of Sweden, and wrote a "Hiſtory of the Affairs of Sweden, from the Commencement of the Reign of Guſtavus Adolphus." The title of Baron was alſo conferred upon him. His honours and labours were terminated by death, in the ſixty-third year of his age.

The ſtrength of Puffendorf's genius, the clearneſs of his diſcernment, the accuracy of his judgment, and the variety and depth of his erudition, are clearly ſeen in his elaborate treatiſe *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, "On the Law of Nature and Nations." His ſyſtem was erected on the ſame foundation with that of Grotius, the ſocial nature of man. Religion he conſiders as a principle which ſerves to ſtrengthen the bonds of civil ſociety. In order to give the work, as much as poſſible, the force of demonſtration, he carefully defines moral terms, inveſtigates the moral nature of man, conſiders the diſtinct qualities of moral actions, and derives from theſe ſources the ſeveral duties of men towards themſelves, towards each other, and towards God. Our limits will not permit us to relate, in detail, the contents of this great work; and it is the leſs neceſſary, as the author himſelf has left a clear and elegant compendium of it in his treatiſe

treatiſe *De Officiis Hominis et Civis*, "Of the Duties of a Man and a Citizen." Theſe works have been generally read and admired, and have been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. If the larger treatiſe be at preſent leſs known than formerly, it is probably owing to its extreme prolixity, the effect of an unneceſſary accumulation of quotations and references to the antients[a].

That branch of philoſophy which treats of POLICY, or CIVIL GOVERNMENT, has, from the time of the revival of letters, been the ſubject of frequent diſcuſſion. The modern Peripatetics, after the example and upon the principles of Ariſtotle, have endeavoured to accommodate the art of government to the actually ſubſiſting ſtate of communities. Others, who have deſerted the Stagyrite, and ſpeculated with eclectic freedom on queſtions of policy, have treated the ſubject in various ways, ſyſtematic or miſcellaneous. To enumerate all theſe in the preſent work would be impracticable: we ſhall mention a few of the principal.

Among the learned of the ſixteenth century, a name of ſome celebrity in this branch of philoſophy is JOHN BODIN[b], a French lawyer, born at Angier, and educated in the univerſity of Thoulouſe. Thuanus relates, that Henry II. of France, who was a lover of letters, frequently converſed with him. He accompanied the duke of Alençon into England. He wrote a treatiſe "On States," which is much applauded by Thuanus and others, and was publicly read in the univerſity of Cambridge; it is chiefly valuable for the immenſe variety of examples and authorities which the writer has collected[c].

Another political writer of this period is the Spaniſh Jeſuit, BALTHAZAR GRATIAN[d], who died in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight. Moſt of his pieces, of which "The Courtier," and "The Oracle," are the principal, have been tranſlated into other languages. His obſervations are not always conſiſtent with the

[a] Thomas, Hiſt. Jur. Nat. l. c. Bibl. Jur. Imp. l. c.

[b] Lyſer de Vit. Bodin. 1715. Appar. Lit. Witteb. col. ii. p. 312. Bibl. Juris Imp. p. 95. Bayle. [c] Lond. 1606. [d] Alegamb. Bibl. Soc. Jeſ.

true principles of morality; but they prove the author to have been a ſhrewd obſerver of men. To a cautious and judicious reader, they may ſuggeſt many curious and uſeful ideas.

We may here alſo mention TRAJAN BOCCALINI[a], a native of Rome, an ingenious and elegant writer, who employed his wit in ſatiriſing the follies and vices of princes and courtiers, and particularly in detecting the errors of the Spaniſh government. His principal works are, "Tales from Parnaſſus," and, "The Political Touchſtone."

But for knowledge of the corrupt arts of policy, and the intrigues of courts, no writer is ſo famous as NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL[b], a Florentine, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. In his political conduct, Machiavel was an enemy to deſpotiſm. He violently oppoſed the tyranny of the Houſe of Medicis, and was thrown into priſon on ſuſpicion of having been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt it; but the charge not being made good, he was releaſed, and ſoon afterwards received an annual ſtipend for writing "The Hiſtory of the Affairs of Florence." In a ſubſequent conſpiracy againſt the Medicean Cardinal, afterwards Pope Clement VII. he again fell under ſuſpicion, in conſequence of his having, in writing, exhibited before his countrymen the example of Brutus and Caſſius, to incite them to a ſtrenuous aſſertion of their liberties. Though not convicted of any treaſonable offence, he was deprived of his annuity, and lived in poverty till the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, when he expired, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Machiavel's principal works are, "Diſſertations on the firſt Decad of Livy;" "A Hiſtory of Florence;" and, "The Prince." It is to this latter work chiefly, that this writer owes his celebrity; but what is the proper character of the piece, or with what deſign it was written, has been much diſputed. Many have underſtood it to be a ſyſtem of corrupt policy, written with the ſerious purpoſe of

[a] Erythræi Pinacoth. i. p. 272. iii. p. 223. Bayle.
[b] Jovii Elog. c. 87. F. Chriſt. de N. Mach. Vit.

inſtructing princes and ſtateſmen in all the intrigues of ſtate, and the arts of oppreſſion; and conſequently have not ſcrupled to call Machiavel the preceptor of tyrants. But, ſince the author was, in his political conduct, an enemy to deſpotiſm, it is perhaps more reaſonable to conſider "The Prince" as a ſatirical work, intended to pull off the maſk from the face of tyranny, and, by expoſing its baſe and miſchievous ſtratagems, to render it hateful to mankind. The work is indeed dedicated to the Houſe of Medicis; but this might be only an expedient for concealing more effectually the author's deſign. If it ſhould be thought, that in thus laying open the myſteries of courts, Machiavel furniſhed a manual of political iniquity, it is to be remembered, that the arts of falſe policy, and the machinations of ambition and tyranny, have been known and practiſed where Machiavel's "Prince" has never been read [a].

The pernicious maxims of deſpotiſm have, ſince the days of Machiavel, been often refuted, and the true principles of government eſtabliſhed, by Sydney, Locke, Monteſquieu, and many other able writers, whoſe names would appear with ſplendor in a Hiſtory of Civil Policy.

[a] Bacon de Augm. Scient. l. vii. c. 2. Arnd. Bibl. Polit. p. iii. See Clarend. Hiſt. Reb. Book X.

SECT.

SECT. 3.

OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE illuſtrious Lord Bacon, in turning the attention of philoſophers from the ſpeculative and hypothetical to the practical and experimental ſtudy of nature, opened an extenſive field of enquiry, little known to the antients, which has ſince been cultivated with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. To enumerate all the celebrated names which have appeared in this claſs of modern philoſophers; to relate the moſt intereſting particulars of their lives; to trace the progreſs of their reſpective reſearches; to report the advances which have been made in the ſeveral departments of phyſical knowledge, the new facts which experiment and obſervation have brought to light, and the general truths which they have eſtabliſhed; to point out the *deſiderata* which yet remain, and deduce from things already known, hints for further improvement; to execute all this with diligent accuracy, and ſound judgment, would be a great and meritorious work, well deſerving the beſt exertions of the moſt enlightened philoſopher. But ſuch an undertaking will be eaſily perceived to be far beyond the limits of the preſent work. Nothing further will be expected in this place, than that we briefly review the lives and labours of a few of thoſe philoſophers, who, from the revival of letters to the commencement of the preſent century, have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their inquiries and diſcoveries in natural philoſophy.

That ſpirit of innovation which, in other branches of philoſophy, was diſcouraged as dangerous to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, was early permitted in phyſics. Towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, Teleſius, in Italy, advanced new doctrines; ſeveral philoſophers in France

France ventured to contradict the physics of the Peripatetic school; and in England NATHANIEL CARPENTER[a] wrote a treatise entitled, *Philosophia libera*[b], "Free Philosophy," in which many paradoxical notions were advanced, sufficiently remote from the received doctrines of the schools.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a philosopher appeared in Great Britain, to whom natural philosophy is much indebted, both because he had the courage to rely upon his own powers, and to recede from the Aristotelian doctrines, to which the British schools at that time superstitiously adhered; and because he engaged, with wonderful industry and success, in the design of investigating the causes of natural appearances by experiment. GILBERT[c], born at Colchester in one thousand five hundred and forty, wrote a treatise, entitled, *Philosophia nova de Mundo nostro sublunari*, "New Philosophy concerning our sublunary World:" and he made, at a great expence, and with incredible perseverance, a course of experiments on the magnet, the result of which he relates in his treatise, *De Magnete magneticisque Corporibus*, "Of the Magnet and Magnetic Bodies." He maintains, that the magnetic virtue is placed by nature in the terrestial globe, and that the earth is a vast magnet. Gilbert acquired great and general reputation by this work; and his doctrine was afterwards applied by Halley to explain the variation and dipping of the magnetic needle.

The first modern, among the Germans, who appears with any distinction in the class of natural philosophers, is DANIEL SENNERT[d], a physician, who was born at Breslaw in one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, was educated at Wittenburg, and died in one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven. He wrote *Hypomneuma Physica*, "Minutes of Physics;" in which he contradicts many of the Aristotelian principles. He was the first philosopher who introduced into the German schools the study of chemistry, freed from

[a] Wood Athæn. Oxon. [b] Oxon. 1636.
[c] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 410.
[d] Witt. Mem. Med. p. 89. Bayle.

the

the fanciful hypothefes of the Paracelfians. His works are voluminous: they are printed in fix volumes[a].

After the time of Lord Bacon, many philofophers, upon his principles, and after his example, made ufe of the art of chemiftry as an inftrument in the inveftigation of nature. Among thefe was Sir KENELM DIGBY[b], an Englifhman, born at Gothurft, in Buckinghamfhire, in one thoufand fix hundred and three, and educated at Oxford; who, in the midft of military fervices, induftrioufly profecuted phyfical refearches, and, particularly, fpared neither labour nor expence in order to make himfelf mafter of the fecrets of chemiftry. Thefe he applied to the improvement of medicine, which he practifed with great fuccefs. Affuming rarefaction and condenfation as phyfical principles, he endeavoured, in a diftinct treatife "On Plants[b]," to explain the procefs of vegetation. He alfo wrote "On the Nature of Bodies," and, "On the Immortality of the Soul."

Chemiftry was from this time ftudied and practifed by many other eminent phyficians and philofophers, among whom the name of BOERHAAVE ought to be mentioned with peculiar diftinction, both on account of the improvements which he made in this art, and the pains which he took to fhew its utility, not only in medicine, but in the general ftudy of phyfics. He died in one thoufand feven hundred and thirty-eight, aged feventy years.

One of the moft induftrious and fuccefsful interpreters of nature, which the feventeenth century, fo fruitful in great men, produced, was ROBERT BOYLE, defcended from the illuftrious family of the Boyles, in Ireland. He was born at Lifmore, in the year one thoufand fix hundred and twenty-feven. After travelling through France, Italy, and Switzerland, to extend his acquaintance with the works of nature and art, he fixed his refidence at Oxford, where he devoted himfelf to the ftudy of medicine and natural philofophy. It was during his refidence here, that the defign was formed, and

[a] Lugd. 1676. fol.
[b] Wood Athæn. Oxon. Bullart. Acad. des Scien. t. ii. p. 1137. Bayle.

completed,

completed, by himſelf and ſeveral other philoſophers, of eſtabliſhing a ſociety for the improvement of natural knowledge. After its eſtabliſhment in London under the patronage of Charles II. and under the name of the Royal Society, Boyle removed thither, and employed the remainder of his days in reſearches into nature. He died, much lamented by all the friends of ſcience and virtue, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one [a].

Boyle poſſeſſed every advantage for the proſecution of phyſical enquiries; an extenſive intercourſe with the philoſophical world, a fortune adequate to the expence of experiments, great induſtry, a ſound judgment, and an ardent thirſt after knowledge: and his ſucceſs was equal to every expectation which theſe circumſtances might create; as fully appears from his own account of his experiments on Air, on Hydroſtatics, on Colours, on the Atmoſphere, on the human Blood, and other ſubjects. This great man was no leſs celebrated for his perſonal virtues, than for his knowledge of nature. Probity, modeſty, humanity, and piety, were prominent features in his character. His religious temper appears in many of his writings, and was particularly ſhewn in the reverence which he expreſſed for the name of God, which he is ſaid never to have mentioned without a pauſe.

There is no claſs of men, to whom natural philoſophy is more indebted, than to mathematicians. Theſe have largely contributed to its improvement, by the diligence and accuracy with which they have made and regiſtered aſtronomical obſervations, and by the pains which they have taken to ſubject the known laws of motion to arithmetical calculation, and geometrical demonſtration, and hence to deduce mathematical principles of phyſics. Out of the numerous body of mathematical philoſophers, we muſt only ſelect the great names of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton.

[a] His works are printed in five volumes, folio, London, 1744.

NICHOLAS COPERNICUS[a] was born at Thorn, in Pruſſia, in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two. Having acquired, during the courſe of his education at Cracow, a fondneſs for mathematical ſtudies, and particularly for aſtronomy, he went to Bologna, to proſecute theſe ſtudies under an eminent aſtronomer of that univerſity. Here he obtained ſuch diſtinction, that he was appointed profeſſor of mathematics at Rome. Returning, after ſome years, to his native country, he obtained a canonry in the cathedral church of Frauenburg, and in the leiſure which this ſituation afforded him, purſued his aſtronomical ſpeculations. Perceiving the Ptolemaic ſyſtem (which ſuppoſes the earth to be fixed in the center, and the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, to revolve about it in concentric circles) to be inconſiſtent with the *phænomena*, and encumbered with many abſurdities, he had recourſe to the Pythagorean hypotheſis, which places the ſun in the center of the ſyſtem, and makes the earth a planet, revolving annually with the reſt about the ſun, and daily about its own axis. Upon this ſyſtem, compared with the obſervations which had been made by others and himſelf, he proceeded to aſcertain the periodical revolutions of the planets, and wrote his treatiſe *De Orbium Cœleſtium Revolutionibus*, "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies," in which he demonſtrated them geometrically.

A doctrine, which explained the celeſtial *phænomena* with ſo much ſimplicity, could not fail to engage the attention and admiration of aſtronomers and philoſophers. But, on account of its apparent inconſiſtency with ſome paſſages of ſcripture, it was rejected by many divines, and cenſured in an expreſs decree of the Romiſh church. Nevertheleſs, the doctrine daily gained ground, and is now univerſally received. Copernicus died in one thouſand five hundred and forty-three.

In order to remove the offence which was taken by ſo many learned men againſt the doctrine of Copernicus, a Daniſh aſtronomer, TYCHO BRAHE[b], invented a ſyſtem between the Ptolemaic and

[a] Gaſſend. Vit. Cop. Wiedler. Hiſt. Aſtron. Adam. Vit. Phil.
[b] Gaſſend. Vit. Tych. Br.

Copernican. This philoſopher, born at Knudſtorp, in Sweden, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſix, was educated for the profeſſion of the law, firſt at Copenhagen, and afterwards at Leipſic; but relinquiſhed that profeſſion, and gave himſelf up to the ſtudy of aſtronomy. After various journies, in which his aſtronomical knowledge procured him great reputation, the king of Denmark, through the recommendation of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, furniſhed him with a houſe, an obſervatory, and an aſtronomical apparatus in the iſland of Huen in the Sound; and appointed him an annual ſtipend, on condition that he ſhould devote himſelf to aſtronomy. Here he continued his obſervations for many years. But at length the king of Denmark, offended at the philoſopher, as it is ſaid, on account of his having pretended to cure diſeaſes by ſecret means, deprived him of his ſalary. Tycho Brahe, upon this, removed to Prague, where he was patronized by Rodolphus II. and had for his aſſiſtant in aſtronomical calculations the celebrated Kepler. In this place he died, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and one.

The ſyſtem of Tycho Brahe ſuppoſed the earth quieſcent, and the ſun, with the whole heavens, to revolve about it with ſuch a complex motion, that while the earth is the center of the ſun's orbit, the ſun is the center of all the planetary orbits. The author of this ſyſtem was preparing a geometrical demonſtration of its agreement with the celeſtial *phænomena*, when death put an end to his labours. Tycho Brahe was a man of violent paſſions, impatient of contradiction, intemperate, libidinous, and ſuperſtitious. He only deſerves to be remembered on account of his aſtronomical obſervations, and his ſyſtem of the celeſtial motions, which, however, being the mere fiction of an ingenious brain, periſhed with its author.

Science was leſs indebted to Tycho Brahe than to his colleague, John Kepler [a], a German, born in one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-one, at Wiel, in the dutchy of Wirtemburg, and educated at Tubingen. His early and uncommon proficiency in mathematical

[a] Gaſſend. t. v. p. 451. 471. Bayle. Weidler l. c. c. 15. p. 414.

learning

learning recommended him to the attention of the university of Gratz, in Stiria, as a proper person to occupy the mathematical chair. From this time astronomy became the chief object of his attention; and, in one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, he published *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, "The Mystery of Cosmography;" in which he undertook to demonstrate, upon geometrical principles, the admirable proportions of the celestial orbs, and to explain the reasons of their number, magnitudes, and periodical revolutions; a work abounding with clear and accurate mathematical reasoning. At Prague, whither he was driven, about the year one thousand six hundred, by the troubles and persecutions of his own country, Kepler, with his family, notwithstanding his personal abilities and merit, and his connection with Tycho Brahe, was reduced to poverty. At length, through the indulgence of the emperor, he was recalled to his native country, and taught mathematics, first at Lints, and afterwards at Sagan, in Silesia. He died in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-one.

For the particulars of Kepler's great discoveries and improvements in astronomy, we must refer the reader to his works. We cannot, however, omit to remark, that this penetrating philosopher suggested hints in natural science which Des Cartes afterwards assumed as his own, and discovered truths, which served as a firm foundation for subsequent improvements in the great edifice of mathematical astronomy. Kepler found, that every primary planet describes an elliptic orbit, in one focus of which is the sun; that, in equal times, equal areas are described by a line drawn from the sun to the planet; and that the squares of the periodical times of the planets are as the cubes of their distances from the sun. He was also acquainted with the principle of gravitation, and knew that revolving bodies endeavour to fly from their orbit in a tangent. But, not knowing how to apply the principle of gravitation to the explanation of the laws of the celestial motions which he had discovered, he ascribed them to the influence of a distinct animating principle, or soul, which he supposed to reside in each planet.

Contemporary with Kepler was GALILEO GALILEI [a], a native of Florence, whoſe aſtronomical inventions and diſcoveries have immortalized his name. Deſtined by his father for the medical profeſſion, he was educated in the ſchools of Piſa: but he ſoon diſcovered ſo ſtrong a predilection, and ſuch uncommon talents, for aſtronomical ſtudies, that he was permitted to follow the natural bias of his mind without any profeſſional reſtraint. Having been well inſtructed in the Greek tongue, he read Euclid, Archimedes, and other antient mathematicians in the original. His reputation as a mathematician became ſo great, that the duke of Tuſcany appointed him, before he was twenty-ſix years of age, to the mathematical chair in the univerſity of Piſa. Afterwards, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, at the invitation of the republic of Venice, he removed to Padua.

With the ſtudy of mathematics, Galileo united that of phyſics, particularly the doctrines of mechanics and optics. Being informed, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, that Janſen, a Dutchman had invented a glaſs, by means of which diſtant objects appeared as if they were near, he turned his attention to the ſubject; and, after ſeveral attempts to apply his ideas on the doctrine of refraction to practice, he invented and conſtructed an optical inſtrument, by means of which, as he himſelf ſays, objects appeared magnified a thouſand times. Turning his TELESCOPE towards the heavens, he diſcovered unheard-of wonders. On the ſurface of the moon he ſaw lofty mountains and deep vallies. The milky way he diſcovered to be a crowded aſſemblage of fixed ſtars, inviſible to the naked eye. Venus he found to vary, in its phaſes, like the moon. The figure of Saturn he obſerved to be oblong, conſiſting of three diſtinct parts. Jupiter he ſaw ſurrounded with four moons, which he named Medicean ſtars. And on the ſun's diſk he perceived ſpots, from the motion of which he inferred, that the ſun revolves about its axis. The book, in which theſe wonderful diſcoveries were recorded, Galileo dedicated to the duke of Tuſcany, who was

[a] Viviani Vit. Gal. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 261. 400.

ſo

ſo delighted with his countryman's ingenuity and ſucceſs, that he wrote him a congratulatory letter, and gave him the title of the philoſopher and mathematician of Tuſcany. The whole aſtronomical world applauded his attempts, although not a few were ſecretly inclined to ſuſpect, that his ſuppoſed diſcoveries were only the amuſing dreams of a brilliant imagination.

Galileo now began to inquire to what uſeful purpoſes his new diſcoveries might be applied, and ſoon perceived, that, by means of obſervations which he was now able to make upon the Satellites of Jupiter, geographical longitudes might be found. He engaged the Duke of Tuſcany to apprize the King of Spain of the great benefits which navigation might derive from this diſcovery; but no regard was paid to the ſuggeſtion.

A comet appearing in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, Galileo, in order to correct the prevailing errors of philoſophers upon the ſubject of celeſtial *phænomena*, wrote a treatiſe which he called, *Syſtema Coſmicum*, "The Syſtem of the World," in which he ſhewed the perfect agreement of the Copernican ſyſtem with the appearances of nature. The publication of this treatiſe, though preceded by another, in which it was proved, from the authority of the fathers, and other orthodox divines, that the language of ſcripture is not to be ſtrictly followed on queſtions merely phyſical, raiſed a general alarm among the bigots of the Romiſh church. This incomparable philoſopher was, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, cited before the Court of Inquiſition, accuſed of hereſy, and thrown into priſon. Well-knowing that any juſtification of himſelf, or explanation of his doctrine, would be fruitleſs, Galileo retracted the obnoxious tenet, that the ſun ſtands ſtill; and, after five months confinement, was releaſed. His work was cenſured, and prohibited.

In one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix, this ingenious and induſtrious philoſopher reſumed his deſign of meaſuring geographical diſtances in longitude, and communicated his plan to the States General of the United Provinces. By their order, the plan was examined, and the neceſſary calculations were made for drawing the

the tables. But a misfortune, which at this time happened to Galileo, interrupted the laudable defign. After the aftronomical labours of twenty-feven years, this ufeful philofopher loft his fight. The papers which he had drawn up were fent to Holland; and it was ftill hoped that he might furnifh further inftructions towards completing the defign; but, about the beginning of the year one thoufand fix hundred and forty-two, a flow fever, occafioned by the pain which he fuffered in his eyes and limbs, releafed him from envy and perfecution. The light which Galileo caft upon natural philofophy by his aftronomical inventions and improvements, which are doubtlefs in a great meafure to be afcribed to his knowledge of mathematics, entitle him to a place in the firft clafs of mathematical philofophers. He difcovered, that in the defcent of falling bodies, the fpaces defcribed are as the fquares of the times; and that the motion of projectiles is in the curve of a parabola.

From the time of Galileo the practice of applying mathematics to the improvement of phyfical knowledge became general; and many excellent geometricians arofe, who fubjected the *phænomena* of nature to mathematical calculation. Gregory de St. Vincent, who enlarged the boundaries of the higher geometry, applied the properties of the hyperbola to aftronomy. Des Cartes, Wallis, Huygens, and others, purfued a fimilar track. Since the fublime inventions of the Differential Calculus by Leibnitz, and of the Method of Fluxions by Newton, natural philofophy has received continual improvement by the labours of Leibnitz, L' Hofpital, Varignon, the Bernouillis, Cotes, Saunderfon, Maclaurin, and other eminent mathematicians. But the firft luminary in this bright conftellation, by the univerfal confent of philofophers, is the immortal Newton.

ISAAC NEWTON[a] was born at Woolftrope, in Lincolnfhire, in the year one thoufand fix hundred and forty-two. He received his firft inftruction at the grammar fchool at Grantham. He gave early

[a] Eloge par Fontenelle. Pemberton's Review, præf. Hift. of the Royal Society. Life of Newton, Lond. 1728. Biog. Brit. Gen. Dict.

indications of that sublime genius, which afterwards performed such wonders, in his insatiable thirst after knowledge, and the almost intuitive facility with which he first conceived the theorems of Euclid. Though not inattentive to classical studies, he directed the chief exertions of his penetrating and exalted understanding towards mathematical science, in which, not contented with a perfect comprehension of whatever had been already done by others, he was wonderfully assiduous and successful in investigating new truths.

The University of Cambridge boasts the honour of having educated Newton. His first preceptor was the celebrated geometrician Isaac Barrow. In one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven, Newton took his degree of Master of Arts, and was soon afterwards admitted Fellow of Trinity College, and appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. In one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, he was chosen representative in the convention parliament for the university, and continued to adorn this high station till the dissolution of this parliament in the year one thousand seven hundred and one; he was also appointed Master of the Mint, and in this post rendered signal service to the public. In the year one thousand seven hundred and three, he was elected President of the Royal Society, and remained in that office as long as he lived.

Whilst Newton gave many proofs of his astonishing capacity for mathematical researches, he shewed himself possessed of a mind equally capable of extending the knowledge of nature, by the reports which he made to the Royal Society of many curious and important experiments in natural philosophy. In the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-one, his papers on the properties of light were read to that society, from which it appeared that colour, which had hitherto been explained by ingenious but unsupported hypotheses, was in fact owing to a property in the rays of light hitherto unobserved, their different degrees of refrangibility. These papers were afterwards completed; and, in the year one thousand seven hundred and four, the whole was published in three books,

 under

under the general title of "Optics; or, a Treatiſe of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours of Light."

The reſult of this great philoſopher's ſucceſsful endeavours to ſubject the *phænomena* of nature to the laws of mathematics, was firſt communicated to the public in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, in the immortal work entitled, *Philoſophiæ naturalis Principia mathematica*, "Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy:" this was ſucceeded by ſeveral treatiſes purely mathematical, in which the wonderful genius of this great geometrician is further diſplayed. His Method of Fluxions was firſt publiſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred and four.

In the midſt of his philoſophical and mathematical labours, Newton found leiſure to attend to critical inquiries. He wrote a treatiſe "On the Chronology of antient Kingdoms," in which, from a diligent compariſon of various notes of time in antient writers with each other, and with aſtronomical *phænomena*, he concludes, that, in former ſyſtems of chronology, the more remote events of antient hiſtory are placed too far backwards. He alſo wrote commentaries on Daniel, and on the Revelations[a].

Notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous exertion of the faculties, which the profound reſearches of this philoſopher muſt have required, he lived to the eighty-fifth year of his age. This glory of the Britiſh nation, and ornament of human nature, left the world in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven. During his life he roſe to higher reputation, and after his death obtained a greater name, than had been the lot of any former philoſopher. The epitaph under his ſtatue well expreſſes his ſingular merit; it is as follows:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS NEWTON, Eques Auratus,
Qui Animi Vi prope divinâ,
Planetarum Motus, Figuras,

[a] Newton's Works were publiſhed by Dr. Horſley, ſince Biſhop of St. David's, in 1784. 5 vol. 4to.

Cometarum Semitas, Oceani Æſtus,
Sua Matheſi Facem præferente,
Primus demonſtravit.
Radiorum Lucis Diſſimilitudines,
Colorum inde naſcentium
Proprietates,
Quas nemo antea vel ſuſpicatus erat,
Perveſtigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, ſagax, fidus Interpres,
Dei O. M. Majeſtatem Philoſophiâ aſſeruit,
Evangelii Simplicitatem Moribus expreſſit.
Sibi gratulentur Mortales,
Tale tantumque extitiſſe
Humani Generis Decus.
Natus 25 Dec. A. D. 1642. Obiit 20 Mar. 1726.[a]

[a] Here lies interred
ISAAC NEWTON, KNIGHT,
Who,
With an Energy of Mind almoſt divine,
Guided by the Light of Mathematics purely his own,
Firſt demonſtrated
The Motions and Figures of the Planets,
The Paths of Comets,
And the Cauſes of the Tides;
Who diſcovered,
What before his Time no one had even ſuſpected,
That Rays of Light are differently refrangible,
And
That this is the Cauſe of Colours;
And who was
A diligent, penetrating, and faithful Interpreter
Of Nature, Antiquity, and the Sacred Writings.
In his Philoſophy
He maintained the Majeſty of the Supreme Being;
In his Manners
He expreſſed the Simplicity of the Goſpel.
Let Mortals congratulate themſelves,
That the World has ſeen
So great and excellent a Man,
The Glory of Human Nature.
He was born Dec. 25, 1642. Died March 20, 1726.

To give the reader a perfect idea of the philoſophy of Newton, would be to conduct him through every part of his philoſophical works. We muſt content ourſelves with a brief account of the deſign and plan of his *Principia*, and a few miſcellaneous obſervations chiefly extracted from the Queries ſubjoined to his Optics.

Diſſatisfied with the hypothetical grounds on which former philoſophers, particularly Des Cartes, had raiſed the ſtructure of natural philoſophy, Newton adopted the manner of philoſophiſing introduced by Lord Bacon, and determined to raiſe a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy on the baſis of experiment. He laid it down as a fundamental rule, that nothing is to be aſſumed as a principle, which is not eſtabliſhed by obſervation and experience, and that no hypotheſis is to be admitted into phyſics, except as a queſtion, the truth of which is to be examined by its agreement with appearances. "Whatever," ſays he[a], "is not deduced from *phænomena*, is to be called an hypotheſis: and hypotheſes, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, whether of occult qualities or mechanical, have no place in experimental philoſophy." In this philoſophy, propoſitions are drawn from *phænomena*, and are rendered general by induction. This plan of philoſophiſing he purſued in two different methods, the Analytic and the Synthetic; collecting from certain *phænomena* the forces of nature, and the more ſimple laws of theſe forces, and then proceeding, on the foundation of theſe, to eſtabliſh the reſt. In explaining, for example, the ſyſtem of the world, he firſt proves from experience that the power of gravitation belongs to all bodies: then, aſſuming this as an eſtabliſhed principle, he demonſtrates by mathematical reaſoning, that the earth and ſun, and all the planets, mutually attract each other, and that the ſmalleſt parts of matter in each have their ſeveral attractive forces, which are as their quantities of matter, and which, at different diſtances, are inverſely as the ſquares of their diſtances. In inveſtigating the theorems of the *Prin-*

[a] Princip. l. iii. Gen. Schol.

cipia,

cipia, Newton made uſe of his own analytical method of fluxions; but, in explaining his ſyſtem, he has followed the ſynthetic method of the antients, and demonſtrated the theorems geometrically.

The leading deſign of the *Principia* is, from certain *phænomena* of motion to inveſtigate the forces of nature, and then, from theſe forces to demonſtrate the manner in which other *phænomena* are produced. The former is the end towards which the general propoſitions in the firſt and ſecond books are directed; the third book affords an example of the latter, in the explanation of the ſyſtem of the world.

The laws of motion, which are the foundation of the Newtonian ſyſtem are theſe three: 1. Every body perſeveres in its ſtate of reſt, or of uniform motion in a right line, unleſs compelled, by ſome force impreſſed upon it, to change its ſtate. 2. The change of motion is proportional to the force impreſſed, and is made in the direction of the right line in which that force is impreſſed. 3. To every action an equal reaction is always oppoſed; or the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are equal, and in contrary directions.

On the grounds of theſe laws, and certain corollaries deducible from them, by the help of geometrical principles and reaſonings Newton, in the firſt book, demonſtrates in what manner centripetal forces may be found; what is the motion of bodies in excentric conic ſections; how, from given *foci*, elliptic, parabolic, and hyperbolic orbits may be found; how the orbits are to be found when neither focus is given; how the motions may be found in given orbits; what are the laws of the rectilineal aſcent and deſcent of bodies; how the orbits of bodies revolving by means of any centripetal force may be found; what is the motion of bodies in moveable orbits, and what the motion of the *apſides*; what is the motion of bodies in given ſuperficies, and the reciprocal motion of pendulums; what are the motions of the bodies tending towards each other with centripetal forces; and what the attractive forces of bodies ſpherical, or not ſpherical. In the ſecond book, Newton treats of the motion of bodies which are reſiſted in the ratio of their velocities; of the motion of bodies reſiſted in the duplicate ratio of their velocities; of

of the motion of bodies resisted partly in the ratio of the velocities, and partly in the duplicate of the same ratio; of the circular motion of bodies in resisting mediums; of the density and compression of fluids; of the motion and resistance of pendulums; of the motion of fluids, and the resistance made to projected bodies; of motion propagated through fluids; and of the circular motion of fluids.

By the propositions mathematically demonstrated in these books, chiefly those of the first three sections, the author, in the third book, derives from the celestial *phænomena*, the forces of gravitation with which bodies tend towards the sun and the several planets. He then proceeds, by other propositions, which are also mathematical, to deduce from these forces the motions of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the tides; to ascertain the magnitude and form of the planets; and to explain the cause of the precession of the equinoxes.

To this outline of the Principia, we shall add the following miscellaneous observations, which may serve as a specimen of the OPINIONS of Newton.

The main business of natural philosophy is to argue from *phænomena*, without feigning hypotheses, and to deduce causes from effects till we come to the very first cause, which certainly is not mechanical.

No more causes of natural things ought to be admitted, than are known to exist, and are sufficient to explain their appearances.

Therefore natural effects of the same kind are to be ascribed to the same cause.

Those properties of bodies, which do not admit of intension or remission, and which are found to belong to all bodies upon which experiments can be made, are to be regarded as properties common to all bodies.

It is probable, that all the *phænomena* of nature depend upon certain forces, by which, from causes not yet known, the particles of

bodies

bodies are either mutually impelled towards each other, and cohere according to regular figures, or mutually repel and recede from each other.

Bodies and light mutually act upon one another.

All fixed bodies, when heated beyond a certain degree, emit light, and ſhine, and this emiſſion is performed by the vibrating motion of their parts.

Fire is a body heated ſo hot as to emit light copiouſly: and flame is a vapour, fume, or exhalation, heated red hot, that is, ſo hot as to ſhine.

The rays of light, in falling upon the bottom of the eye, excite vibrations in the *tunica retina*, which, being propagated along the ſolid fibres of the optic nerve to the brain, cauſe the ſenſe of ſeeing.

The heat of a warm room is conveyed through a *vacuum* by the vibrations of a much ſubtiler medium than air, which, after the air is drawn out, remains in the vacuum. It is by the vibrations of this medium, that light is refracted and reflected, heat communicated. This medium is exceedingly more elaſtic and active, as well as ſubtile, than the air; it readily pervades all bodies, and is by its elaſtic force expanded through the heavens. Its denſity is greater in free and open ſpace than in compact bodies, and increaſes as it recedes from them. This medium, growing denſer and denſer perpetually as it paſſes from the celeſtial bodies, may, by its elaſtic force, cauſe the gravity of thoſe great bodies towards one another, and of their parts towards the bodies. Viſion, hearing, and animal motion, may be performed by the vibrations of this ſubtile elaſtic fluid, or ether.

The ſmall particles of bodies have certain powers, virtues, or forces, by which they act, at a diſtance, upon one another, for producing a great part of the *phænomena* of nature; as in the attractions of gravity, magnetiſm, and electricity.

The ſmalleſt particles of matter may cohere by the ſtrongeſt attractions, and compoſe bigger particles of weaker virtue: and many of theſe may cohere, and compoſe larger particles, whoſe virtue

virtue is ſtill weaker, and ſo on for divers ſucceſſions, until the progreſſions end in the biggeſt particles, on which the operations in chemiſtry, and the colours of natural bodies, depend, and which by cohering compoſe bodies of a ſenſible magnitude.

The particles of different bodies cohere with different degrees of force; whence ſome are volatile, eaſily rarefying with heat, and condenſing with cold, whilſt others are fixed, and not ſeparable without a ſtrong heat, or fermentation. Thoſe particles recede from one another with the greateſt force, and are with moſt difficulty brought together, which, upon contact, cohere moſt ſtrongly.

Nature is very conformable to herſelf, and very ſimple, performing all the great motions of the heavenly bodies by the attraction of gravity which intercedes thoſe bodies, and almoſt all the ſmall ones of their particles, by ſome other attractive and repelling powers which intercede the particles.

The *vis inertiæ* is a paſſive principle, by which bodies perſiſt in their motion or reſt, receive motion in proportion to the force impreſſing it, and reſiſt as much as they are reſiſted. By this principle alone there never could have been any motion in the world. Some other principle was neceſſary for putting bodies into motion; and now they are in motion, ſome other principle is neceſſary for preſerving the motion: for from the various compoſition of two motions, it is very certain that there is not always the ſame quantity of motion in the world.

Since the variety of motion which we find in the world is always decreaſing through reſiſtance, there is a neceſſity of recruiting it by active principles, ſuch as are the cauſe of gravity, and of fermentation, to which almoſt all the motion we meet with in the world is ow ng.

It is probable, that God in the beginning formed matter in ſolid, maſſy, hard, impenetrable moveable particles, of ſuch ſizes and figures, and with ſuch other properties, and in ſuch proportion to ſpace, as moſt conduced to the end for which he formed them; and that theſe primary particles being ſolids, are incomparably harder

than

than any porous bodies compounded of them, even ſo very hard, as never to wear, or break in pieces, or be liable to a change in their nature and texture. It is alſo probable, that the changes of corporeal things conſiſts only in various ſeparations, and new aſſociations and motions of theſe permanent particles, produced by certain active principles, ſuch as that of gravity, and that which cauſes fermentation and the coheſion of bodies.

By the help of theſe principles, all material things ſeem to have been compoſed of the hard and ſolid particles above-mentioned, variouſly aſſociated in the firſt creation by the counſel of an intelligent agent: for it became him who created them to ſet them in order; and it is unphiloſophical to ſeek for any other origin of the world, or to pretend that it might ariſe out of a chaos by the mere laws of nature; though being once formed it may continue by thoſe laws for many ages. For while comets move in very excentric orbs, in all manner of poſitions, blind fate could never make all the planets move one and the ſame way in orbs concentric, ſome inconſiderable irregularities excepted, which may have ariſen from the mutual actions of comets and planets upon one another, and which will be apt to increaſe, till this ſyſtem wants a reformation. Such a wonderful uniformity in the planetary ſyſtem muſt be allowed the effect of choice. And ſo muſt the uniformity in the bodies of animals. Was the eye contrived without ſkill in optics, or the ear, without knowledge of ſounds?—The firſt contrivance of thoſe very artificial parts of animals, the various organs of ſenſe and motion, and the inſtinct of brutes and inſects, can be the effect of nothing elſe than the wiſdom and ſkill of a powerful everliving agent, who, being in all places, is more able by his will to move the bodies within his boundleſs uniform ſenſorium, and thereby to form and reform the parts of the univerſe, than we are by our will to move the parts of our own bodies. And yet we are not to conſider the world as the body of God, or the ſeveral parts thereof as the parts of God; he is an uniform being, void of organs, members, or parts, and they are his creatures, ſubordinate to him, and ſubſervient to his

his will. God has no need of organs; he being every where present to the things themſelves.

It appears from *phænomena*, that there is a being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipreſent, who in infinite ſpace, as it were in his ſenſory, ſees the things themſelves intimately, and thoroughly perceives them, and comprehends them wholly by their immediate preſence to himſelf.

This moſt beautiful ſyſtem of the ſun, planets, and comets, could only ariſe from the counſel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being. And if the fixed ſtars be centers of ſimilar ſyſtems, theſe being all formed by like wiſdom, muſt be ſubject to the dominion of one: eſpecially ſince the light of the fixed ſtars is of the ſame nature with the light of the ſun, and all ſyſtems mutually give and receive light.

God governs all things, not as the ſoul of the world, but as the Lord of the univerſe. The Supreme Deity is an eternal, infinite, and abſolutely perfect being, omnipotent and omniſcient; that is, his duration extends from eternity to eternity, and his preſence from infinity to infinity; he governs all things, and knows all things which exiſt, or can be known. He is not eternity or infinity, but eternal and infinite: he is not duration or ſpace, but he endures, and is preſent; he endures for ever, and is preſent every where. Since every portion of ſpace is always, and every indiviſible moment of duration is every where, certainly the Maker and Lord of all things cannot be never or no-where. God is omnipreſent not virtually only, but ſubſtantially, for power cannot ſubſiſt without ſubſtance. In him all things are contained and move, but without reciprocal affection: God is not affected by the motion of bodies, nor do bodies ſuffer reſiſtance from the omnipreſence of God.

It is univerſally allowed, that God exiſts neceſſarily; and by the ſame neceſſity he exiſts always and every where. Whence he is throughout ſimilar, all eye, all ear, all brain, all arm, all power of perceiving, underſtanding, and acting; but in a manner not at all human;

in a manner not at all corporeal; in a manner to us altogether unknown. As a blind man has no idea of colours, so we have no idea of the manner in which the Most Wise God perceives and understands all things. He is entirely without body and bodily form, and therefore can neither be seen, nor heard, nor touched; nor ought he to be worshipped under any corporeal representation. We have ideas of his attributes, but what the substance of any thing is we are wholly ignorant. We see only the figures and colours of bodies; we hear only sounds; we touch only external superficies; we smell only odours; we taste only savours: of their internal substances we have no knowledge by any sense, or by any reflex act of the mind: much less have we any idea of the substance of God. We know him only by his properties and attributes, by the most wise and excellent structure of things, and by final causes; and we reverence and worship him on account of his dominion. A God without dominion, providence, and design, is nothing else but Fate and Nature.

Many learned mathematicians, and celebrated writers, have attempted to illustrate and explain different parts of the writings of Newton: and, on the other hand, some have ventured to call in question the ground of his philosophy.

It has been objected, that Attraction, the first principle in the Newtonian philosophy, is in reality one of those occult qualities which Newton professes to reject. But to this it is satisfactorily replied, that the power of gravity is not an unknown cause, since its existence is proved from the *phænomena*. The Newtonian philosophy does not require, that the cause of gravitation should be explained. It merely assumes an incontrovertible fact, that bodies gravitate towards each other according to a known law, and, by the help of geometrical reasoning, deduces from this fact certain conclusions. Newton himself gives this explanation of the use which is made in his philosophy of the principle of gravitation, and expresly asserts, that it is enough for him that gravity really exists, though its cause be not certainly known. "I use the word attraction,"

attraction," ſays he "for any endeavour of bodies to approach each other, whether that endeavour ariſes from the action of bodies mutually ſeeking each other, or mutually agitating each other by ſpirits emitted, or whether it ariſes from the action of the æther, or air, or any other medium whatſoever, corporeal or incorporeal, in any manner impelling bodies floating therein towards each other. In the ſame general ſenſe I uſe the word Impulſe, not conſidering the ſpecies and phyſical qualities of forces, but their mathematical quantities and proportions, conſequent upon any condition ſuppoſed: then, in phyſics, we compare theſe proportions with the *phænomena* of nature, that we may know what conditions of thoſe forces anſwer to the ſeveral kinds of attractive bodies." In fine, no words can be more explicit than thoſe in which Newton diſclaims all reliance upon hypothetical principles, or occult qualities, and makes experience the only foundation of his philoſophy.

But we are ſtepping beyond the province of the hiſtorian. The curſory view we have taken of the doctrine of Newton, and of what was done by his predeceſſors in experimental philoſophy to improve the knowledge of nature, may ſuffice to ſhew the vaſt extent and importance of this branch of philoſophy, and to induce the reader to enquire, what diſcoveries have been made, in the boundleſs fields of nature, ſince the days of Newton: and further than this it is not our buſineſs to proceed; for we undertook, not to delineate minutely the ſeveral regions of philoſophy, but to draw a GENERAL MAP of the PHILOSOPHICAL WORLD.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE MODERN STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN ASIA.

I.

THE inhabitants of ASIA are, in general, with reſpect to religion, either Mahometans or Pagans. Many traces of opinions, formerly received from the Saracens, are to be found among the Perſian and Indian Mahometans. There are ſtill remaining in Perſia writings of Greek and Latin philoſophers, tranſlated into the Perſian language [a]. The antient Oriental doctrines are taught among the Sufians, who aſſert, that the univerſe is produced from the ſubſtance of deity, and make God the material and formal cauſe of all things, and creation and deſtruction the expanſion and retraction of his ſubſtance: a doctrine more ſimilar to the philoſophy of Zoroaſter, than to the theology of Mahomet [b].

[a] Chardin's Travels, P. iii. p. 108.

[b] Bernier Suite des Memoires ſur l'Emp. de Mogoul, p. 202—3. Bayle Dict. t. iv. p. 25[illegible]. Art. Spinoza. Burnet Archæol. App.

Of the TARTARS, thoſe who border upon the Turkiſh empire are Mahometans; the religion of thoſe who inhabit the more remote regions is unknown. Their prieſts are called Lamæ, and their high prieſt, Dalai Lama. They believe their Great Lama to be immortal; and ſome aſſert, that he is the great philoſopher Föe returned to life. This philoſopher is, through almoſt all Aſia, ſaid to have frequently appeared among men. It is probable, that his doctrines penetrated into Tartary [a].

Through the extenſive regions of INDIA, the groſſeſt ſuperſtition and ignorance prevail. From comparing the theological tenets of different Indian nations it appears, that they commonly embrace the emanative ſyſtem, which ſuppoſes innumerable divine natures proceeding from the fountain of deity, and preſiding over different parts of the univerſe. This doctrine was probably diſſeminated by ſome antient impoſtor, who pretended to be himſelf a divine emanation of this kind, and whom his ſuperſtitious followers have worſhipped as a divinity [b].

If the account given of BUDDAS, the celebrated Indian philoſopher, be compared with what is ſaid by the modern inhabitants of Siam concerning Somonacodom, and by the Chineſe and Japaneſe of XEKIAS, who after his death was called FÖE, or FOTOKI, little doubt will remain, that theſe are only different names of the ſame philoſopher, who faſcinated the whole Northern and Eaſtern region of Aſia, as well as part of the Southern, with his pantheiſtic doctrine. It is probable that he lived about ſix hundred years before Chriſt. There is little doubt, that he firſt appeared in the Southern part of India, among the nations ſituate on the borders of the Indian ocean, and thence diſſeminated his philoſophy, by means of his diſciples, to all India. It is related, that he ſpent twelve years in ſolitude, where he was inſtructed by the *Tolopoin*, called by the an-

[a] Moſhem. Hiſt. Eccl. Tartar. Duhalde Hiſt. Chin. t. iv. p. 467.

[b] Conf. Locke Eſſ. l. i. c. iii. § 15. La Croze Chriſt. Ind. l. vi. p. 645. Loubere Itin. Siam. t. ii. p. 395. Bayle, Art. Rugger. Not. D. Burnet Arch. p. 543. Univ. Hiſt. de Siamens.

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tients *Hylobii*, that is Sylvan Hermits; and that, in his thirtieth year, he devoted himſelf to contemplation, and attained to the intuitive knowledge of the firſt principles of all things, from which time he took the name of Föe, which ſignifies *ſomething more than human*. His myſtical philoſophy he is ſaid to have delivered to innumerable diſciples, under the veil of allegory. The Japaneſe add, that in his contemplations, during which his body remained unmoved, and his ſenſes unaffected by any external object, he received divine revelations, which he communicated to his diſciples [a].

Buddas, or Xekias, in his exoteric doctrine, taught the difference between good and evil; the immortality of the ſouls of men and brutes; different degrees of rewards and puniſhments in a future world; and the final advancement of the wicked, after various migrations, to the habitations of the bleſſed. Amidas, who, according to the Chineſe, is Xekias himſelf, preſides in theſe habitations, and is the mediator, through whoſe interceſſion bad men obtain a mitigation of their puniſhment. Theſe dogmas are contained in an antient book, called Kio, which all the Indians beyond the Ganges, who follow the doctrine of Xekias, receive as ſacred, and which is illuſtrated by innumerable commentaries [b].

Very different was the doctrine which Xekias at the cloſe of his life delivered to his eſoteric diſciples. He inſtructed them, that Vacuum, or Void, is the principle and end of all things, ſimple, infinite, eternal, but deſtitute of power, intelligence, or any other ſimilar attribute; and that to be like this principle, by extinguiſhing all paſſion and affection, and remaining abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation, without any exercife of the reaſoning faculty, is the perfection of happineſs. The firſt principle in this ſyſtem cannot be pure nihility, which admits of no properties; probably, it is Firſt Matter, without variable qualities, whence all things are

[a] La Croze Chriſtianiſm. Ind. l. vi. Bayle Dict. Art. Brachmans. Sommonac. Kæmpfer. Hiſt. Jap. t. i. p. 56. t. ii. p. 59.

[b] Kæmpfer. Arnold. in Add. ad Roger. Jan. Gent. c. 6. p. 579. Couplet Diff. pr. ad Conf. c. p. 31. Acta Erud. 1688. p. 257.

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ſuppoſed to ariſe, which is not to be perceived by the ſenſes, but contemplated as the latent divinity, infinitely diſtant from the nature of viſible things, yet the origin of all ſubſtances. The emanations from this fountain became, in the popular theology, objects of the groſſeſt ſuperſtition and idolatry [a].

The doctrine of Föe, or Xekias, was embraced by innumerable diſciples. Among theſe, one of his moſt eminent ſucceſſors was Tamo, a Chineſe, who was ſo entirely devoted to contemplative enthuſiaſm, that he ſpent nine whole years in profound meditation, and was on this account deified [b].

The Bramins aſſert that Xekias had neither father nor mother. No Indian city claims the honour of his birth. He ſeems to have been a foreigner from ſome neighbouring maritime country. As he firſt appeared as a philoſopher in the Southern part of India, it is probable that he was a Lybian, who had been inſtructed in the Egyptian myſteries, and who ſettled in India with ſome Egyptian colony. It is not improbable, that at the time when Cambyſes conquered Egypt, and diſperſed almoſt the whole nation, this impoſtor paſſed over into India, and, propagating his doctrine among an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, became an object of univerſal veneration.

II.

ON the coaſts of COROMANDEL and MALABAR, the Brachmans, or Bramins, a peculiar race, who boaſt of a divine deſcent, are the theologians and philoſophers of the country. They reſemble, in many particulars, the antient Therapeutæ of Egypt. It is probable,

[a] La Croze l. c. p. 652. Kempfer. Couplet. l. c.

[b] Minorelli Obſ. in Juvenci Error. de Rebus Sin. p. 145. Kempfer. &c. l. c. Univ. Hiſt. v. xxi. § 356. p. 637. 671. Semler. Pref. Univ. Hiſt. v. xxiii. Guyon Hiſt. des Ind. Or. Par. 1744.

that the Bramins received their institutions from the Egyptians, at the time when Egypt came under the power of Greece, especially as the learned language of this race abounds with Greek words. These Indian priests claim the sole charge of religion, the law of which is contained in a sacred book called the Veda, which no laic is permitted to touch [a].

Among the Malabars is a singular sect of Bramins called the theoretical, who, laying aside all idolatrous worship, give themselves up entirely to the most rigorous mortification, affect enthusiastic ecstacy and quietism, and hope to resemble the divine nature, by putting off all animal passion, and remaining, as long as possible, in a state of perfect inaction both of body and mind. Other sects approach, in different degrees, towards atheism.

The Malabars have some practical knowledge of astronomy; which they appear to have derived from the Egyptians, as they call the signs of the Zodiac by the antient Egyptian names [b].

The substance of the Malabaric theology is; that the Essence of Essences, or the Supreme Infinite Substance, wants figure, and cannot be comprehended or moved; that it fills all things; possesses the highest wisdom, truth, knowledge, and purity; is infinitely good and merciful; creates and supports all things; and desires the happiness of man, which will be attained if this Great Being be truly loved and revered; that he cannot be represented by any image, and his attributes alone can be expressed; that he is only to be contemplated in a state of entire abstraction and tranquility of mind; and cannot be worshipped, but through the medium of inferior divinities; that, in creating the world, God separated the active and passive virtues which had hitherto remained absorbed within himself; that the two principles, *Tschiven*, the masculine or active virtue, and *Tscaddi*, the feminine or passive virtue, were the parents

[a] La Croze Hist. Christ. Ind. l. vi. Roger. Jan. Nat. ad Gentil. Ziegenbalg. et Soc. Mission. relat. Malab. Burnet Archæol. p. 541. Bayle. Brachm. Fabr. Diss. de Brachm. Syllog. Opusc. p. 333.

[b] Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes. Rec. x. Rel. Miss. t. i. p. 200. 1022.

of the other ſubordinate gods; that the ſouls of brutes and men have the ſame origin, and after being confined in one body for a time, paſs into another; and that, on account of their common origin, it is unlawful for men to kill inferior animals [a].

Theſe, and many other tenets held by the Malabarian Indians, evidently coincide with the antient oriental doctrine of emanation. The morality which ſprung from this ſource is deeply tinctured with fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm [b].

III.

FOHI was one of the firſt and moſt celebrated legiſlators of CHINA; but little is known of the methods by which he civilized his country. An antient book, called Yekim, which is ſtill preſerved in China, is aſcribed to Fohi; but it is written in hieroglyphics; and no one has been able to give a ſatisfactory explanation of its contents. The moſt probable conjecture is that of Leibnitz, that it was intended to teach the art of numeration. Several ſucceſſive emperors carried forward the work of civilization, particularly by means of moral allegories, fables, and poems. The antient Chineſe wiſdom is contained in two diſtinct collections called *U-kim*, "The Five Books," and *Su-cu*, "The Four Books;" which, beſides the enigmatical book of Fohi, contain laws, precepts, poems, memoirs of princes, and inſtitutes of rites and ceremonies. Theſe have been commented upon by Confucius, Mencius, and other philoſophers [c].

[a] La Croze, p. 586—611. Roger, p. 249. 283. &c. Relat. Miſſ. p. 354. 604. 895. &c. Burnet Arch. App. [b] Barthrouherri Sententiæ Bramanæ.

[c] Fouquet. Tab. Chron. Sin. Kortholt. de Phil. Sin. Leibn. App. adverſ. Germ. Theodic. Reimann. Sciagraph. Phil. Sin. Spizelius de Re liter. Sin. Bulfinger Specim. Doct. Vet. Sin. Grap. de Theol. Sin. Navarett. de Regno Sin. Renaud. et Minorell. Obſerv. ad Errores Juvencii de Reb. Sin.

To this firſt period of the Chineſe philoſophy ſucceeded another, in which it aſſumed a more artificial form, under LI LAO KUIN, or LAO-TAN, who flouriſhed ſix hundred years before Chriſt. He delivered many uſeful precepts of morality, and obtained great authority both among the Chineſe and Japaneſe.

The moſt celebrated antient philoſopher of China is CON-FU-CU, or CONFUCIUS. He was born of an illuſtrious family, in the reign of the emperor Lu, about five hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. At fifteen years of age, he engaged in the ſtudy of the antient learning of his country, and diſcovered ſuch uncommon wiſdom, that he was early advanced to the office of miniſter of ſtate. Finding all his endeavours to reform the corrupt manners of the court ineffectual, he retired from his public ſtation, and inſtituted a ſchool, in which he is ſaid to have had ſeveral thouſand diſciples, to whom he taught morals, the art of reaſoning, and the principles of policy. His life is ſaid to have been in every reſpect worthy of the character of a philoſopher. He lived to the age of ſeventy-three [a].

By his ſage counſels, his moral doctrine, and his exemplary conduct, he obtained an immortal name as the reformer of his country. After his death, his name was held in the higheſt veneration; and his doctrine is ſtill regarded, among the Chineſe, as the baſis of all moral and political wiſdom. His family enjoys by inheritance the honourable title and office of Mandarins; and religious honours are paid to his memory. It is, nevertheleſs, aſſerted by the miſſionaries of the Franciſcan and Dominican orders, that Confucius was either wholly unacquainted with, or purpoſely neglected, the doctrine of a future life, and that in his moral ſyſtem he paid little regard to religion [b].

[a] Couplet. Diſſ. pr. ad Confuc. S. Bayer. Muſ. Sin. t. ii. p. 214. 246. Kempfer. t. ii. l. iii. c. 6. p. 67.

[b] Spizel. de rebus lit. Sin. p. 31. 119. Ep. Leibnitz. v. ii. p. 283. Buddæus de Superſtit. de Mort. apud. Sin. Anal. Phil. p. 287. Hiſt. Cultus Sinen. Col. 1700. Anton. de S. Maria, c. ii. Ep. Leibn. p. 275. Arnold. Prax. Mor. Jeſuit. t. 3, 6, 7. Leibnit. Præf. noviſſ. Sin. Clerici Sylv. Phil. c. ii. § 7.

Confucius was followed by Mem-ko, or MEMCIUS, who flouriſhed about three hundred years before Chriſt, and other philoſophers, who wrote books of popular and uſeful learning. But in the third age after Confucius, the emperor Chi-hoam-ti, or Ching, ordered all philoſophical books to be burned, and inflicted death upon many philoſophers. A few remains of Chineſe wiſdom were, however, preſerved, and, in the more enlightened dynaſty of Han, were brought to light. The deſtruction of antient writings under Chi-hoam-ti, renders all Chineſe records doubtful, which are of earlier date than two hundred years before Chriſt[a].

The third period of the antient Chineſe philoſophy commences from the time when the doctrines of Föe, already diſperſed through India, paſſed over to China. This happened about ſixty years after the birth of Chriſt, when the idol Föe, under which the memory of Xekias is worſhipped, was brought among the Chineſe. This new ſuperſtition was accompanied with doctrines of morality, and with myſtical precepts, which inculcated fanatical quietiſm as the only way to perfection. This fanaticiſm of Föe overſpread the whole country like a deluge, and continues to this day. In the third century, a peculiar ſect aroſe, who gave themſelves up entirely to the contemplation of the Firſt Principle of Nature, and who thought, that the nearer they approached to the perfect inaction of inanimate bodies, the more they reſembled the deity[b].

About the tenth century, two philoſophers, CHEM-CU and CHIMCI, appeared, who introduced metaphyſical doctrines nearly reſembling thoſe of the Stoics; whence a new ſect aroſe, called Ju-Kiao, or the Sect of the Learned[c].

This was the ſtate of the Chineſe philoſophy when the Jeſuit miſſionaries, French mathematicians, and other Europeans, in the ſixteenth century, viſited China, and for a long time obtained much attention and reſpect. The emperor Kam-hy encouraged the ſtudy

[a] Carpzov. de Memcio Sin. Lipſ. 1743. Martinii Hiſt. Sin. l. vi. p. 240. Spizel. l. c. p. 40.

[b] Couplet l. c. Minorelli, p. 147.

[c] Leibn. ep. ad Remond. Ep. t. ii.

of European learning, particularly mathematics, anatomy, medicine, and aſtronomy. He himſelf, for ſeveral months, received daily inſtruction in aſtronomy from the mathematician Verbieſt. European philoſophers had free acceſs to his empire and court. But ſince his time little indulgence has been ſhewn to Chriſtian travellers[a].

The obſcurity of the antient Chineſe books, the dubious credit of the reports brought to Europe by the Jeſuit miſſionaries, and the imperfect acquaintance of Europeans with the Chineſe language and writings, render it difficult to aſcertain the preſent ſtate of opinions in China. Their notion of deity has been a ſubject of much diſpute. Some aſſert that their Xang-ti ſignifies a ſupreme creator and ruler of the world; others aſcribe to the Chineſe a ſyſtem of nature nearly approaching to atheiſm; whilſt others maintain their doctrine to be, that there is in the viſible heavens a living and powerful nature, like the ſoul in the body, who has produced other ſecondary divinities, the rulers of the world, through whom the ſupreme deity is to be worſhipped. Leibnitz is of opinion that the Li of the Chineſe is the chaotic ſoul of the world, and their Taikie the ſoul of the formed univerſe, in fine, the deity of the Stoics[b].

The moral and political philoſophy of the Chineſe, as derived from Confucius, conſiſts of detached maxims and precepts for the conduct of life.

IV.

THE JAPANESE nation appears to be of equal antiquity with the Chineſe. The firſt period of the hiſtory of both is equally fabulous. Fohi, the Chineſe legiſlator, is alſo celebrated by the Japaneſe as one

[a] Leibn. noviſſ. Sinica. Dentrecolles Lettres edifiantes, Rec. 17. 23.

[b] Martin. Hiſt. Sin. l. i. c. 9. p. 16. Wolf. de Sapientia Sinica. Renaudot. Diſſ. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 785. Minorell. contr. Juv. p. 126. Kortholt. Præf. Du Halde Hiſt. Chin.

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of the founders of their monarchy. They honour the memory of Confucius. At the time when the doctrine of Xekias was introduced into China, the book Kio, containing the institutes of his philosophy, was brought out of India into Japan by a Xekian priest. The Jesuit Vilela, in one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, writes from Japan, that the Japanese superstitions are the same with those of the Indian Bramins, and were received from an Indian teacher of the kingdom of Siam; and that their temples are similar to those which he had seen in the island of Ceylon; which confirms what was before observed concerning the origin of Xekias [a].

If the Japanese superstitions be compared with those of Egypt, it will appear exceedingly probable, that they originated with the Egyptian priests, and passed over from Egypt to India, and thence to China and Japan.

[a] Acosta de Rebus a Soc. Jes. in Oriente Gest. Dilling. 1571, 8vo. Epist. Japan. a Maffeio edit. Crasseti Hist. Eccl. Jap. Kempfer. Hist. Jap. Bayle, Art. Japan.

FINIS.

ERRATA to Vol. II.

Page 2. l. 16. after *missionaries* add Note; *Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus: see vol. I. p.* 249. P. 62. l. 15. for *catachetical* read *catechetical*. P. 221. l. 14. read *excused from entering*. P. 280. l. 3. for *Gods* read *God*. P. 378. l. 5. for *power* read *powers*. P. 39.. l. 31. for *were* read *was*. P. 430. l. 19. for *concerned* read *convinced*. P. 531. l. 27. for *form* read *forms*. P. 591. l. 29. for *and* read *or*.